THE HISTORIANS' HISTORY OF THE WORLD

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OF THE WORLD



DEATH OF THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

Painted especially for "The Historians' History of the World" by R. Phillipps Ward

THE HISTORIANS' HISTORY OF THE WORLD

A Comprehensive Narrative of the Rise and Development of Nations from the Earliest Times as recorded by over Two Thousand of the Great Writers of All Ages. Edited with the Assistance of a Distinguished Board of Advisers and Contributors

BY

HENRY SMITH WILLIAMS, LL.D.



IN TWENTY-SEVEN VOLUMES

VOLUME XIX—ENGLAND, 1485–1642

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BOOK II

TUDOR AND STUART

A CHARACTERISATION OF THE TUDOR AND STUART PERIODS

WRITTEN SPECIALLY FOR THE PRESENT WORK

BY JAMES GAIRDNER, C.B., LL.D.

IT is not my purpose, nor will it, I presume, be expected of me, within the space of a few pages to attempt anything like a general survey of the course of English history during a very momentous period of two hundred years. That history is here treated by others in detail, and a condensed account of events at the outset is not wanted. But it is always profitable to examine tendencies in the great drama of events, and to mark the currents of feeling in connection with abiding or transitory conditions, the necessities which the past continually imposes on the present, and the causes, generally speaking, which have shaped the dynasties of nations. To look at these on the great scale is to realise the unity of history and to harmonise the results of much laborious study.

Assuredly no period of equal length in the life of a great nation ever begot such potent movements to affect the future condition of the world as the two hundred and three years from the accession of the house of Tudor in England to the expulsion of the last Stuart king. Not even the two centuries and more which have since succeeded, wonderful as have been their results for human progress, afford so profitable a study in historical causation. For in truth the two succeeding centuries have but developed the fruits of that social and political order for which the foundations were being gradually laid in many a painful struggle through the period of the Tudors and the Stuarts. Those two centuries lie between us and the Middle Ages, between a feudal England, which, bereft of its old continental possessions, was still incessantly at war with its northern neighbour, and a united kingdom with a settled constitution and with colonies and dependencies over all the globe.

For, strange to say, during the whole range of those two centuries constitutional government, in the modern sense of that expression, did not really exist. One might have formed other expectations of the country in which, so far back as the days of the Plantagenets, Fortescue wrote in praise of the laws of England, and declared the superiority of his own country to France in the fact that, while the latter was a mere *dominium regale*, or, as we

should call it, absolute monarchy, the former was a *dominium politicum et regale*, or, in modern language, a limited monarchy. A limited monarchy, no doubt, England continued to be as far as regards taxation; which the sovereign could never, strictly speaking, impose by his own sole authority, as French kings had done in the days when Fortescue wrote. But as regards personal freedom in the reign of Henry VIII it might almost be doubted whether a prominent Englishman was better off than a Frenchman. Certain it is that legislation was not the work of parliaments freely elected and freely expressing their own sense of what was desirable. On the contrary, some of the most important enactments can be distinctly shown to have been dictated by the court and passed against the will of the people; and the same influence no less clearly gave rise to acts of cruelty and injustice under judicial forms to which it is vain to seek a parallel for number and atrocity in any other reign. The despotism of Henry VIII was indeed extraordinary, and, happily, there has been nothing at all like it since. But Tudor government was despotic to the last, and great as the changes were under the Stuarts and under Cromwell, they never once led to healthy relations between the ruler and the ruled.

It must not be supposed that the Tudors distinctly violated the principles of the constitution. If they did, it was only in matters that were not likely to excite much comment. The forms of the constitution, at least, they were generally careful to observe, even with scrupulous care, however much they might violate its spirit. And in truth it was under the shelter of those constitutional forms that their despotism, especially that of Henry VIII, succeeded. Of all parts of the English constitution the most important is the monarchy; on it all else depends; and the necessity for its existence was never shown so clearly as when the attempt was made to do without it. The name of king was no doubt repudiated and the crown refused by Oliver Cromwell himself; but when a commonwealth was set up in the place of the ancient monarchy, a real king was created as well, whose special merit it was to be far more resolute and really despotic than the king whom he had displaced. A king who knew his own mind and had ample power to enforce it might not be altogether the sort of sovereign the nation would have preferred; but he was infinitely better, as a mere governing power, than a king who was never able to measure the forces with which he came in conflict, who made concessions against the grain and continually endeavoured to recall them, and who sacrificed his best friends to clamour without being able to conciliate his enemies.

The character of the monarchy, in fact, is all through this period the one chief subject of consideration; and the change which Tudor government effected on the ideal of the Middle Ages first claims our attention. As we have said, the Tudors were really great observers of the forms of the constitution; and, indeed, however strong their acts might be, they always sought to cover them with a show of legality. Far from outraging the principles of Judge Fortescue, it was by those very principles that they became so strong. Parliamentary government was not the thing about which in the fifteenth century either Judge Fortescue or the nation was most highly concerned. Judge Fortescue rather desired to emancipate the crown from the fear of over-mighty noblemen, and the nation could have done very well without frequent meetings of parliament if it would have led to less taxation. That the king should be able to live "of his own" without aids and subsidies, and that his wealth should be such as to control the insubordination of overgrown subjects—this was the ideal that seemed to be in the minds both of Fortescue and of the nation.

Now, the accession of the Tudor dynasty was in itself a part fulfilment of this programme. As the titles of the Red and White Roses were blended, so the titles of great estates were united in the hands of the sovereign. The first Tudor king, indeed, had an arduous task, wearing out mind and body, to secure himself in a position which neither Yorkist nor Lancastrian sovereign had found stable just before him. But he kept a vigilant eye on his nobility, amassed wealth, and made rebellion, and even war, when he was driven to it, pay their own expenses; the former by heavy fines, and the latter by taxation of his own subjects for equipment and by pensions from an enemy who was glad to buy him off even before blood was shed. He was the wealthiest prince in Christendom when he died; and no king had ever mounted the English throne better able to "live of his own" with a perfectly secure title than his son and successor.

It would appear, moreover, that for a few years Henry VIII really did so, with but moderate aid from parliamentary subsidies; but his tastes were extravagant, and his wars with France required a degree of taxation of which his great minister Wolsey had to bear the unpopularity. Not only was the parliamentary taxation severe, but a forced loan and a so-called "amicable grant" were extorted from the people, notwithstanding the act of Richard III which abolished "benevolences." And these were but the beginnings of further extortions of the like kind later in the reign; for in addition to his extravagant tastes and his actual wars, the policy which he pursued at and after his divorce from Katharine of Aragon was such as to raise up for him countless perils, which he only met by his own watchfulness and by acts for which none could call him to account. Yet while the nation groaned under his taxation, parliament twice absolved him from repayment of a forced loan, and all the rich spoil of the monasteries poured into his exchequer was swallowed up by greedy courtiers and place-hunters whom it was necessary to conciliate, even to give stability to the new social order.

Of course the great revolution of Henry's reign was what is called the Reformation. Of the theological aspects of this great movement it would be out of place here to speak. But of the Reformation as affecting the constitution it is incumbent on me to say something, especially as this is precisely the aspect of it which is never sufficiently regarded. The Reformation assuredly dominates the whole constitutional history of the period under review, and as a new constitutional departure we must treat it at the outset.

The unity of the Church of Christ in England and in other lands had been always a governing principle in religion, and it was believed to be a social and political necessity to uphold it. Hence the severe punishment of heretics by burning, and the anxiety of princes to terminate the Great Schism in the papacy. The central authority of the Church was at Rome, to which all matters of dispute could ultimately be referred. But the Church had its own jurisdiction in every kingdom, determining not only cases of heresy, but also of matrimony, of testamentary dispositions and of other things, which the common law of the country left entirely to the ecclesiastical tribunals. No king of England before Henry VIII had complained of this double jurisdiction within his own realm; on the contrary, even he had strongly desired to uphold it, regarding the Church as a sacred authority which gave real stability to his throne. But when he lost hope of obtaining from Rome a divorce from Katharine of Aragon, he began insidiously to take steps for the abolition of papal jurisdiction in England. He forced from the clergy a reluctant and qualified admission that he was supreme Head of the Church in England, and then got the title confirmed without qualification by statute.

He decreed that the pope should no longer be called pope, but only "bishop of Rome," and his parliament made it treason to recognise the pontiff's authority. The royal supremacy over the Church was vindicated by cruel executions, and at length was submitted to as a thing which could not practically be contested. For although the pope, in the exercise of a power which was supposed to belong to him, would have deprived the heretical sovereign of his kingdom, he could only do so by the aid of temporal princes; and practically there were but the two princes to whom he could appeal, neither of whom dared to make war on England, lest England should ally itself with a powerful rival against him.

Royal supremacy thus asserted was repulsive enough, but it was an established fact that could not be undone. How strong it showed itself is all the more marvellous when we consider how much it conflicted at first with the views of all civilised countries. Henry VIII himself only maintained it, though fortified by statutes of his own procuring, by constant watchfulness and relentless executions. Yet, strange to say, during the minority of his son, when government was a prey to conspiracy and faction, royal supremacy seemed a stronger principle than before, and the boy-king Edward's authority over the Church was used to sanction changes never contemplated by his father. Under Queen Mary there was a return to Rome, but even that was effected by royal supremacy; and how it had to be maintained is a painful and well-known story. Under Elizabeth the same principle reappeared in somewhat more decorous form. She would not be designated "Supreme Head," but "Supreme Governor," of the Church of England, and there was no longer any objection to calling the Roman pontiff pope. But there was to be no foreign control over the English Church, any more than in the days of her father and her brother, and a new religious settlement, half formed under Edward VI, was restored and completed under her.

The reign of Elizabeth, indeed, in this and other aspects, is a political and moral wonder. Her claim to the crown was weak according to any theory of legitimacy, unless we consider that it rested on parliamentary enactments giving the effect of law to her father's will. This very fact, no doubt, secured for her the support of those hitherto reputed heretics who were interested in maintaining the validity of her father's marriage to her mother. But it exposed her to danger from the pope and the Catholic powers of Europe, who, if they could only have combined against her, might easily have dethroned her, and even perhaps have set up a sovereign more acceptable to the majority of her own subjects. Moreover, there was a still further danger: for since her father's revolt from Rome and the like attitude assumed by the German Protestants, the order of the Jesuits had been founded to fight the battles of the church by men under a kind of discipline like that of soldiers who cannot question a superior officer's command. Such an order became naturally a political force, far more subtle and dangerous than any avowed hostile nationalities, for its movements were directed unseen by the most astute generalship. Yet over all these perils Elizabeth rose triumphant. Fortunately for her, the Catholic powers of Europe had incompatible interests. Philip II was as much concerned as herself to prevent Mary Stuart uniting both France and England against him. She could also hamper France by encouraging the Huguenots. She effectually counteracted the Guises in Scotland by the treaty of Edinburgh, and stirred up trouble for Mary Stuart within her own realm by encouraging religious factions there. In this, indeed, her crooked policy ultimately recoiled upon herself, when Mary, driven out of Scotland, sought an asylum in her kingdom; for if a rival across the border was dangerous,

how much more so was that same rival living within England itself. Of the tragedy by which the difficulty was ultimately solved we need say nothing here. But the success which attended Elizabeth was remarkable. As new dangers arose new help was always at hand. She made Philip II her enemy by assisting the revolted Netherlands, but the proud Armada was dispersed and the tranquillity of England remained unbroken. And when a final effort was made under Philip III to give effect to papal excommunication by a Spanish fleet and army in aid of Tyrone's rebellion, it was no less completely frustrated, and Ireland was brought into complete subjection by Mountjoy.

Even the sex of Queen Elizabeth had seemed a serious obstacle to a prosperous reign, and, from the first, men believed that she must strengthen herself upon an uneasy throne by marrying some powerful prince or very capable subject. She herself knew better and avoided all along—or succeeded in avoiding, if at one time she felt rather tempted—what would undoubtedly have been a very serious political blunder. But since men would believe that she must marry, she allowed speculation pretty free play; it was good policy, in fact, not to discourage it; and she even did some things to promote it. Her doings were mysterious in many things besides, and she kept her own counsel in matters of much moment even from those sagacious advisers whom she showed her wisdom in selecting as her ministers. But year by year she grew in popularity, and her sex, instead of being a source of weakness, evoked in her subjects a new sense of chivalry which warmed into an enthusiastic loyalty when men learned that she stood in danger from foreign confederacies or the possibility of domestic treason.

Her rule was wonderfully prosperous, as many wise measures for her people's good deservedly made it. Early in her reign she corrected by a great effort the debased currency which her father had introduced and her brother continued. Trade and industry began to revive. The country enjoyed internal tranquillity, and noblemen, ceasing to live in castles, "builded abroad pleasant houses"; while her adventurous and not over-scrupulous seamen preyed upon Spanish commerce. A golden age began in English literature, when genial rule at home and wonderful tales from distant seas and continents excited the imaginations of men. The English drama took classical form and attained its highest glory under the greatest of all dramatists. Poetry found a voice in Spenser to describe in matchless allegory the deep spiritual facts of the Reformation. And before the end of the reign Francis Bacon had begun to write philosophical essays.

The whole reign of the Tudors was a reign of kings and queens who, for the most part with great sagacity, personally controlled their own government. Such a state of matters in England has never been since and will never be again. But the traditions of a system of government cannot but remain after such government is no longer possible; and this was the real rock on which the ship of state foundered in the days of the Stuarts. It is easy to blame the weakness of James I, the duplicity of Charles I, the easy-going sensualism of Charles II, and the perverse obstinacy of James II. But no kings could have repeated successfully the Tudor programme of personal government, and no provision had as yet been made for any other. The king was expected still to govern, and if he could not, there was no one to take his place. That he should have advisers of his own choosing was part of his prerogative; that he should be ruled by parliament was a reversal of all accepted principles. Parliament was only summoned at his bidding as the state of affairs in his opinion required it. Nay, there were theorists who maintained that England was an absolute monarchy, and that though it was

desirable to consult with parliament in the making of laws, the king might, if he pleased, make laws without any parliament at all. But not only did the commons take alarm at this suggestion; King James himself, who had no desire to be an autocrat, was exceedingly displeased with it.

Nevertheless, two contrasted political theories began to form themselves from the moment the Stuarts came to the throne; the one was the theory of divine right, the other that of parliamentary government. And there was some foundation for each in previous history. The nation, doubtless, had no such idea as divine right distinctly in view when it welcomed James I to the throne; but no other theory could truly justify his succession; for his title rested on simple inheritance in opposition to existing acts of parliament, and unless it was superior to acts of parliament he was not king at all. So the rule of the sovereign now came to be invested with a religious sanction different in kind from that conferred upon him by the act of coronation; and a theory had already taken root which was afterwards pushed to extravagance.

So also with the idea of parliamentary government, that is to say that parliament ought to govern. Though parliament was of growing importance, we hardly find any distinct enunciation of such a principle even in the days of James I. It took form out of the remonstrances of Eliot against the too great exaltation of the royal authority put forth by Laud and others; and it gained for the first time a secure basis for further development by the Petition of Right. But when it came to this, that parliament, to which even King James denied, in the abstract, any right to meddle with the *arcana imperii*, claimed, like an independent power, to limit the king's prerogative and to divest him of powers which he considered necessary for the safety of the state, it is obvious that a very real revolution had begun, and not at all wonderful that the ultimate issue was civil war.

We must go back, however, to the accession of the Stuart dynasty. The mere fact that a Scotch king had ascended the English throne brought with it momentous results, internal and external. It put an end to border wars; it brought Ireland into more complete subjection; it put an end to all possibility of a foreign power seeking to set the one country against the other. But the kingdoms were two though there was only one king, and the problem of governing these two kingdoms in harmony was very much greater than that of governing only one by itself. Too often it had been the policy of English sovereigns to promote trouble in Scotland, as if their own country was strengthened by the weakness of its neighbour; and it was really much on the same principle that Elizabeth had encouraged in Scotland the Puritanism which she repressed in England. The result was certainly to make Scotland even by itself a most uncomfortable country for any king to govern. The "kirk" became a democracy which held royal authority of small account. Preaching was disrespectful, and the king was at the mercy of a power which actually drove him to civil war to expel his Catholic nobility. James disliked intolerance. He felt, as Elizabeth felt, that the growth of Puritanism was a real danger to the crown. He was glad to find that it was not so strong in England, and he spoke from the bottom of his heart when he said at the Hampton Court conference, "No bishop, no king." Indeed, it was only too true, as events were in time to show, that Puritanism, if it became strong, would put down both king and bishops.

On the other hand, James' tolerance towards Roman Catholics at the beginning of his reign in England met with a rude check. Toleration in government was certainly much to be desired; but Protestants must own with

regret that the abolition of the pope's spiritual jurisdiction in England was the work originally of a cruel despotism. Moreover, if that jurisdiction was still to be kept out, it must be kept out by measures of more or less severity till it was practically extinct. Under Henry VIII men were beheaded for acknowledging the pope. Under Elizabeth priests saying mass were put to death as traitors, but laymen were only fined £20 a month for not attending service in the parish churches. Even this, however, was absolutely intolerable. The laws could not be put fully into execution; the fines could not be fully levied, and the government farmed the revenues that they expected to raise from them to hangers-on of the court. Of course this created just the utmost amount of practicable oppression, tempered by the utmost possible corruption and demoralisation. James was right in desiring to relieve the Romanists altogether; but he was soon compelled by public feeling to change his policy, and the Gunpowder Plot, which is supposed to have been due to resentment at that change, added new intensity to the general dislike of Romanism.

Without touching on the doubts which have been lately raised as to the reality of that nefarious conspiracy, it is certain that the discovery, as officially announced, frightened both king and public and added fuel to the flames of bigotry for several generations. Hatred of Rome, hitherto a sectarian feeling in the main, became hardened into a national sentiment, on which scoundrels like Titus Oates traded more than seventy years later. With it naturally revived an intense dislike of Jesuits, who, indeed, had been intriguing under Elizabeth to prevent the succession of the Stuart dynasty. Belief in the easy condonation of crime by Romish priests had much to do with the Puritan revolution under Cromwell, and the later revolution under William of Orange. Finally, the memory of the hellish plot was kept up by a special service in the Church of England till the middle of the nineteenth century.

But we must consider the story of religion abroad as well as at home, and go back once more to the beginning. The Reformation movement in other countries took form in very different ways from what it did in England. In Germany its origin was really theological. In France it was generally an aristocratic movement inspired by the scholastic principles of Calvin. In England, so far as it was a popular movement, it was neither aristocratic nor highly intellectual, but was merely a flood of long-suppressed Lollardy, half liberated, half confined, by the assertion of royal supremacy. But from one cause or another it was clear that Rome could no longer hold the world within her spiritual grasp; and the Jesuits sought too late to restore discipline in the Church, if indeed ecclesiastical discipline could ever have kept secular princes within limits. Such control was now impossible. Both potentates who wished to quarrel with Rome, and factions which desired to keep up the quarrel, had already a great ally in an unlicensed printing press, and trading communities both in England and Flanders propagated and exported a biblical and heretical literature, which bishops, even when they had royal authority to back them, could do little to repress.

Thus even the interests of trade were enlisted in opposition to a once universal Church; and they naturally added strength both to English sympathy with the Low Countries and to English antagonism to Philip of Spain. The free spirit of navigation, too, tended in the same direction; for what right had the pope, as if lord of all the earth, to hand over the whole of a newly discovered world, with lands and streams the extent of which could not yet be estimated, to the sole dominion of the Spanish king? The importance of Spain with these new acquisitions, in addition to the territories

Philip also held in the north and south of Italy, was a danger to the rest of Europe, and drew France and England together for a time. But the papacy leaned on that secular power which seemed in a fair way to dominate the world.

Eight years before the Armada Philip II's greatness had become still more imposing by his acquisition of the crown of Portugal, which united in his days the whole peninsula under one king, and placed at his command the resources of a nation specially distinguished for maritime enterprise and colonisation. France had meanwhile been torn asunder by a succession of civil wars about religion. The crown was weak, now seeking to strengthen itself by an alliance with the Huguenots and with Queen Elizabeth, anon driven to the wild insanity of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Philip was head of the great Catholic League, and was expected to reduce the Netherlands to submission and to turn Elizabeth off the throne. But he had an uncomfortable neighbour in Henry, king of Navarre, who headed the Protestants in France until on the failure of the line of Valois he became king of France himself as Henry IV. Under him began a new policy; for although, even to secure his possession of the throne, he became reconciled to the church, yet he made the best terms he could for the Huguenots, whose communion he had left, and accorded them religious toleration by the Edict of Nantes. Some practical settlement to put an end to civil war had long been the aim of those French statesmen who were called *Politiques*, and though the recognition of two separate communions was entirely opposed to traditional ideas of government, it was acquiesced in as a necessity for nearly ninety years.

The toleration granted, indeed, was but a limited toleration after all. The Huguenot gentry were allowed to worship in their own way within their own country houses and in most of the towns; they were made capable of holding important offices, and were allowed a share in the administration of justice. But it was only a local, not a general toleration, and could not give permanent satisfaction. It was, however, the first instance of such a policy being adopted in any country. Heretics in every land had been treated as public enemies, even where the pope's authority had been set aside. The political and social system everywhere was so bound up with a religious system, that disrespect to the local religion could only be treated as dangerous; and neither Germany nor England had learned the lesson which the French *Politiques* had already learned from a dreary civil war until each of these countries had itself gone through a like experience.

A generation after the Edict of Nantes the restlessness of the Huguenots again made itself dangerous to French nationality and had to be repressed by Richelieu when it sought help from England at Rochelle. But Richelieu was conciliatory to the vanquished, seeking above all things peace and order for France, in complete subjection to its king. Under him France was again rising to take the place of Spain as the leading power in Europe. Spanish greatness had already declined since the death of Philip II, and Catholic ascendancy in Europe was passing away likewise. But the dreams of the house of Austria were not yet dissipated, that between its two separate branches in Spain and Germany it could yet rule the world, and France might have been in serious danger from fires on either side of her, but for the great domestic fire in Germany of the Thirty Years' War, which was far more serious to her rivals.

It was the sad misfortune of Germany that it had no real sovereign, as France and England had, and from the day of the great Bohemian revolt in 1618 every element of power and every element of discord in Europe rushed

in to harass and oppress the unhappy people. There was Romanism, Lutheranism, Calvinism, Bohemian nationality, the rights of German princes, the rights of the empire, the rights of the house of Austria, the interference of Gustavus Adolphus, and the policy of a Protestant union to meet a Catholic league. What a multitude of discordant interests preying on the very heart of central Europe! What a painfully long drawn-out struggle, in which the horrors of war, augmented by a licentious soldiery, left to pay themselves by rapine, have never been exceeded for atrocity! Germany, even as far south as Munich, welcomed with open arms the Protestant king of Sweden, who kept his troops in order and really felt for the people. But with all the shiftings and changings, nothing seemed ever to be settled; and when at last the peace of Westphalia gave rest to poor desolated Germany, it gave no religious toleration to individuals, but recognised the religion of each separate prince as that of the territory which he ruled. All that Germany gained by that peace was a much-needed rest. But France gained Alsace and Lorraine, which had been the highway for Spanish troops to the Palatinate, and the Netherlands and Switzerland gained recognition as nationalities. The dreams of the house of Austria were dissipated, and France was becoming greater every day. Her war with Spain, however, continued for eleven years longer, during which France was invariably successful, till, in the end, she had clearly become the great military power in Europe under the "Grand Monarque," Louis XIV.

Concurrent with the Thirty Years' War in Germany were the great parliamentary struggle and the civil war in England. For the question between king and parliament began even under James I, and was terminated by the execution of Charles I the year after the peace of Westphalia. It was certainly unfortunate for the Stuarts, when they inherited Tudor traditions of government, that they had not the Tudor gift of choosing wise counsellors or appreciating good advice. This was the more to be regretted as their responsibilities were greater. It was impossible that kings with families and foreign connections, having, besides, three kingdoms to rule instead of two, could live on the same economical scale as Queen Elizabeth, and their needs made it all the more advisable that there should be a perfect understanding between them and their parliaments. Despotic as the Tudors undoubtedly were, they had always shown great respect for the house of commons. It was their policy, in fact, to raise its importance as a counterpoise to the house of lords; and when near the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign that house remonstrated with her against monopolies, she yielded in a manner which was graciousness itself. "Mr. Speaker," she said, "I have more cause to thank you all than you me; for had I not received a knowledge from you I might have fallen into the lap of error, only for lack of information."

Treated in this manner as real advisers of the crown, who might be assured that the sovereign was seeking the good of his people and not merely his own, parliament would have been far less disposed to question the royal prerogative or attempt to limit its exercise. Unfortunately, the Stuarts failed to inspire confidence that the nation's interests were theirs. They fell "into the lap of error," and the ministers in whom they unfortunately trusted were not the men to extricate them from false positions. The true sphere of the house of commons was as yet a limited one; but sound finance and some effort to control corruption were objects which were felt to be important. And much was done, undoubtedly, when the commons condemned monopolies, and the great lord Bacon fell tainted with the too prevalent corruption of courtiers and of judges.

Here, however, we see that even in the days of James I a sense of alienation had begun between parliament and the court. And, apart altogether from the causes of difference, this was essentially unwholesome; for according to the constitutional theory the king is an essential part of parliament and no real parliament can exist without him. Parliament is a conference for the public good between the three great powers in the nation, king, lords, and commons; and apart from parliament the constitutional theory in England, as in France, would have been summed up in the aphorism of Louis XIV, "L'Etat c'est moi." For while parliament cannot exist without the king, the king may undoubtedly exist without parliament, and does so, even at this day, for a considerable portion of the year, his acts being determined, of course, by responsible ministers. It was merely this question of ministerial responsibility which was not settled in the early part of the seventeenth century; and matters were clearly becoming dangerous when the king wanted money to carry out a policy on which he could not take his commons fully into his confidence.

The Protestant fervour of the nation did not seriously inconvenience an unmarried sovereign like Elizabeth. But James required a suitable match for his son, and to find a princess abroad who was not a Catholic was an impossibility. His daughter Elizabeth was already married to the elector palatine, whose unhappy acceptance of the crown of Bohemia had caused him to lose both that kingdom and the palatinate. And both with James I and with Charles I the recovery of the palatinate for the husband, and afterwards for the son of this Elizabeth, was the one leading motive in foreign policy. When there was no hope of assistance from parliament James turned to Spain as an ally for help in this great object, and even entertained the idea of matching his son with the infanta. Then after being repulsed by Spain, England fell into the arms of France, and Charles actually married Henrietta Maria just after his accession. But the recovery of the palatinate proved altogether a hopeless object; all the more so because parliament at home was not treated with due consideration. Indeed, both James and Charles were weak enough to give a pledge to parliament before the marriage that no religious liberty should be extended to English Roman Catholics on account of the queen being of that religion; while on the other hand, yielding to pressure, they promised the French government that their own Roman Catholic subjects should have that toleration which parliament declined to give them.

Charles I declared that parliament was for counsel, not for control; a king, he considered, was accountable to God only. Nor were the Stuarts the first kings of England who held such views. High churchmen, moreover, maintained the royal power and declared it to be the duty of loyal subjects even to pay a forced loan. That some got church preferment for this is no argument that they were insincere. But Calvinism was strong in the house of commons and in a considerable section of the clergy. Pamphlets flew about urging the house of commons to step in and preserve the faith, and the house of commons, unfortunately, took this for the most important part of its business. On the other hand the king, not getting "counsel" such as he liked from parliament, became all the more absolute in theory; and by the Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission the bishops were most objectionably placed in the position of judges of offences against themselves. But brutal as some of the sentences were, cruel punishments had been so long the rule that little complaint was made of them. Much more serious in the public eye was the influence of Archbishop Laud in promoting cere-

monial religion and insisting on uniformity. His rigour was not the right kind of rigour to satisfy the Calvinists; in fact, part of his offence in their eyes was that he promoted too much freedom, as when, at the beginning of his archiepiscopal rule, he encouraged the king to reissue his father's *Book of Sports*, and ordered the clergy to read openly throughout the land the permission of Sunday amusements.

Sharp divisions now reigned in things political and religious, and theory was pitted against theory. Puritanism was undoubtedly anxious to purify the moral atmosphere, but was strangely vehement about things indifferent. Prynne lost his ears for intemperate zeal; but it was the revolt of Scotland against episcopacy that brought on the real crisis. The attempts of Charles to govern without a parliament, and the levying of ship-money, however he may have thought himself within his rights and been countenanced at first by his judges, exasperated public feeling and created sympathy and alliance with the Presbyterian Scots. At length when the Long Parliament met, it began a course of injustice by the attainder of Strafford, which the king, fearing for his consort's safety, felt too weak to oppose; and by giving his assent to the bill he sent his most devoted servant to the block. No wonder the commons grew bolder, and the king's unhappy attempt to arrest the five members made them all the more so. Their demand for the control of the militia naturally brought on the civil war, which was simply bound to end in the way it did, notwithstanding the devotion and self-denial of many fervid royalists.

In the very midst of this struggle the celebrated Assembly of Divines sat at Westminster and framed a constitution for a Presbyterian church; which parliament, having adopted, made a political and religious alliance with the Scots by the Solemn League and Covenant. But a new religious system to be forced on the nation by a house of commons with an army at its command could hardly have higher spiritual credentials than episcopacy and royal supremacy. A national church with an old historic foundation had, in fact, better claims in the way of authority, and the ideal of freedom at which Puritanism aimed found more ardent followers in the growing sect of Independents. Parliament, however, soon found that instead of having the army at its command, it was itself in the power of the army. Indeed, it was just after the Scots had surrendered the king to the parliamentary commissioners because he would not establish Presbyterianism in the place of Episcopacy, that the deputies of the two houses went to Hounslow Heath to seek the protection of the army and put themselves under a bondage that they were never to be able to shake off.

There is no divine right so incontestable as the divine right of force, and when a kingdom gets into complete disorder that is the final arbiter. After the execution of the king there was nothing but organised force to save the country from destruction. And Cromwell did much more than save her. He restored peace and prosperity within her borders, and with the aid of Admiral Blake won for England a supremacy at sea, which gave her a foremost position among all the powers of Europe. He even laid the foundations of a great empire. Yet with how much effort did he strive to maintain himself in a position which was really unsound from the very first. He had to hammer three kingdoms into a kind of necessary unity, and would fain have brought back as far as could be the old traditions of the constitution. But the task was beyond his power. The hammering, indeed, was very efficacious. In England, and even in Scotland, a sense of political and religious order made itself felt. In unhappy Ireland, subdued by merciless

Puritanical force, there was only submission under a sense of deeper and more cruel wrongs than she had suffered before. A religious despot is the cruellest kind of tyrant; for, unhappily, no man's religion is accompanied by perfect clearness of view, and zeal only makes error worse. This in truth was the case with Charles I, though it is absurd to call him a tyrant who was continually coerced by others. His principles of government were mistaken, but he did far more mischief by yielding against his principles than by anything he did to carry them out. Cromwell was a religious despot, too, but of a very different type, and while strongly governed by the feeling that he was accountable only to God in his highest acts, his resolutions were always based on practical considerations. Hence, though raised to power by what was quite as much a religious as a political revolution, he in practice broke through the exclusiveness and intolerance to which the saints of his party would have bound him. Himself an Independent, he would not allow Presbyterianism to have its way in all things; he would tolerate even Jews, Anabaptists, and Quakers. The only religions proscribed were Roman Catholicism and the Church of England. But the change was serious enough, when even the observance of Christmas Day was forcibly put down, and when marriage itself was made a civil ceremony which it was illegal to grace with any religious office.

The nation was soon tired of the severities of Puritanism, and even the political system depended for its maintenance too much upon one man. Within two years of Cromwell's death the commonwealth collapsed. The army under Monk resuscitated for a brief time the remains of the Long Parliament, restored Charles II, and disbanded itself "without one bloody nose," as Baxter observed at the time. The king and the Church of England came by their own again. But the English monarchy was no longer what it had been, nor the church either. The church, indeed, purified by trial and no longer made oppressive by objectionable tribunals, was in some sense stronger than before; but it had ceased to be a religion to which all must conform. After one great effort at comprehension it was obliged to let seceders go their ways. As for monarchy, it was impossible that it could rest secure after such convulsions as the country had passed through. But the new king's experience had taught him to understand men thoroughly, and he knew how to keep his seat. His father's fate was a warning against being too much in earnest, and no king was more cautious to avoid the least appearance of personal interference in affairs of state. Inglorious as his reign was and profligate as was his life, we cannot wonder at such results from the lessons of the past.

His brother, James II, took a more serious view of things, and by his extraordinary indiscretions played into the hands of enemies who had long caballed against him. A new revolution was only the natural consequence. Its strength, of course, lay in opposition to a king who not only was an avowed convert to Rome, but who seemed utterly heedless of the danger of straining the prerogative as his father had done before him.



CHAPTER I

THE REIGN OF HENRY VII

[1485–1509 A.D.]

> NEVER was king so thoroughly disciplined by adversity before he came to the throne as was King Henry VII. Without a father even from his birth, driven abroad in his childhood owing to the attainder of his family, more than once nearly delivered up to his enemies, and owing life and liberty to his own and his friends' astuteness, his ultimate conquest of the crown was scarcely so much a triumph of ambition as the achievement of personal safety. He might, indeed, for anything we know to the contrary, have remained an exile and a refugee to the end of his days, had not the tyranny of Richard III drawn towards him the sympathies of Englishmen in a way they were not drawn towards him during Edward's reign.—JAMES GAIRDNER.[b]

"WE are apt to look on Henry VII as the founder of a dynasty, and on his reign as marking the beginning of a new era," says Freeman.[c] "Both views are true; but they must not be allowed to put out of sight the fact that, till quite the end of his reign, his throne was as insecure as that of any of his predecessors. The civil wars were not yet ended; in foreign lands Henry was looked on as a mere adventurer, who had won the crown by the chances of one battle, and who was likely to lose what he had won by the chances of another. Hence he was, like Edward IV in the same case, specially anxious to establish his position among foreign princes. To obtain, as he did at last, an infanta for his son, even to give his daughter to the king of Scots, were in his view important objects of policy. But those objects were not attained till after he had strengthened his position at home by successfully withstanding more than one enemy."[c]

The long quarrel between the two houses of York and Lancaster had deluged England with blood; by a fortunate concurrence of circumstances, it was given

to Henry of Richmond, an exile and an adventurer, without means and without title, to unite the interests of the "two roses," and to bequeath to posterity the benefit of an undisputed succession. From the field of Bosworth he proceeded to Leicester. Victory had placed the crown on his temples, and the absence of a rival secured to him the present possession of the sovereignty. But a perplexing question occurred: on what title was he to ground his claim? On that of hereditary descent? The right of hereditary descent, even supposing it to be in the family of Lancaster, and not of York, could not be propagated through an illegitimate branch, which to prevent dispute had been originally cut off from the succession by an act of parliament. Should he then depend on his stipulated marriage with the princess Elizabeth? But his pride disdained to owe the sceptre to a wife, the representative of a rival and hated family. That would be to justify the dethronement of Henry VI, to acknowledge himself a king only by courtesy, and to exclude his issue by any succeeding marriage from all claim to the throne. There remained the right of conquest; but, though he might appeal to his late victory as an argument that Heaven approved of his pretensions,[1] he dared not mention the name of conquest, or he would have united his friends with his foes in a common league against him, [because it was taught that a conqueror might dispossess all men of their lands, since they held them of a prince that had been conquered.] The question became the subject of long and anxious deliberation; and it was at last resolved to follow a line of proceeding which, while it settled the crown on the king and his heirs general, should not bring either his right, or that of the princess, into discussion.

The reader has seen that Richard before his fall had named his nephew, John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, to be his successor. Him and his pretensions Henry treated with contempt; but there was another prince, Edward Plantagenet, son of the late duke of Clarence, whom he viewed with peculiar jealousy. Even Richard, when his own son was dead, had at first assigned to him the honours of the heir-apparent; but afterwards, fearing that he might become a dangerous competitor, had confined him in the castle of Sheriff Hutton in Yorkshire. The first act of the new king at Leicester was to transfer the young prince, who had only reached his fifteenth year, from his prison in the north to a place of greater security, the Tower. The public commiserated the lot of the innocent victim, who thus, to satisfy the ambition of others, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment from his childhood; and the spot chosen for his confinement, a spot so lately stained with the blood of princes, was considered an omen of his subsequent destiny. The princess Elizabeth had been his fellow captive at Sheriff Hutton. Richard had sent her there as soon as he heard of the invasion; Henry ordered her to be conducted by several noblemen to the house of her mother in London.

The fall of the usurper excited little regret. No man could pity his death who had pitied the fate of his unoffending nephews. When the conqueror entered the capital, August 28th, 1485, he was received with unequivocal demon-

[1 Many historians have denied the legitimacy of Henry's succession. His grandfather, the Welshman Owen Tudor, had married Catharine, the widow of Henry V. This gave the descendants no royal claim, but Owen's son Edmund Tudor, earl of Richmond, married a descendant of John of Gaunt by his third wife Catharine Swynford. It was said that Richard II legitimised this irregular union only on condition that the issue should make no pretensions to the succession, and in proof a printed patent was shown. But it is now known that the original document in the Rolls of Parliament has no such limitation, and while a duplicate among the Patent Rolls shows it, it is plainly the interpolation of a later hand—probably of the time of Henry IV, who objected to the legitimisation of his half-brothers. Von Ranke,[d] adducing these facts, believes Henry VII's claims fully legal.]

[1485 A.D.]

strations of joy. As he passed through the streets the crowd obstructed his way, that they might behold and greet the deliverer of his country.[1] Before him were borne the ensigns of his triumph, the three standards which had led his small army to victory, and these he devoutly offered on the high altar of St. Paul's. But his coronation was delayed, and the joy of the public was damped, by the sudden spread of a disease which acquired from its predominant symptoms the appellation of the sweating sickness. It generally extinguished life within the course of twenty-four hours; and some idea may be formed of its ravages, when it is known that within eight days it proved fatal to two successive lord mayors and six of the aldermen of London. At the end of the month, whether it were owing to the greater experience of the physicians, or the coldness of the season, its violence began to abate, and on October 30th the new king received the rite of coronation from the hands of the cardinal archbishop of Canterbury.

On that occasion twelve knights bannerets were created, and the king's uncle, the earl of Pembroke, was raised to the dignity of duke of Bedford, the lord Stanley to that of earl of Derby, and Sir Edward Courtenay to that of earl of Devon. At the same time he appointed a body of select archers, amounting to fifty men, to attend on him, under the appellation of "yeomen of the guard." The institution excited surprise; but Henry justified it on the ground that by foreign princes a guard was considered a necessary appendage to the regal dignity.[h]

THE KING AND PARLIAMENT

As a new historical era had commenced with the new dynasty, it will be sufficient in this place to point out the principal circumstances in the polity of England at the accession of Henry VII.

The essential checks upon the royal authority were five in number: 1. The king could levy no sort of new tax on his people, except by the grant of his parliament, consisting as well of bishops and mitred abbots or lords spiritual, and of hereditary peers or temporal lords, who sat and voted promiscuously in the same chamber, as of representatives from the freeholders of each county, and from the burgesses of many towns and less considerable places, forming the lower or commons' house. 2. The previous assent and authority of the same assembly was necessary for every new law, whether of a general or temporary nature. 3. No man could be committed to prison but by a legal warrant specifying his offence; and by an usage nearly tantamount to constitutional right, he must be speedily brought to trial, by means of regular sessions of jail delivery. 4. The fact of guilt or innocence on a criminal charge was determined in a public court, and in the county where the offence was alleged to have occurred, by a jury of twelve men, from whose unanimous verdict no appeal could be made. Civil rights, so far as they depended on matters of fact, were subject to the same decision. 5. The officers and servants of the crown, violating the personal liberty or other right of the subject, might be sued in an action for damages, to be assessed by a jury, or, in some cases, were liable to a criminal process; nor could they plead any warrant or command in their justification, not even the direct order of the king.

[1 Gairdner *b* has pointed out a curious error in all the histories. They state that Richmond entered London "in a close carriage." The error was due to Speed,*e* who, misreading the words of André *f*—*lætanter* (joyfully) as *latenter* (secretly)—hazarded the guess "belike in a horse litter or close chariot," a guess soberly accepted by Bacon *g* and accepted since without question.]

These securities, though it would be easy to prove that they were all recognised in law, differed much in the degree of their effective operation. It may be said of the first, that it was now completely established. After a long contention, the kings of England had desisted for nearly one hundred years from every attempt to impose taxes without consent of parliament; and their recent device of demanding benevolences, or half-compulsory gifts, though very oppressive, and on that account just abolished by an act of the late usurper, Richard, was in effect a recognition of the general principle which it sought to elude rather than transgress.

Soon after the coronation the king met his parliament, November 7th, 1485, and when the commons presented to him their speaker, was careful to inform them that "he had come to the throne by just title of inheritance, and by the sure judgment of God, who had given him the victory over his enemy in the field"; but, lest they should be alarmed by the last words, he added that every man should continue "to enjoy his rights and hereditaments, with the exception of such persons as in the present parliament should be punished for their offences against his royal majesty."

When the commons returned to their own house, an unexpected difficulty arose. A large proportion of the members had been outlawed by the last monarch. Could they sit there in quality of lawgivers? Even the king, who had summoned them together, had been attainted. Was that attainder to continue unrepealed? Henry was displeased with the boldness of these questions; but dissembling his resentment, he consulted the judges, who replied that as far as regarded the king himself, the crown had cleared away all legal corruption of blood; but that the members attainted by course of law must forbear to sit till their attainder had been reversed by equal authority. The advice was followed; all who had been disinherited by Richard were by one act restored to their former rights; and separate bills were passed in favour of the king's mother, the dukes of Bedford, Buckingham, and Somerset, the marquis of Dorset, the earl of Oxford, the lords Beaumont, Wells, Clifford, Hungerford, De Roos, and several others. The whole number of those who profited by this measure amounted to one hundred and seven.[1] The transactions which followed were important and interesting.

In the settlement of the crown by legislative enactment, Henry proceeded with cautious and measured steps. Jealous as he was of the pretended right of the house of Lancaster, he was equally sensible that the claim of the princess Elizabeth would prove the firmest support of his throne. Hence he watched all the proceedings with the most scrupulous solicitude. To weaken her claim would be to undermine his own interest; to confirm it would encourage a suspicion that he was conscious of a defect in his own title. In

[1 The ministers whom Henry most trusted and favoured were not chosen from among the nobility, or even from among the laity. John Morton and Richard Foxe, two clergymen, persons of industry, vigilance, and capacity, were the men to whom he chiefly confided his affairs and secret counsels. They had shared with him all his former dangers and distresses, and he now took care to make them participate in his good fortune. They were both called to the privy council; Morton was restored to the bishopric of Ely, Foxe was created bishop of Exeter. The former soon after, upon the death of Bouchier, was raised to the see of Canterbury; the latter was made privy seal, and successively bishop of Bath and Wells, Durham and Winchester. For Henry, as Lord Bacon observes, loved to employ and advance prelates, because, having rich bishoprics to bestow, it was easy for him to reward their services. And it was his maxim to raise them by slow steps, and make them first pass through the inferior sees. He probably expected that, as they were naturally more dependent on him than the nobility, who during that age enjoyed possessions and jurisdictions dangerous to royal authority, so the prospect of further elevation would render them still more active in his service and more obsequious to his commands.—HUME.]

[1485 A.D.]

his own favour he commanded that all records containing any mention of his attainder should be cancelled and taken off the file; in favour of his Lancastrian predecessors, he annulled the act of Edward IV which had pronounced Henry IV and Henry V usurpers, Henry VI an usurper and traitor, Margaret and Edward, the wife and son of that monarch, traitors, and all the heirs of the body of Henry of Derby incapable of holding or inheriting any estate, dignity, pre-eminence, hereditament, or possession within the realm; and in favour of Elizabeth he repealed the act of the 1st of Richard III, by which that princess had been pronounced a bastard, in common with the rest of her father's children by Elizabeth Grey.

Out of respect for her who was to be queen, neither the title nor the body of the act was read in either house. By advice of the judges it was merely designated by the first words; the original was then ordered to be burned, and all persons possessed of copies were commanded to deliver them to the chancellor before Easter, under the penalty of fine and imprisonment. In the act of settlement itself no mention was made of Elizabeth or her heirs; even Henry's own claim, which he so ostentatiously brought forward in his speech to the commons, "of his just right of inheritance, and the sure judgment of God," was studiously omitted; and it was merely enacted that "the inheritance of the crown should be, rest, remain, and abide in the most royal person of the then sovereign lord, King Henry VII, and the heirs of his body lawfully coming, perpetually with the grace of God so to endure, and in none other."



MANOR HOUSE, BERKSHIRE
(Time of Henry VII)

But this cautious policy, and in particular this silence with respect to the princess, seems to have alarmed not only the partisans of the house of York, but even Henry's own friends, who had trusted that under the union of the Red and White Roses domestic peace would succeed to war and dissension. When the commons presented to the king the usual grant of tonnage and poundage for life, they coupled with it a petition that he would be pleased to "take to wife and consort the princess Elizabeth, which marriage they hoped God would bless with a progeny of the race of kings"; the lords spiritual and temporal, rising from their seats and bowing to the throne, signified their concurrence; and Henry graciously answered that he was willing to comply with their request.[h]

Henry in reason ought to have been satisfied with the declaration which effaced all former blemishes and deficiencies, and made him a good and lawful king from the time he assumed the crown, which was on the field of battle; but he resolved to be a king even before that time, in order to punish men for

treason which had never been committed, unless he could antedate his royal existence. This antedating involved some very curious points if he claimed the crown by right of his descent from the house of Lancaster, he might have been expected to date from his boyhood or from the murder of Henry VI; if people looked to the rights he would derive from his marriage with the princess Elizabeth of the house of York, though they could not help knowing that this marriage had not even yet been celebrated, they might have allowed him the latitude of dating from the murder of Elizabeth's brothers in the Tower, but Henry took a very different course, and with characteristic nicety, as if so small a theft from time were no theft at all, he only antedated by a single day, making his reign begin on the 21st of August, the eve of the battle of Bosworth, when the crown was on the head of Richard, and he, Henry, was nothing but earl of Richmond.

In this manner the marches and counter-marches, and all the long preparations of the friends of Richard to meet the invader were overlooked, and they were accused of nothing treasonable before that day. In the preamble of the bill which he caused to be introduced in parliament, after a recital of the unnatural, mischievous, and great perjuries, treasons, homicides, and murders "in shedding of infants' blood," with many other wrongs, odious offences, and abominations against God and man, committed by Richard, late duke of Gloucester, it was shown how Norfolk, Surrey, Lovell, Zouch, Ratcliffe, Catesby, and others had, "on the 21st day of August, the first year of the reign of our sovereign lord, assembled to them at Leicester, in the county of Leicester, a great host, traitorously intending, imagining, and conspiring the destruction of the king's royal person, our sovereign liege lord," etc.

The absurdity of this antedating by a day was too manifest to escape observation, and the whole tendency was startling. It was asked how Richard, and Norfolk, and Surrey, and the other adherents of the late king, could have committed treason against Henry, then only earl of Richmond, and at a time when he had never publicly laid claim to the crown.

All constitutional and legal objections were, however, overruled, and, in spite of a faint opposition within doors and a louder outcry without, the subservient parliament passed the bill as required, and attainted the late king, the duke of Norfolk, his son the earl of Surrey, Lord Lovell, Lord Ferrers, and twenty-five other noblemen and gentlemen. Henry thus obtained what he much wanted—an immediate supply of money; some of the confiscated estates, the largest and finest in the kingdom, he kept to himself, and others he distributed among his needy followers. Of the thirty persons thus attainted, some had fallen with Richard and the duke of Norfolk at Bosworth; some, like Lord Lovell, had taken sanctuary, and some had fled beyond sea. The new king was only fond of executions on great state occasions, and the only blood which was shed at this revolution was that of Richard's confidential adviser, Catesby, and of two persons named Brecher, who were put to death immediately after the battle.[k]

The act of resumption which followed was less invidious, and equally politic. Treading in the footsteps of former monarchs, the king revoked all grants made by the crown since the 34th of Henry VI, and as the grantees were chiefly the partisans of the house of York, they were all placed at the mercy of the king, who, according to his judgment or caprice, had it in his power to take from them, or to confirm to them, the possession of their property. Before he dissolved the parliament he granted a general pardon to the adherents of Richard; but that he might monopolise the whole merit of the measure, he would not allow it to originate at the intercession, or to be issued with the concurrence, of the two houses.

THE MARRIAGE OF THE ROSES, 1486.

During the recess after Christmas he married Elizabeth, January 18, 1486. It was believed that the delay arose from a desire to prevent her name from being inserted in the act of settlement. When that point had been obtained, he hastened to gratify the wishes of his people and parliament. If the ambition of the princess was flattered by this union, we are told that she had little reason to congratulate herself on the score of domestic happiness; that Henry treated her with harshness and with neglect; and that in his estimation neither the beauty of her person nor the sweetness of her disposition could atone for the deadly crime of being a descendant of the house of York.[1]



WICKHAM COURT, KENT
(Time of Henry VII)

As the king and queen were relatives, a dispensation had been granted previously to the marriage by the bishop of Imola, the legate of Innocent VIII. But Henry applied for another to the pontiff himself, avowedly for the purpose of removing every doubt respecting the validity of the marriage, but in reality that by introducing into it the meaning which he affixed to the act of settlement, that meaning might have the sanction of the papal authority. The pontiff, therefore, at the prayer of the king, and to preserve the tranquillity of the realm, confirms the dispensation which has already been granted, and the act of settlement passed by the parliament; and concludes by excommunicating all those who may hereafter attempt to disturb him or his posterity in the possession of their rights. The existence of this extraordinary instrument betrays the king's uneasiness with respect to the insufficiency of his own claim.[h]

LORD BACON'S ACCOUNT OF THE ROYAL PROGRESS

Towards the middle of the spring the king, full of confidence and assurance, as a prince that had been victorious in battle, and had prevailed with his parliament in all that he desired, and had the ring of acclamations fresh in his ears, thought the rest of his reign should be but play and the enjoying of a kingdom. Yet, as a wise and watchful king, he would not neglect anything for his safety, thinking nevertheless to perform all things now rather as an exercise than as a labour. So he being truly informed that the northern

[1 Gairdner[b] believes that these charges are overdrawn; and we shall see later that on the death of their son a relation of much tenderness plainly subsisted between them.]

parts were not only affectionate to the house of York, but particularly had been devoted to King Richard III, thought it would be a summer well spent to visit those parts, and by his presence and application of himself to reclaim and rectify those humours. But the king, in his account of peace and calms, did much overcast his fortunes; which proved for many years together full of broken seas, tides, and tempests. For he was no sooner come to Lincoln, where he kept his Easter, but he received news that the lord Lovell, Humphrey Stafford, and Thomas Stafford, who had formerly taken sanctuary at Colchester, were departed out of sanctuary, but to what place no man could tell. Which advertisement the king despised, and continued his journey to York.

At York there came fresh and more certain advertisement that the lord Lovell was at hand with a great power of men, and that the Staffords were in arms in Worcestershire, and had made their approaches to the city of Worcester to assail it. The king, as a prince of great and profound judgment, was not much moved with it; for that he thought it was but a rag or remnant of Bosworth Field, and had nothing in it of the main party of the house of York. But he was more doubtful of the raising of forces to resist the rebels, than of the resistance itself; for that he was in a core of people whose affections he suspected. But the action enduring no delay, he did speedily levy and send against the lord Lovell to the number of three thousand men, ill armed but well assured (being taken few out of his own train, and the rest out of the tenants and followers of such as were safe to be trusted), under the conduct of the duke of Bedford. And as his manner was to send his pardons rather before the sword than after, he gave commission to the duke to proclaim pardon to all that would come in; which the duke, upon his approach to the lord Lovell's camp, did perform.

And it fell out as the king expected; the heralds were the great ordnance. For the lord Lovell, upon his proclamation of pardon, mistrusting his men, fled into Lancashire, and lurking for a time with Sir Thomas Broughton, after sailed over into Flanders to the lady Margaret. And his men, forsaken of their captain, did presently submit themselves to the duke. The Staffords likewise, and their forces, hearing what had happened to the lord Lovell (in whose success their chief trust was), despaired and dispersed; the two brothers taking sanctuary at Colnham, a village near Abingdon; which place, upon view of their privilege in the king's bench, being judged no sufficient sanctuary for traitors, Humphrey was executed at Tyburn; and Thomas, as being led by his elder brother, was pardoned. So this rebellion proved but a blast, and the king by his journey purged a little the dregs and leaven of the northern people, that were before in no good affection towards him.*g*

RELATIONS WITH SCOTLAND

The king made his entry into York with royal magnificence.[1] He spent three weeks in that city, dispensing favours, conferring honours, and redressing grievances; a conduct, the policy of which was proved by the loyalty of the country during the invasion of the following year. Thence he returned to London, to receive a numerous and splendid embassy sent by James, king of Scotland. Fortunately, James had long cherished a strong partiality for the English; a partiality so marked, that it formed the principal of the charges alleged against him by the rebels, who afterwards deprived him of life. As

[1] The people, according to Leland,*l* cried, "King Henry! King Henry! our Lord preserve that sweet and well-savoured face."

[1486 A.D.]

the former truce between the two crowns was supposed to have expired at the death of Richard, both kings readily consented to its renewal, and a matrimonial alliance between the royal families of England and Scotland.

It might have been expected that the king would take his queen with him during his progress, to gratify the partisans of the house of York; it was supposed that he refused through his jealousy of her influence, and his unwillingness to seem indebted to her for his crown. She kept her court at Winchester, and in her eighth month (September 20th, 1486) was safely delivered of a son, whose birth gave equal joy to the king and the nation. He was christened with extraordinary parade in the cathedral, and at the font received the name of Arthur, in memory of the celebrated king of the Britons, from whom Henry wished it to be thought that he was himself descended.

THE REBELLION OF LAMBERT SIMNEL, THE IMPOSTOR

Hitherto the king's enemies had given him little uneasiness; but the birth of his son, which threatened to perpetuate the crown in his family, urged them to one of the most extraordinary attempts recorded in history. First a report was spread that the young earl of Warwick had perished in the Tower; soon afterwards one Richard Simon, a priest of Oxford, entirely unknown in Ireland, landed at Dublin with a boy about fifteen years of age, presented his ward to the earl of Kildare, the lord deputy, under the name of Edward Plantagenet, the very earl so lately reported to have been murdered; and implored the protection of that nobleman for a young and innocent prince, who, by escaping from the Tower, had avoided the fate similar to that of his unfortunate cousins, the sons of Edward IV.

The boy—he was the son of Thomas Simnel, a joiner at Oxford—had been well instructed in the part which he had to perform. His person was handsome; his address had something in it which seemed to bespeak nobility of descent; and he could relate with apparent accuracy his adventures at Sheriff Hutton, in the Tower, and during his escape. But why he should be seduced to personate a prince who was still living, and who might any day be confronted with him, is a mystery difficult to unravel. Of the reasons which have been assigned, the least improbable is that which supposes that the framers of the plot designed, if it succeeded, to place the real Warwick on the throne; but that, sensible how much they should endanger his life if they were to proclaim him while he was in the Tower, they set up a counterfeit Warwick, and by this contrivance made it the interest of Henry to preserve the true one.

The Butlers, the bishops of Cashel, Tuam, Clogher, and Ossory, and the citizens of Waterford, remained steady in their allegiance; the rest of the population, relying on the acquiescence or authority of Kildare, admitted the title of the new Plantagenet, without doubt or investigation; and the adventurer was proclaimed by the style of Edward VI, king of England and France, and lord of Ireland.

When the intelligence reached Henry he was alarmed, not so much at what had happened, as from his ignorance of what might follow. He assembled a great council of peers and prelates, and by their advice consented to do what he ought to have done long before. The pardon which he had issued in favour of his opponents had been not only clogged with restrictions, but frequently violated. He now published a pardon which was full, without exceptions, and extended to every species of treason. He conducted the real earl of Warwick from the Tower to St. Paul's, that he might be publicly

recognised by the citizens; and took him with him to the palace of Sheen, where the young prince conversed daily with the noblemen and others who visited the court. This prudent measure satisfied the people of England. They laughed at the imposture in Ireland, while the Irish maintained that theirs was the real, and that the boy at Sheen was the pretended Plantagenet.

But the next measure created surprise. The reader has witnessed the honourable manner in which the queen dowager lived at court. Suddenly, if we may believe several writers, she was arrested, despoiled of her goods, and committed to the custody of the monks of Bermondsey. The reason assigned for this harsh treatment was, that after having, in the last reign, promised her daughter to Henry, she had delivered her into the hands of the usurper. But the pretext was too improbable to obtain credit. It was suspected that she had been concerned in the present plot. Yet where could be her inducement? If Henry were dethroned, her daughter must share the fate of her husband. If the real or pretended Warwick should obtain the crown, all her children would of course be disinherited. At every step of this affair we meet with new mysteries.[1]

It will be recollected that the earl of Lincoln had been treated by Richard as heir-apparent. Though he viewed the new king as an usurper, he had carefully suppressed his feelings, and had been summoned to the last council as one in whom Henry placed confidence. Yet the moment it was dissolved he repaired to the court of his aunt, Margaret,[2] duchess of Burgundy, consulted with her and Lord Lovell, and receiving an aid of two thousand veterans under Martin Swart, an experienced officer, sailed to Ireland and landed at Dublin, March 19th, 1487. His arrival gave new importance to the cause of the counterfeit Warwick. Though Lincoln had frequently conversed with the real prince at Sheen, he advised that the impostor should be crowned.

The ceremony of his coronation was performed by the bishop of Meath, May 24th, 1487, with a diadem taken from the statue of the Virgin Mary; and the new king was carried, after the Irish manner, from the church to the castle, on the shoulders of an English chieftain of the name of Darcy. Writs were even issued in his name; a parliament was convoked; and legal penalties were enacted against his principal opponents, Thomas and William Butler, and the citizens of Waterford. But what could be Lincoln's object in contributing to this farce? Even the real earl of Warwick could not be heir to the crown as long as any of the posterity of Edward IV were alive. If it be said that they had been declared illegitimate, so had Clarence, the father of Warwick, been attainted. In that case Lincoln himself had a better claim than the prince in whose right he pretended to draw the sword.

When Henry first heard of the departure of Lincoln, he made a progress through the counties of Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, in which the earl possessed considerable interest; and thence proceeded through Northampton and Coventry to his castle of Kenilworth, which he had appointed for the residence of his queen and his mother. There intelligence was received that Lincoln, with his German auxiliaries and a body of Irish associates, had landed at the pile of Foudray, in the southern extremity of Furness, and was actually on his march through the county of York. The king soon found himself sur-

[1 Gairdner[b] thinks that, while she could hardly have been implicated in the plot, her unsteady and indiscreet behaviour might have served the enemy better than active support.]

[2 The widow of Charles the Bold and sister of Edward IV, therefore eager for the restoration of the house of York and active in stirring up plots against Henry; she was called "Henry's Juno." See also the history of the Netherlands, vol. xiii.]

[1487 A.D.]

rounded by his friends with their retainers, and orders were published by his authority for "the goode rule of his hooste." To steal, rob, or ravish; to take provisions without paying the price affixed by the clerk of the market; and to arrest or imprison any man on the pretext of delinquency but without special orders, were made crimes punishable with death.

The two armies, as if by mutual compact, hastened towards Newark. It was in vain that the earl, as he advanced, tempted the loyalty of the inhabitants by proclaiming Edward VI the head of the house of York. The real partisans of that family were restrained by their fears or their incredulity; and the few who joined the standard of the adventurer were outlaws or men of desperate fortunes. Disappointed but undismayed, Lincoln resolved to stake his life on the event of a battle, and precipitated his march, that he might find the king unprepared. The royalists had moved from Kenilworth by Coventry, Leicester, and Nottingham; their numbers daily increased. But, what will excite the surprise of the reader, the whole army lost its way between Nottingham and Newark. Five guides were at length procured from the village of Ratcliffe, and soon afterwards the vanguard, under the earl of Oxford, was attacked at Stoke, June 16th, by the insurgents, amounting to eight thousand men.

The action was short but sanguinary. The Germans fought and perished with the resolution of veterans; the adventurers from Ireland displayed their characteristic bravery, but with their darts and skeans (for the English settlers had adopted the arms of the natives) they were no match for the heavy cavalry; and though a portion only of the royalists was engaged, the victory was won with the slaughter of one-half of their opponents. Of the leaders, the insurgents, the earl of Lincoln, the lords Thomas and Maurice Fitz-Gerald, Sir Thomas Broughton, and Martin Swart, remained on the field of battle; Lord Lovell was seen to escape from his pursuers; but whether he perished in crossing the Trent, or contrived to secrete himself from the notice of his friends and foes, is uncertain. He was never seen or heard of after that day.[1] Simon and his pupil surrendered to Robert Bellingham, one of the king's esquires. The priest was made to confess the imposture before the convocation, and then thrown into a prison, in which he perished. But the pretended Edward VI obtained his pardon, resumed his real name of Lambert Simnel, was made a scullion in the royal kitchen, and afterwards, in reward of his good conduct, was raised to the more honourable office of falconer.

From this insurrection the king learned an important lesson, that it was not his interest to wound the feelings of those whose principles had attached them to the house of York. His behaviour to the queen had created great discontent. Why, it was asked, was she not crowned? Why was she, the rightful heir to the crown, refused the usual honours of royalty? Other kings had been eager to crown their consorts; but Elizabeth had now been married a year and a half; she had borne the king a son to succeed to the throne; and yet she was kept in obscurity, as if she were unworthy of her station. Henry resolved to silence these murmurs, and from Warwick issued the requisite orders for her coronation. The ceremony was performed during the session

[1] On account of his disappearance several writers have supposed that he perished in the battle. But the journal of the herald who was present evidently proves that he escaped. Towards the close of the seventeenth century, at his seat at Minster Lovell, in Oxfordshire, was accidentally discovered a chamber under the ground in which was the skeleton of a man seated in a chair, with his head reclining on a table. Hence it is supposed that the fugitive had found an asylum in this subterraneous chamber, where he was perhaps starved to death through neglect.

of parliament, November 25th, 1487; an ample provision was made for her maintenance; and from that period Elizabeth was brought forward on all occasions of parade, and seemed to enjoy the same consideration as former queens.[1]

THE INSTITUTION OF THE STAR CHAMBER, 1487

The first care of the parliament was to supply the wants of the conqueror by a grant of money, and a bil. of attainder, which included almost every man of property engaged in the late insurrection. Next the king required their aid to put down the dangerous and unlawful practice of "maintenance." The reader will recollect that by "maintenance" was understood an association of individuals under a chief, whose livery they wore, and to whom they bound themselves by oaths and promises, for the purpose of maintaining by force the private quarrels of the chief and the members. Hence the course of justice was obstructed, jurors were intimidated, and offenders escaped with impunity. Hence also (and this it was that chiefly provoked the hostility of the king) powerful noblemen were furnished with the means of raising forces at a short warning to oppose the reigning prince, or to assist a new claimant.

In the preceding parliament an oath had been required from the lords, and was ordered to be taken by the commons in each county, that they would not keep in their service men openly cursed, or murderers, or felons, or outlaws; that they would not retain persons by indentures, or give liveries contrary to law; and that they would not make riots or maintenances, nor oppose the due execution of the king's writs. In the present it was enacted that the chancellor, treasurer, and keeper of the privy seal, or two of them, with one bishop, one temporal peer, and the chief judges of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, should have authority to call before them persons accused of having offended in any of these points, and to punish the guilty, as if they had been convicted by the ordinary course of justice.

It appears from the acts of the council that in cases of breach of the peace committed, or of combinations likely to lead to such breach, formed by persons whose rank and power screened them from the ordinary pursuit of justice, it had been the custom for the king to call such individuals before the council, where contending parties were reconciled, the guilty punished, and the suspected compelled to give security for their good behaviour. This, which might be called the criminal jurisdiction of the council, was transferred to the new court now erected; which, however useful it may have proved at its origin, was gradually converted into an engine of intolerable oppression. Other privy counsellors besides those named in the act, even peers not privy counsellors, were called in to sit as judges; the limits of their jurisdiction, as fixed by statute, were extended till they included libels, misdemeanours,

[1] On the Friday before the coronation fourteen gentlemen were created knights of the Bath. On the Saturday the queen went in procession from the Tower to Westminster. She was dressed, according to Leland, in white cloth of gold of damask, with a mantle of the same furred with ermine. "Her faire yelow hair hung downe pleyne byhynd her bak, with a calle of pipes over it." On her head was a circle of gold ornamented with precious stones. In this dress she was borne through the city reclining in a litter, with a canopy of cloth of gold carried over her by four knights of the body. Several carriages, and four baronesses on gray palfreys followed. On the Sunday she was crowned, and afterwards dined in the hall. "The lady Catharine Grey and Mistress Ditton went under the table, and sate at her feet, while the countesses of Oxford and Rivers knelt on each side, and at certeyne tymys helde a kerchief byfor her grace." The king viewed both the coronation and the dinner from behind a lattice.

and contempts; and the power of pronouncing that judgment on delinquents to which they would have been liable if they had been convicted "after the due course of law," grew in practice into a power of punishing at discretion, and with a severity which provoked the curses and hatred of all classes of men. This court was called the court of the Star Chamber, from the accidental decorations of the room in which it usually sat.

Henry was careful to cultivate the friendship which subsisted between him and the king of Scots. To cement it the more firmly, Foxe, bishop of Durham, had been sent during the summer to Edinburgh; and a mutual agreement had been made that James, who had lost his consort, the daughter of the king of Denmark, should marry Elizabeth, the queen dowager of England, and that his two sons should also marry two of her daughters. Days were even appointed for the meeting of ambassadors to fix the marriage settlements; but the project was interrupted by the rebellion of the Scottish lords, and finally defeated by the death of James, who, after losing the battle of Canglor, in June, 1488, was murdered at Beaton Mill during his flight. Though Henry grieved for the death of his friend, he was anxious to maintain the relations of amity with his successor, and therefore, as the truce might be said to have terminated at the death of James, he ratified it anew in the following month. Thus was peace continued between the two crowns for the space of eleven years—an unusual duration, preparative of that harmony which, after centuries of rapine and bloodshed, was at last happily established.[h]

WAR WITH FRANCE

The period had arrived when the foreign policy of England was to assume a very different character from that of the feudal times. It was no longer a question whether provinces of France should belong to the English crown, and costly wars be undertaken that English nobles should be lords in Normandy and Poitou. But England could not separate herself from the affairs of the Continent; and her internal administration had still an almost inevitable relation to foreign alliances and foreign quarrels. The principal European monarchies having become, to a great extent, consolidated, the policy of each government was conducted upon a broader scale than that of disturbing a nation by stimulating a revolt of petty princes against their suzerain. The contests for dominion were now to be between kingdom and kingdom.

The schemes of rival princes for accessions of territory, or preponderance of influence through intermarriages, were to raise up political combinations amongst other states, whose sovereigns, armed with the powers of war and peace, would carry on their diplomacy, chiefly according to their own personal views of what was necessary for aggrandisement or security. In England, where the ambition of the monarch was limited by the power of parliament to give or withhold supplies, the disposition to rush into distant quarrels was in some degree regulated and restrained. King Henry pursued a cautious and almost timid policy in his foreign relations. It was fortunate for the material progress of the country that, in the complicated questions of European supremacy which were arising, he followed the direction of his own subtlety, rather than the promptings of the national spirit. He taxed his people for the ostentation of war, and then put their subsidies into his own purse.

Henry VII had the strongest obligations of gratitude to the duke of Brittany, who had sheltered him in his period of exile and poverty. The duke

Francis was advanced in years. Charles VIII of France was in the flush of youth, with a sort of rash chivalrous spirit, which was mixed up with the same love of secret policies as belonged to his intriguing father. During the period of his tutelage under a regency, a quarrel had arisen between the governments of Brittany and France, and war was declared against Brittany. That country was distracted by rival parties, the chief object of contention being who should marry Anne, the rich heiress of Francis, and thus be ruler of the duchy after his death. There were several candidates for this prize. The French government thought it a favourable time to enter upon a war, for the real purpose of preventing the marriage of the Breton heiress to either of her suitors, and for the annexation of Brittany to France.

Henry VII was appealed to for assistance by both parties in the contest. The sympathies of England went with the weaker state in this struggle. Henry would declare for neither, but offered himself as a mediator. Charles VIII carried war into Brittany, and besieged the duke in his capital of Rennes. Henry, meanwhile, had been employed in his natural vocation of statecraft, promising assistance to the friend of his adversity, but never rendering it; asking his parliament for means to resist the dangerous aggrandisement of France; and, having obtained a grant of two-fifteenths, concluding an armistice with Charles. By the end of 1488, when Francis of Brittany had died, his country was overrun by the French.

Henry was now compelled to do something. He promised an English army to the orphan princess Anne, and at the same time he contrived to let Charles understand that if the English people compelled him into war, his troops should act only on the defensive. At the beginning of 1489 he again went to parliament, and demanded an aid of a hundred thousand pounds. Seventy-five thousand were granted to him. He raised a force of six thousand archers and sent them to Brittany, according to his engagement with Anne that this force should serve in her cause for six months. The French king knew precisely what this meant; avoided any engagement with the English, who as carefully kept out of his way; and at the end of six months the little army returned home.

Meanwhile the crafty king learned that it was somewhat unsafe to play these tricks of cunning with the English people; for a violent insurrection had broken out in the northern counties, to resist the payment of the tax raised for this mockery of war. "This, no doubt," says Bacon,[9] "proceeded not simply of any present necessity, but much by reason of the old humour of these countries, where the memory of King Richard was so strong that it lay like lees in the bottom of men's hearts, and if the vessel was but stirred it would come up." Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, who had betrayed Richard on Bosworth Field, enforced the payment of the subsidy. "A harsh business was fallen into the hands of a harsh man," and the revolted people murdered him. As a general movement, the insurrection was soon suppressed by the earl of Surrey. The tax had not yielded what was expected, and in 1490, the king again went to parliament for further aid to carry on the pretended war.

He was again at his favourite work of diplomacy; entering into alliances with Ferdinand of Spain, and Maximilian, king of the Romans, for the alleged purpose of restraining the growing power of France, but each having a private and special object. Maximilian wanted the princess Anne and the duchy of Brittany; Ferdinand aimed at the restitution of Rousillon; all that Henry sought was to get money wherever he could, either as a bribe from France or as a repayment of expenses from Anne. Maximilian was the most open of

these royal schemers. He gave manful assistance to the oppressed Bretons, and the princess entered into a contract of marriage with him. Charles of France now put forward his pretensions to the hand of the lady. The contract was void, he said, because Brittany was a fief of France, and the lord could control the marriage of an heiress who was his vassal. This argument was supported by the emphatic presence of a French army; and the princess, who resisted till resistance was no longer possible, was forced into a marriage which she hated, and into the conclusion of a treaty which placed the province, so long independent, under the French dominion.

Whilst these events were ripening, Henry had been employing the pretence of war as a reason for extorting money under the system of "benevolences," which had been annulled by the parliament of Richard. In October, 1491, he proclaimed his intention of punishing the French king. He again obtained a large grant from his faithful lords and commons, and procured several laws to be passed which gave encouragement to the prosecution of a war which had become a national object. But, having got the money and encouraged many knights and nobles in raising men, he still delayed any active measures of apparent hostility through the spring, summer, and autumn of 1492.

At length, in October, he landed at Calais with a well-appointed army, and invested Boulogne with twenty-five thousand infantry and sixteen hundred cavalry. The old military spirit of England was again predominant. But, for three months previous to this costly parade, the wily king had been negotiating a peace with Charles of France, and it appears in the highest degree probable that the treaty was actually signed when the English forces landed. Henry called a council within a week after his landing, and laid before them a rough draft of a treaty [the treaty of Étaples] offered by France, which his subservient ministers advised him to sign. This was a public instrument, by which peace was concluded between the two crowns. There was another document, a private one, by which Charles was to pay a hundred and forty-nine thousand pounds[1] to the money-making king of England. The advisers of Henry were handsomely bribed, as well as their master. The half-ruined chiefs of the expedition had no course but that of venting useless execrations on their dissembling and rapacious sovereign, who, Bacon *g* says, "did but traffic in that war to make his return in money."

Henry, however, had a motive for pacification, which was even more imperative than his avarice. Charles of France had a guest at his court, who, if the king of England were really to become an enemy in earnest, might be let loose to work more damage to the house of Tudor than any failure in open warfare. One who called himself Richard, duke of York, was in France acknowledged as the rightful heir to the English throne, and surrounded with a guard of honour and other demonstrations of confidence and respect. When Henry had concluded the pacification, the French king commanded this Richard to leave his dominions. The peace was welcome to both kings, says Bacon, "to Henry, for that it filled his coffers, and that he foresaw, at that time, a storm of inward troubles coming upon him, which presently after broke

[1 Gairdner *b* gives the sum as 620,000 crowns due from Anne for Henry's services plus two years' arrears of the pension due Edward IV from Louis XI—a total of 750,000 crowns, which Gairdner estimates as being equivalent to the present purchasing power of between three and four million pounds sterling. Gairdner gives Henry high praise for maintaining peace in spite of his subjects, for postponing war as long as possible, and, when first dragged into it and then deserted by his allies, for securing single-handed the highest tribute ever drawn from France by an English king. The result, however, was undoubtedly ill understood by his discontented people.]

forth." These "inward troubles" form the subject of one of the most curious and controverted passages of English history—the story commonly known as that of Perkin Warbeck.[m]

THE IMPOSTURE OF PERKIN WARBECK

About the time when Henry published his intention of making war against France a merchant vessel from Lisbon cast anchor in the cove of Cork. Among the passengers was a youth, whom no person knew, about twenty years of age, of handsome features and courtly deportment.[1] It was soon rumoured that he was Richard, duke of York, the second son of Edward IV; but how his birth was ascertained, or in what manner he accounted for his escape from the Tower when Edward V was murdered, or where he had lived during the last seven years, though questions which must have been asked, are secrets which have never been explained. To such inquiries, however, he gave answers which satisfied the credulity of his friends; and as the English settlers were warmly attached to the house of York, O'Water, the late mayor of Cork, easily induced the citizens to declare in his favour. An attempt was even made to secure the assistance of the earl of Kildare, and of his kinsman the earl of Desmond, formerly the great supporters of the White Rose. The latter declared in favour of Perkin; the former, who had lately been disgraced by Henry, returned an ambiguous but courteous answer.

The adventurer had yet no apparent reason to be displeased with his reception, when he suddenly accepted an invitation from the ministers of Charles VIII to visit France, and place himself under the protection of that monarch. He was received by the king as the real duke of York, and the rightful heir to the English throne. For his greater security a guard of honour was allotted to him under the command of the lord of Concressault; and the English exiles and outlaws, to the number of one hundred, offered him their services by their agent, Sir George Nevil. Henry was perplexed and alarmed.[2] He hastened to sign the peace with the French monarch, and Charles instantly ordered the adventurer to quit his dominions. This order betrays the real object of the countenance which had been given to his pretensions; perhaps it may explain why he made his appearance at that particular period. Leaving France, he solicited the protection of Margaret, the dowager duchess of Burgundy, who received him with joy, appointed him a guard of thirty halberdiers, and gave him the surname of "The White Rose of England." Her conduct revived the alarm of the king and the hopes of his enemies.[3] Could the aunt, it was asked, be deceived as to the identity of her nephew? Or would so virtuous a princess countenance an impostor?

Henry spared neither pains nor expense to unravel the mystery. His agents were distributed through the towns and villages of Flanders, and valuable rewards were offered for the slightest information. The Yorkists were equally active. Their secret agent, Sir Robert Clifford, was permitted to see "the White Rose," and to hear from the pretender and his aunt the history

[1] Bacon[g] has described him as of fine countenance and shape; "but more than that, he had such a crafty and bewitching fashion, both to move pity and to induce belief, as was like a kind of fascination or enchantment to those that saw him or heard him."

[2] Says Bacon, "The news came blazing and thundering over into England that the duke of York was sure alive."]

[3] It was claimed that it was she who taught him the intimate details of royal life by which he convinced many of his story. But Gairdner[b] points out that he played the part well before he visited her.]

[1493-1494 A.D.]

of his adventures. He assured his employers in England that the claim of the new duke of York was indisputable; while the royal emissaries reported that his real name was Perkin Warbeck; that he was born of respectable parents in the city of Tournay; that he had frequented the company of the English merchants in Flanders, and had some time before sailed from Middelburg to Lisbon in the service of Lady Brompton, the wife of one of the outlaws. With this clue Henry was satisfied, and July 13th, 1493, despatched Sir Edward Poynings and Dr. Warham as his ambassadors to the archduke Philip, the sovereign of Burgundy, to demand the surrender, or, if that could not be obtained, the expulsion of Warbeck. An answer was ultimately returned that Philip, through friendship for the king, would abstain from affording aid to his enemy, but that he could not control the duchess, who was absolute mistress within the lands of her dower. Henry, to manifest his displeasure, withdrew the mart of English cloth from Antwerp to Calais, and strictly prohibited all intercourse between the two countries.

Clifford, and Barley his associate, had gone to Flanders, as the envoys of the Yorkists; others, spies in the pay of Henry, repaired to Brussels under the pretence of testifying their attachment to the new duke of York. These, the moment they had wormed themselves into the confidence of the adventurer, betrayed to the king all his secrets, with the names of his partisans. The consequence was, that on the same day the lord Fitzwater, Sir Simon Mountford, Sir Thomas Thwaites, Robert Ratcliffe, William Daubeney, Thomas Cressemer, Thomas Atwood, and several clergymen, were apprehended on the charge of high treason. Their correspondence with the friends of the pretender in Flanders was considered a sufficient proof of their guilt, and all received judgment of death. Mountford, Thwaites, and Ratcliffe suffered immediately; Lord Fitzwater was imprisoned at Calais, where three years later he forfeited his life by an unsuccessful attempt to escape. The rest were pardoned; but this act of vigour astonished and dismayed the unknown friends of the adventurer, many of whom, conscious of their guilt, and sensible that their associates had been betrayed, fled for security to the different sanctuaries.

There remained, however, one who, while he flattered himself that he possessed a high place in the royal favour, had been secretly marked out for destruction. After the festivities of Christmas, Henry repaired with his court to the Tower. Clifford, whose fidelity had been corrupted by promises and presents, arrived from Flanders, was introduced to the king in council, and on his knees obtained a full pardon. Being exhorted to prove his repentance by discovering what he knew of the conspiracy, he accused the lord chamberlain, Sir William Stanley. The king refused to give credit to the charge. To Sir William he was indebted both for his crown and his life. At the battle of Bosworth, when he was on the point of sinking under the pressure of the enemy, that nobleman had rescued him from danger, and had secured to him the victory. But Clifford repeated the accusation with greater boldness, and the prisoner confessed the truth of the charge: on that confession he was arraigned and condemned at Westminster; and after a decent interval suffered the punishment of decapitation.

His death gave rise to contradictory reports. By some it was said that he had supplied the pretender with money; by others, according to Polydore Vergil,[n] that when he was solicited to declare for him, he had replied: "Were I sure that he was the son of Edward, I would never fight against him."[1] This

[1] André *f* says that he had not only sent money to the pretender, but *illum tutari et in regnum adducere promiserat*. The indictment charges him with having consented to the mis-

at least is probable, that unless he had been really entangled in the conspiracy, Henry would never have proceeded to the execution of a nobleman to whom he was under so many obligations; but the general opinion of the king's avarice provoked a suspicion that the enormous wealth of the prisoner was the chief obstacle to his pardon. By his death, plate and money to the value of forty thousand pounds, with lands to the amount of three thousand pounds a year, devolved to the crown. A reward of five hundred pounds had already been given to Clifford; but he was never afterwards trusted by Henry.

Three years had now elapsed since the pretender first set forth his claim; and yet, during that long interval, he had never made any attempt to establish it by legal proof, or to enforce it by an appeal to the sword. This protracted delay, the accounts which had been published of his country and parentage, the punishment of his friends in England, and the pacification of Ireland, made his cause appear desperate; and both the Flemish, whose commerce had been suspended on his account, and the archduke, whose treasury suffered from the deficiency of the customs, began to complain of the countenance which he had hitherto received from the duchess Margaret. In this emergency he sailed from the coast of Flanders with a few hundreds of adventurers attached to his fortunes, and, while Henry was on a visit to his mother at Latham, in Lancashire, made a descent, July 3rd, 1495, in the neighbourhood of Deal.

But the inhabitants, either believing him an impostor, or urged by the fear of incurring the royal displeasure, attacked the invaders, made one hundred and sixty-nine prisoners, and drove the remainder into their boats. All the captives were hanged by the order of Henry, some in London, and others in different parts of the coast. Warbeck, despairing of success in England, sailed to Ireland, and with the aid of the earl of Desmond laid siege to Waterford. Sir Edward Poynings was lord deputy for Henry, duke of York, the king's second son, only four years of age. He immediately raised the royal standard, hastened to Waterford, July 23rd, and compelled Perkin to flee with the loss of three of his ships. This second failure extinguished the hopes of the adventurer; it was some consolation to him that he had still the good fortune to regain his former asylum.

PARLIAMENTS IN ENGLAND AND IRELAND, 1495

Henry now thought it expedient to summon parliaments both in Ireland and England. In the Irish parliament statutes were enacted to free the lower classes of inhabitants from the grievous impositions of coyne and livery; to break the power of the great lords by the prohibition of maintenance; to preserve the English ascendancy within the pale by the revival of the statutes of Kilkenny[1] and to provide for the good government of the English domain by giving to all statutes "lately made in England, and belonging to the public weal of the same," the force of law in Ireland. As the people had been harassed by frequent parliaments, in which ordinances were repeatedly made for the sole profit of the chief governor, or of the party which he espoused, it was enacted that for the future no parliament should be holden till the king had been informed by the lieutenant and council of the necessity of the same,

sion of Clifford, and promised to receive and aid such persons as Clifford should send to him with a private sign.

[1] That forbidding the use of the Irish language was excepted; a proof that the English settlers had by this time generally adopted it.

and of the acts intended to be passed in it, and had previously given his license and approbation under the great seal. In these provisions the deputy appears to have had no other object than the welfare of the state; but he was thought to have been swayed by private considerations in the act of attainder which he procured against the earl of Kildare, his family, and adherents. Henry, however, whose object it was to strengthen his interest in the sister island, accepted the apology offered by Kildare and received him again to favour. The earl of Desmond, whose guilt was less ambiguous, had previously submitted, had given one of his sons as a hostage for his fidelity, and had taken a second time the oath of allegiance. A free pardon was afterwards granted to the rest of the natives, with the exception of Lord Barry and O'Water, and tranquillity was fully restored in the island.

FURTHER RESULTS OF WARBECK'S REPULSE

In the English parliament a bill of attainder was passed, at the king's request, against twenty-one gentlemen who had suffered, or had been condemned, for their adhesion to the pretender. The other acts of the session were to ratify the peace of Etaples, according to one of the articles of the treaty; and to enact the penalty of forfeiture against all persons holding fees, annuities, or offices from the crown (and to these were afterwards added all possessing lands, hereditaments, and honours by letters patent), who should neglect to attend in person the king in his wars. But the nation had now grown weary of civil dissension. The extinction or beggary of so many noble and opulent families had proved a useful lesson to the existing generation; and men betrayed a reluctance to engage in contests in which they knew from experience that they must either gain the ascendancy, or lose their lives or their fortunes. To obviate these disastrous consequences a statute was made, declaring that no one who should attend on the king and sovereign lord for the time being, to do him faithful service in the wars, should hereafter, on that account, whatever might be the fortune of battle, be attainted of treason or incur the penalty of forfeiture. That this act might be set aside by the avarice or the resentment of a successful competitor was indeed evident, yet it was perhaps the best remedy that could be devised for the evil; and a hope was cherished, both from the reasonableness of the measure, and from the benefits which it promised to all parties, that it would be generally respected.

THE GREAT INTERCOURSE

The repulse of Warbeck in his late expedition, and the complaint of the Flemish merchants, induced the archduke to solicit a reconcilation with Henry; and, after a few conferences between their respective envoys, February 24th, 1496, the "great treaty of commerce between England and the Netherlands" was signed. By it every facility was afforded to the trade of the two countries; but there was appended to it a provision, which from this period Henry inserted in every treaty with foreign sovereigns, that each of the contracting parties should banish from his dominions the known enemies of the other; and to preclude the possibility of evasion it was expressly stipulated that Philip should not permit the duchess to aid or harbour the king's rebels, but should deprive her of her domains if she acted in opposition to this engagement.

WARBECK'S INVASION AND THE CORNWALL UPRISING, 1496

Warbeck could no longer remain in Flanders. He sailed to Cork; but the Irish refused to venture their lives in his service. From Cork he passed to Scotland, and exhibited, it is said, to the king, recommendatory letters from Charles VIII and his friend the duchess of Burgundy. James received the adventurer with kindness, saying that whosoever he might be, he should not repent of his confidence in the king of Scotland. Afterwards by advice of his council he paid to him the honours due to the prince whose character he had assumed; and to evince the sincerity of his friendship, gave to him in marriage his near relation, the lady Catherine Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huntly.



CORNER OF WHITE TOWER OR KEEP
(The most ancient part of the Tower.)

This sudden improvement in the fortune of the adventurer renewed the jealousy and apprehensions of the king, who had good reason to suspect the enmity of James. That prince, fifteen years of age, had been placed on the throne by the murderers of his father, a faction hostile to the interests of England; and Henry had in consequence entered into engagements with a party of the Scottish nobles, their opponents, who undertook to seize the person of the young sovereign, and to conduct him to London. Now, however, Foxe, bishop of Durham, was commissioned to open a negotiation, and to tempt the fidelity of James with the offer of an English princess in marriage. But he listened rather to the suggestions of resentment or ambition, and demanded as the price of his forbearance terms to which the king refused his assent. Foxe was followed by Concressault, as ambassador from the French monarch, who proposed that all subjects of dispute between the two kings should be referred to the decision of his sovereign; and when that was refused, offered him one hundred thousand crowns for the person of the adventurer, to be sent a captive into France. The bribe was indignantly rejected by James, who coined his plate into money, obtained a small supply from the duchess of Burgundy, and engaged to place the pretender on the throne, on condition that he should receive as the reward of his services the town of Berwick, and the sum of fifty thousand marks in two years.

Warbeck had mustered under his standard fourteen hundred men, outlaws from all nations; to these James added all the forces it was in his power to raise; and the combined army crossed the borders in the depth of winter, and when no preparation had been made to oppose them. They were preceded by a proclamation, in which the adventurer styled himself Richard, by the grace of God king of England and France, lord of Ireland, and prince of Wales. It narrated in general terms his escape from the Tower, his wanderings in foreign countries, the usurpation of "Henry Tydder," the attempts

[1496-1497 A.D.]

to debauch the fidelity of his confidants, the execution and attainder of his friends in England, and the protection which he had received from the king of Scots. He was now in England, accompanied by that monarch, for the purpose of reclaiming his right; and James, whose only object was to assist him, had engaged to retire the moment that he should be joined by a competent number of natives. He therefore called on every true Englishman to arm in his cause; and promised to the man who should "take or distress Henry Tydder" a reward proportioned to his condition, "so as the most low and simplest of degree should have for his labour one thousand pounds in money, and lands to the yearly value of one hundred marks to him and his heirs forever." But the proclamation had no effect. The novelty of the thing had worn away, and not a sword was unsheathed in favour of the white rose. The Scots, to console their disappointment and to repay themselves for their trouble, pillaged the country without mercy, and returned, laden with spoil, to their homes.

As soon as the intelligence of this invasion reached Henry, he ordered Daubeney, the lord chamberlain, to raise forces, summoned a great council, February 13th, 1497, and afterwards a parliament, and obtained a grant of two-tenths and two-fifteenths. In most counties the tax was levied without opposition; in Cornwall the people, inflamed by the harangues of Flammock, an attorney, and of Joseph, a farrier, flew to arms; refused to pay their money for an object which, it was pretended, did not concern them, but the natives of the northern counties; and resolved, to the number of sixteen thousand men, to demand of the king the punishment of Archbishop Morton and Sir Reginald Grey, the supposed originators of this unjustifiable impost. The misguided multitude commenced their march; at Wells they were joined by the lord Audley, who placed himself at their head and conducted them through Salisbury and Winchester into Kent. Opposed by the gentlemen of the county, he turned towards London, and encamped on Blackheath in sight of the capital.

But Henry had by this time been joined by most of the southern nobility, and by the troops that had been previously raised against the Scots. On a Saturday (the king superstitiously believed that Saturday was his fortunate day) the lord chamberlain marched to attack the insurgents; while the earl of Oxford made a circuit to fall on their rear; and Henry, with the artillery, waited in St. George's Fields the event of the battle. The Cornish archers defended with obstinacy the bridge at Deptford Strand, June 24th, but the moment it was forced the insurgents fled in despair. Two thousand were killed: fifteen hundred were taken. Lord Audley lost his head; Flammock and Joseph were hanged;[1] the rest obtained a pardon from the king, and were allowed to compound for their liberty with their captors on the best terms in their power. This lenity, so unusual in Henry, was attributed by some to policy, and a desire to attach to his cause the men of Cornwall; by others, to gratitude for the life of the lord chamberlain, whom the insurgents had made prisoner at the commencement of the action, and had restored to liberty without ransom.

While the attention of the king was occupied by the Cornish insurgents, James again crossed the borders and laid siege to the castle of Norham, while his light troops scoured the country as far as the Tees. But the earl of Surrey, with twenty thousand men, was now hastening towards the north. The plunderers cautiously retired as he advanced; James abandoned the siege;

[1] Joseph, according to Polydore Vergil,[n] said he cared not, for his name would be immortal.

and Surrey retaliated on the Scottish borderers the injuries which they had inflicted on their English neighbours. The failure of this second expedition, with the news of the defeat of the Cornishmen, induced the king of Scots to listen to the suggestion of Don Pedro Ayala, the Spanish ambassador, who laboured with earnestness to reconcile the two monarchs. A truce was concluded, September 30th, for seven years, and subsequently prolonged by Ayala to the termination of one year after the death of the survivor of the two monarchs.

The enthusiasm which had been excited by the first appearance of Warbeck in Scotland had long been on the decline; and about the time of the meeting of the commissioners, whether it was that he saw the current of public opinion setting against him, or hoped to profit by the troubles in Cornwall, or had received a hint from his royal protector (for all these reasons have been assigned), he departed from Scotland with four ships and six score companions. He first touched at Cork, July 26th, and solicited in vain the aid of the earl of Desmond. From Cork he directed his course across the Channel to Whitsand Bay, and proceeding by land to Bodmin, September 7th, unfurled the standard of Richard IV. The men of Cornwall had not acquired wisdom from their recent defeat. Three thousand offered their services to the adventurer, and that number was doubled before he reached the city of Exeter. Here he formed his army into two divisions, with which he attempted to force his way by the only entrance into the city, the east and north gates. From one he was repulsed with considerable loss; the other he reduced to ashes. On the next morning Warbeck returned to the assault; but the loss of two hundred men, and the arrival of aid to the besieged from the country, induced him to solicit a suspension of hostilities, during which he withdrew his followers. Many of these now abandoned him; but the Cornish men advised him not to despair; and he had reached Taunton, when he was apprised of the approach of the royal army under the lord chamberlain, and Lord Brooke, the steward of the household.

On September 21st the adventurer, with great composure of countenance, made preparations for battle, but his heart failed him at the sight of the royal standard; and at midnight, leaving his followers to their fate, he rode away, with a guard of sixty men, to the sanctuary of Beaulieu, in Hampshire. In the morning the insurgents submitted to the royal mercy. The ringleaders were hanged; the crowd, on the arrival of Henry at Exeter, were led, bareheaded and with halters round their necks, into his presence, and discharged after a suitable admonition; and the inhabitants of the villages in which Warbeck had obtained either aid or refreshment were amerced in proportionate sums of money to the amount of ten thousand pounds.[1]

The pretender's wife, the lady Catherine Gordon, who had been left at Mount St. Michael, submitted at the first summons. When she was introduced to the king, according to André,[1] she blushed and burst into tears; but he relieved her apprehensions, and sent her to the queen, with whom she afterwards lived as an attendant, still retaining, on account of her beauty, the appellation of "the white rose," which she had originally derived from the pretensions of her husband.[2]

[1] Gairdner[b] speaks of this method as characteristic of Henry VII, who thus obtained large funds, and by allowing their payment in instalments kept the guilty men under bond for good behaviour.]

[2] "The white rose" was afterwards married to Sir Matthew Cradock, and was buried with him in the church of Swansea, in Wales, where their tomb and epitaph are still to be seen.

[1497–1498 A. D.]

In the sanctuary of Beaulieu the fugitive was repeatedly tempted to leave it by promises of pardon; and after a severe struggle, October 5th, resolved to throw himself on the mercy of the conqueror. The king did not violate his word, but refused to admit him into his presence. When he returned to London, November 27th, Warbeck rode in his suite, surrounded by multitudes, who gazed with wonder at the man whose claim and adventures had so long engaged their attention. He was conducted as a spectacle through the principal streets of the city; ordered to confine himself within the precincts of the palace; and repeatedly examined before a board of commissioners as to his parentage, his instructors, and his associates. Whatever disclosures he made were kept secret; but he grew weary of his confinement in the palace, and at the end of six months contrived, June 8, 1498, to elude the vigilance of his keepers. The alarm was instantly given; patrols watched every road to the coast; and the fugitive, in despair of success, surrendered himself to the prior of the monastery at Sheen. The monk encouraged him with the hopes of pardon, and by his solicitations extorted from the king a promise to spare the life of the suppliant.

But he was compelled to stand a whole day in the stocks at Westminster Hall, and the next in Cheapside, and on both occasions to read to the people a confession which he had signed with his own hand. In this barren and unsatisfactory document he acknowledged that he was a native of Tournay, the son of John Osbeck and Catherine di Faro; gave the names and professions of his relations, and of the persons with whom he had lived at Antwerp, Middelburg, and Lisbon; and stated that on his arrival at Cork he was taken first for Simnel, who had personated the earl of Warwick, then for an illegitimate son of Richard III, and lastly for the duke of York, the second son of Edward IV; that he was invited into France by Charles VIII; "from France he went into Ireland, from Ireland into Scotland, and so into England." It is plain that this confession was composed from the disclosures which he had previously made.[1]

It describes with minuteness his parentage and original occupation—points which Henry wished to impress on the minds of the people—but was silent on subjects which it might have been unpleasant or impolitic to disclose, his transactions with foreign princes, and the assurances of support which he had received from native subjects. After suffering his punishment he was committed to the Tower.

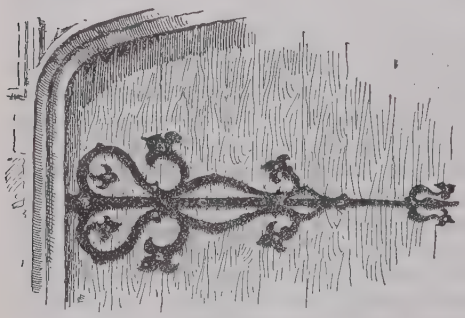
EXECUTION OF THE LAST OF THE PLANTAGENETS

This seems to have been the age of intrigue and imposture. From the capture of Simnel to the appearance of Warbeck, Henry had been kept in constant alarm by repeated attempts in favour of the earl of Warwick. Now that Warbeck was in prison, the rights of the earl were again brought forward, and a person of the name of Ralph Wilford undertook to personate the young prince. He was taught to act his part by Patrick, an Augustinian friar, and

[1 Not all historians have agreed that Perkin Warbeck was an impostor. Horace Walpole [o] asserts that he was truly the duke of York, and the historians Carte [p] and Henry [q] agree with him. Hallam,[r] in his *Middle Ages*, says that "a very strong conviction either way is not readily attainable." MacFarlane [k] believed "that Perkin was an impostor, but that Henry overdid his part, and never proved him one." But André,[f] Bacon,[g] Hume,[j] Madden,[s] Kirkup,[t] Gairdner,[b] and numberless others, are convinced of his dishonesty; and history is so full of such pretensions, that it will be safe to consign Perkin Warbeck to the limbo of Lambert Simnel, and the false Russian Dmitri.]

chose the county of Kent for the theatre in which he should make his first appearance. As a preparatory step, a report was circulated of the death of Warwick; after a short interval the pretender whispered in the ears of a few confidants that he was the earl, and soon afterwards his instructor published to the world the important secret in a sermon. It is difficult to conceive on what they could ground their hope of success. Both were immediately apprehended. The friar was condemned to perpetual imprisonment; Wilford, in March, 1499, paid with his life the forfeit of his temerity.

The real earl of Warwick, and the pretended duke of York, were now fellow-prisoners in the Tower. They soon contracted a mutual friendship, wept over their common misfortune, and, whether it originated with themselves or was suggested to them by others, adopted a plan for their escape. Four of the warders were gained over to murder the governor and conduct the captives to a place of security, where, if we may believe the records of their trials, Warbeck was to be again proclaimed by the title of Richard IV, and Warwick was to summon the retainers of his father to the standard of the new king.



Tudor Hinge

Warbeck was indicted in Westminster Hall as a foreigner, guilty of acts of treason since his landing in England. He received sentence of death, and at the place of execution, November 16th, affirmed on the word of a dying man the truth of every particular contained in his original confession. With him suffered his first adherent O'Water; and both, expressing their regret for the imposture, asked forgiveness of the king. Before their punishment the earl of Warwick was arraigned at the bar of the house of lords. Of his own accord he pleaded guilty; the earl of Oxford as lord steward pronounced judgment; and after a few days Henry signed the warrant for the execution of the last legitimate descendant of the Plantagenets whose pretensions could excite the jealousy of the house of Tudor. Warwick owed his death to the restless officiousness of his friends, who by repeated attempts had convinced Henry that the existence of the earl was incompatible with his own safety. Still it will be difficult to clear the king from the guilt of shedding innocent blood. This victim of royal suspicion had been confined from childhood for no other crime than his birth. Certainly he was justified in attempting to recover his liberty. Had he even been guilty of the other part of the charge, his youth, his ignorance, his simplicity, and the peculiar circumstances of his situation, ought to have saved him from capital punishment. The whole nation lamented his fate; and to remove the odium from the king, a report, probably false, was circulated that Ferdinand of Spain had refused to bestow his daughter Catherine on the prince of Wales as long as so near a claimant of the house of York was alive. Catherine herself had been told of the report and in the following reign was heard to observe that she could never expect much happiness from her union with the family of Tudor, if that union had been purchased at the price of royal and innocent blood.

THE SCOTCH MARRIAGE RELATIONS

From this period the ambition of Henry was no more alarmed by pretenders to the crown, nor his avarice distressed by the expense of foreign expeditions.[1] The principal events of his reign during the ten years of tranquillity which preceded his death may be comprised under the two heads, of his treaties with other powers, and his expedients to amass money.

Henry was not less careful than the French monarchs to preserve the alliance between the two crowns. Naples was converted into a province of the French monarchy. But it was lost with the same rapidity with which it had been won. The pope, the king of the Romans, the king of Castile, the duke of Milan, and the republic of Venice entered into a league, by which they guaranteed to each other their respective dominions; and Charles was compelled to abandon his conquest. The next year Henry acceded to the general confederacy. In 1498 Charles died, and was succeeded by Louis XII. That prince, who inherited the passion of his predecessor for the conquest of Naples, cheerfully ratified the treaty of Étaples, and bound himself by the most solemn oaths to pay the remainder of the debt.

The truces between England and Scotland, though frequently renewed and enforced with menaces and punishments, were but ill observed by the fierce and turbulent inhabitants of the borders; and a war must have ensued had not the English monarch been as phlegmatic as the Scottish was irritable. Foxe, bishop of Durham, first wrote to James, and afterwards visited him at the abbey of Melrose, September 2nd, 1496; and so successful were the address and eloquence of that prelate, that the king offered, what he had formerly refused, to marry Margaret, the eldest daughter of Henry. By the English prince the offer was most joyfully accepted; and when some of his council expressed a fear that then, in failure of the male line, England might hereafter become an appendage to the Scottish crown, "No," he replied, "Scotland will become an appendage to the English, for the smaller must follow the larger kingdom." The event has verified the prediction, and the marriage has been productive of more substantial benefits than Henry could probably foresee. It has not only united the two crowns on one head; it has also contributed to unite the two kingdoms into one empire.

The parties were solemnly affianced to each other January 29th, 1502, in the queen's chamber, the earl of Bothwell acting as proxy for James; tournaments were performed for two days in honour of the ceremony; and to exhilarate the populace, twelve hogsheads of claret were tapped in the streets, and twelve bonfires kindled at night. At the same time was concluded, after one hundred and seventy years of war, or of truces little better than war, a treaty of perpetual peace between the two kingdoms.

James, however, was careful that his new engagements should not interfere with the ancient alliance between Scotland and France. When he swore to observe the treaty, he had given to Henry the usual title of king of France; but he instantly arose, protested that he had done it inadvertently, and repeated the oath with the omission of that word.

At the time of the contract the princess was but twelve years of age, and James had consented that she should remain twenty months longer under the roof of her royal parents. At length she departed, July 8th, 1503, from her grandmother's palace at Colliweston, with a long train of ladies and gentlemen,

[1 According to the Spanish ambassador De Puebla, the English crown was now more secure than it had been for five centuries.]

who accompanied her a mile, kissed her, and returned to the court. James repeatedly visited her on her progress; and on her arrival in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, mounted her palfrey and rode with her behind him into his capital. The marriage ceremony was performed by the archbishop of Glasgow, and "the Englishe lords and ladyes," says Hall,[u] "returned into their countrey, gevyinge more prayse to the manhoode, than to the good maner, and nurture of Scotland."

THE SPANISH MARRIAGE

Henry had always cultivated with particular solicitude the alliance of Ferdinand, king of Castile and Aragon, and, the more strongly to cement their friendship, had proposed a marriage between his eldest son Arthur, prince of Wales, and Catherine, the fourth daughter of the Castilian monarch. A preliminary treaty on this subject was concluded as early as the year 1492; it was followed in 1496 by another, according to which Ferdinand promised to give to the princess a portion of two hundred thousand crowns;[1] and Henry engaged that his son should endow her with one-third of his income at present, and one-third of the income of the crown, if he should live to wear it. The marriage was postponed on account of the youth of Arthur; but when he had completed his twelfth year a dispensation was obtained to enable him to make the contract; and the marriage ceremony was performed in the chapel of his manor of Bewdley, May 19th, 1501, where Catherine was represented by her proxy the Spanish ambassador.[2] She was nine or ten months older than Arthur; and when the latter had completed his fourteenth year, Henry demanded her of her parents. She parted from them at Grenada, traversed Spain to Corunna, and landed at Plymouth, October 2nd, 1501, after a wearisome and boisterous voyage.

The king met her at Dogmersfield, where she renewed to Arthur the contract which had been made by her proxy; the marriage ceremony was performed in St. Paul's; and at the door of the cathedral, and in the presence of the multitude, Arthur endowed her with one-third of his property. The king spared no expense to testify his joy by disguisings, tournaments, and banquets; and several of the nobility, to flatter the monarch, indulged in a magnificence which proved ruinous to their families. The abilities of Arthur, the sweetness of his temper, and his proficiency in learning,[3] had gained him the affection of all who knew him; and his bride, by her beauty, modesty, and accomplishments, became the object of general admiration. The castle of Ludlow, in Shropshire, was assigned for their residence; their court represented in miniature the court of their royal parent; and the prince amidst his vassals was instructed by his council in the rudiments of government. But the weakness of his constitution sank under the rigour of the season, perhaps under the prevailing epidemic called the sweating sickness; and the hopes of the nation were unexpectedly blighted by his premature death in the fourth month after his marriage, April 2nd, 1502.

[1] The Spanish crown was worth 4s. 2d. English.

[2] "Never," says Von Ranke,[d] "was a more eventful marriage concluded."]

[3] Besides the most eminent grammarians, he had studied "in poetrie, Homer, Virgil, Lucan, Ovid, Silius, Plautus, and Terence; in oratorie, Tullies offices, epistles, paradoxes, and Quintilian; in historie, Thucydides, Livie, Cæsar's *Commentaries*, Suetonius, Tacitus, Plinius, Valerius Maximus, Salust, and Eusebius. Wherein we have been particular, to signifie what authors were then thought fit to be elementary and rudimentall unto princes."—Speed,[e] who quotes a manuscript of André,[f] the preceptor of Arthur.

[1502-1503 A.D.]

The intelligence was first opened to the king by his confessor. He sent for the queen, who, seeing him oppressed with sorrow, "besought his grace that he would first after God remember the weale of his owne noble person, the comfort of his realme and of her. She then saied, that my ladie his mother had never no more children but him onely, and that God by his grace had ever preserved him, and brought him where that he was. Over that, howe that God had left him yet a fayre prince, two fayre princesses; and that God is where he was, and we are both young ynoughe; and that the prudence and wisdom of his grace spronge over all Christendome, so that it should please him to take this according thereunto. Then the king thanked her of her good comfort. After that she was departed and come to her owne chamber, natural and motherly remembrance of that great losse smote her so sorrowfull to the hart, that those that were about her were faine to send for the king to comfort her. Then his grace of true gentle and faithfull love in good hast came and relieved her, and showed her how wise counsell she had given him before: and he for his parte would thanke God for his sonn, and would she should doe in likewise." We have transcribed this account of Henry's conduct on so interesting an occasion from an anonymous contemporary manuscript, as it appears to do away the charge which has been brought against him of treating Elizabeth with indifference and neglect. In the manuscript of André[f] and the journals of the herald Wriothesley[v] they appear as if they entertained a real affection for each other, and Henry's privy purse expenses show that he often made to her presents of "money, jewels, frontlets, and other ornaments, and also paid her debts."

The intelligence of this event alarmed Ferdinand and Isabella, the parents of the young widow. Anxious to preserve the friendship of England, as a counterpoise to the enmity of France, they hastened to propose a marriage between their daughter and her brother-in-law, Henry, now apparent heir to the throne. The English monarch affected to receive the communication with indifference, and suspended his assent, that he might ascertain whether a more profitable bargain might not be made with some other court; while, on the other hand, the Spaniard, to quicken the determination, sought to alarm the avarice of his ally by requiring the immediate return of Catherine, with the restoration of the one hundred thousand crowns, the half of her marriage portion, which had already been paid.

The negotiation at length was opened, but it proved as difficult to wring money from Ferdinand, as to satisfy the expectations of Henry; and a year elapsed before it was finally agreed that the marriage should be contracted within two months after the arrival of a dispensation from the pope; that it should be solemnized when the young prince had completed his fourteenth year; and that Ferdinand should previously transmit to London another sum of one hundred thousand crowns, the remaining half of the portion of Catherine. The dispensation was obtained; the parties were contracted to each other, December 26th, 1503 but the Spanish monarch either could not or would not advance the money, and his English brother cared little for the delay. The princess, a widow, and in his custody, was an hostage for the goodwill of her father; and by retaining this hold on the hopes and fears of the Spaniard he expected to extort from him concessions of still greater importance.[1]

[1 While Catherine remained in England she was the victim of the parsimony of both her father and her prospective father-in-law. The latter gave her food only, the former no money, and she actually complained that she had been kept for years in a state of such destitution that she could not even reward her servants or buy them clothes.]

About ten months after the death of Prince Arthur his mother Elizabeth died, February 11th, 1503, at the age of thirty-seven. Henry's mourning might be sincere; but it was short, and he quickly consoled himself for his loss by calculating the pecuniary advantages which he might derive from a second marriage.[1] The late king of Naples had bequeathed an immense property to his widow; her presumed riches offered irresistible attractions to the heart of the English monarch, and three private gentlemen were commissioned to procure an introduction to the queen under the pretext of delivering to her a letter from the dowager princess of Wales. In their report to the king they praised her person, her disposition, and her acquirements, but added the unwelcome intelligence that the reigning king had refused to fulfil the testament of his predecessor. Henry's passion was instantly extinguished; he cast his eyes on another rich widow, Margaret, the duchess of Savoy, and from an accident which he attributed to his good fortune, he derived a strong hope of succeeding in his suit.



Costume of Time of Henry VII

On the death of Isabella, queen of Castile, November 26th, 1504, her husband Ferdinand surrendered the sceptre of Castile to his daughter Juana, the wife of the archduke Philip, but claimed the regency in virtue of the will of his late consort. The new king and queen in the beginning of 1506 left the Netherlands to take possession of the Castilian throne; but the weather was unfavourable, and, after struggling with adverse winds for more than a fortnight, they sought shelter in the harbour of Falmouth. It was in vain that their council objected. They went on shore in search of refreshment, and Henry grasped at the opportunity of deriving advantage from their indiscretion. In terms which admitted of no refusal, he invited them to his court, detained them during three months in splendid captivity, and extorted from them several valuable concessions as the price of their release.

Margaret of Savoy was the sister of Philip, and that prince was compelled to agree to a marriage between her and Henry, and to fix the amount of her portion at 300,000 crowns, each crown being equal in value to four shillings English; of which sum 100,000 crowns should be paid in August, and the remainder by equal instalments within six years. Margaret was in the annual receipt of 50,000 crowns arising from her two dowries, as the widow of John, prince of Spain, and of Philibert, duke of Savoy. This sum the king required to be settled on himself for his own use and benefit, while the princess would be amply indemnified by the income which she would receive as queen of

[1 According to Gairdner,[b] Henry had, upon the death of his wife, made a monstrous proposal to marry his daughter-in-law Catherine. It deeply shocked her mother Queen Isabella, who demanded her return, but consented to the betrothal with the brother of Catherine's dead husband.]

[1506 A.D.]

England. Henry had formerly obtained the consent of Maximilian that Charles, the infant son of Philip, should marry Mary, the youngest daughter of the English king. To this the captive prince, though he had formerly refused, now gave his assent. [The marriage was confirmed by proxy December 17th, 1508.]

A new treaty of commerce was negotiated between the subjects of the two kings, as prejudicial to the interests of the Flemish[1] as it was favourable to those of the English merchants. The king lent to the archduke on certain securities the sum of £138,000 towards the expense of his voyage to Spain.

THE CAPTURE OF SUFFOLK

Lastly, Henry demanded the surrender of an individual whom he had long considered the most dangerous enemy of the house of Lancaster. This was Edmund, second son to the late duke of Suffolk. John, earl of Lincoln, the eldest son, had fallen at the battle of Stoke, and had been attainted by parliament. When the duke himself died, Edmund claimed the honours and estate of his father; but Henry persisted in considering him as the heir of his attainted brother, maintained that he had no claim to the forfeited property, and compelled him to accept as a boon a small portion of the patrimony of his fathers, and to be content with the inferior title of earl. It was impossible to ascribe the king's conduct to any other motive than a desire to humble a rival family; and the earl by his ungovernable passions soon involved himself in difficulties and danger. He had killed a man who had offended him, was arraigned as a murderer at the King's Bench, and commanded to plead the king's pardon. His pride could not brook this indignity, and the court of his aunt, the duchess of Burgundy, received the fugitive. Henry, who is represented as desirous to inveigle him into greater indiscretions, prevailed on him to return. At the marriage of the prince of Wales he vied in the splendour of his equipage, and his attentions to the royal family, with the most opulent and favoured of the nobility; and then, to the astonishment of the public, fled a second time, with his brother Richard, to the court of his aunt.

Henry immediately foreboded an insurrection. Sir Robert Curzon was despatched to act the part of a spy under the mask of friendship; and in a few weeks the earl's brother, William de la Pole, the lord Courtenay, who had married one of the late queen's sisters, Sir William Wyndham, and Sir James Tyrrel, with a few others, were apprehended, May 6th, 1502.[2] To the first two no other crime could be objected than their relationship to the fugitive; the other two were condemned and executed for having favoured the escape of the king's enemy; and all were afterwards attainted by parliament. By this act of vigour the conspiracy, if any conspiracy existed, was suppressed in its birth; and Suffolk, left in extreme penury by the death of his aunt, after wandering for a time in Germany, had been permitted by the archduke Philip to reside in his dominions. Henry now demanded of that prince the surrender of the fugitive. It was in vain that he pleaded his honour; he was given to know that he was himself a captive, and could only purchase his liberty by consenting to the captivity of the earl. Compelled to yield, he exacted from Henry a promise that he would respect the life of Suffolk, and on the sur-

[1 In Flanders it was called the *Intercursus Malus* in contrast with its predecessor, the *Intercursus Magnus* of 1496.]

[2 It was on this occasion, according to More,[w] that Tyrrel confessed the murder of Edward V and his brother in the Tower.

render of the fugitive was permitted to prosecute his voyage. The earl was sent to the Tower, March 16th, 1506. Though Henry thirsted for his blood, he feared to violate his engagement with Philip; but before his death he left an order for the execution of his victim as a legacy to the filial piety of his successor. The Spanish prince, on his return to his own country, honourably fulfilled his engagements with Henry.

On September 23rd Philip died, and his widow Juana, in her own right queen of Castile, appeared to the imagination of the king a more desirable bride than Margaret. There were indeed two obstacles to be surmounted, which would have deterred any other suitor. Juana laboured under a derangement of intellect, which rendered her incapable of giving her consent;[1] and Ferdinand, her guardian, would naturally oppose any measure which might deprive him of the government of her dominions. But Henry was not discouraged. He relinquished the pursuit of Margaret, contended that the malady of Juana was only temporary, occasioned by the bad usage which she had received from her last husband, and trusted to his own ingenuity to remove the objections of her father. However, the malady of Juana experienced no abatement. Henry desisted from his hopeless pursuit, and, accepting the apologies of Ferdinand for his delay in the payment of the marriage portion, concluded with him a new treaty, by which the Spanish monarch was bound to transmit to London 100,000 crowns in four half-yearly instalments, and Henry to permit the solemnization of the marriage on the arrival of the last. Two were received by the king at the appointed time; he died before the arrival of the third.

The king had for years been visited with regular fits of the gout. His strength visibly wasted away, and every spring the most serious apprehensions were entertained for his life. Whatever might be the hopes with which he flattered himself, his preachers did not allow him to be ignorant of his danger. From the pulpit they admonished him of the extortion of his officers, and exhorted him to prepare for death by making reparation to the innocent sufferers. Henry does not appear to have been displeased with their freedom. He forgave all offences against the crown, with the exception of felony and murder; satisfied the creditors of all persons confined for debts under the amount of forty shillings; and ordered strict justice to be done to all who had been injured by the tyranny of the ministers. The prosecutions, however, were soon revived; it was contended that no injustice could be committed where the conviction was procured by due process of law; and several of the most respectable citizens in London were heavily amerced, and in default of payment thrown into prison. Thus Empson and Dudley continued to pursue their iniquitous career till they were arrested by the death of the king, who on April 21st, 1509, sank under the violence of his disease, the gout. The anxiety of his mind is strongly depicted in the provisions of his will; but he might easily have foreseen that his injunctions for the reparation of injuries would be despised or eluded by a young and thoughtless successor. He left three children: a son Henry, who inherited his father's crown, and two daughters, Margaret, married to James, king of Scots, and Mary, afterwards the wife of Louis XII, king of France.

Henry VII appears to have been the first of the English kings since the accession of Henry III who confined his expenses within the limits of his

[1 The Spanish ambassador De Puebla wrote home that the English thought little of Juana's madness, as it would not prevent her bearing children! Von Ranke,[d] however, insists that Henry did not seriously intend this marriage, meaning only to keep Spain eager without arousing France to war. He quotes Henry as saying that his policy was "to draw a brazen wall round England."]

income. But the civil wars had swept away those crowds of annuitants and creditors that formerly used to besiege the doors of the exchequer, and the revenue of the crown came to him free from incumbrances, and augmented by forfeitures.

But if the king was economical in his expenses and eager in the acquisition of wealth, it should also be added that he often rewarded with the generosity, and on occasions of ceremony displayed the magnificence, of a great monarch. His charities were many and profuse. Of his buildings, his three convents of friars fell in the next reign; his chapel at Westminster still exists, a monument of his opulence and taste. He is said to have occasionally advanced loans of money to merchants engaged in profitable branches of trade; and not only gave the royal license to the attempt of the Venetian navigator Cabot [Giovanni Gabotto], but fitted out a ship at his own expense to join in the voyage. Cabot sailed from Bristol, discovered the island of Newfoundland, June 24th, 1497, crept along the coast of Florida, and returned to England. It was the first European expedition that ever reached the American continent.[h]

LORD BACON'S ESTIMATE OF HENRY VII

This king (to speak of him in terms equal to his deserving) was one of the best sort of wonders—a wonder for wise men. He had parts (both in his virtues and his fortune) not so fit for a commonplace as for observation. Certainly he was religious, both in his affection and observance. But as he could see clear (for those times) through superstition, so he would be blinded now and then by human policy. He advanced churchmen. He was tender in the privilege of sanctuaries, though they wrought him much mischief. He professed always to love and seek peace; and it was his usual preface in his treaties, that when Christ came into the world peace was sung, and when he went out of the world peace was bequeathed. And this virtue could not proceed out of fear or softness, for he was valiant and active, and therefore no doubt it was truly Christian and moral. Yet he knew the way to peace was not to seem to be desirous to avoid wars. Therefore would he make offers and fames of wars, till he had mended the conditions of peace. It was also much, that one that was so great a lover of peace should be so happy in war. For his arms, either in foreign or civil wars, were never unfortunate, neither did he know what a disaster meant.

He did much maintain and countenance his laws, which (nevertheless) was no impediment to him to work his will. For it was so handled that neither prerogative nor profit went to diminution. And yet as he would sometimes strain up his laws to his prerogative, so would he also let down his prerogative to his parliament. For mint and wars and martial discipline (things of absolute power) he would nevertheless bring to parliament. Justice was well administered in his time, save where the king was party; save also that the council-table intermeddled too much with *meum* and *tuum*. For it was a very court of justice during his time, especially in the beginning. But in that part both of justice and policy which is the durable part, and cut as it were in brass or marble, which is the making of good laws, he did excel. And with his justice he was also a merciful prince; as in whose times there were but three of the nobility that suffered: the earl of Warwick, the lord chamberlain, and the lord Audley; though the first two were instead of numbers in the dislike and obloquy of the people. But there were never so great rebellions expiated with so little blood drawn by the hand of justice, as the two

rebellions of Blackheath and Exeter. But the less blood he drew the more he took of treasure; and as some construed it, he was the more sparing in the one that he might be the more pressing in the other; for both would have been intolerable. Of nature assuredly he coveted to accumulate treasure; and was a little poor in admiring riches.

This excess of his had at that time many glosses and interpretations. Some thought the continual rebellions wherewith he had been vexed had made him grow to hate his people; some thought it was done to pull down their stomachs and to keep them low; some for that he would leave his son a golden fleece; some suspected he had some high design upon foreign parts. But those perhaps shall come nearest the truth that fetch not their reasons so far off; but rather impute it to nature, age, peace, and a mind fixed upon no other ambition or pursuit: whereunto I should add, that having every day occasion to take notice of the necessities and shifts for money of other great princes abroad, it did the better by comparison set off to him the felicity of full coffers. As to his expending of treasure, he never spared charge which his affairs required; and in his buildings was magnificent; but his rewards were very limited. So that his liberality was rather upon his own state and memory than upon the deserts of others. He was of a high mind, and loved his own will and his own way; as one that revered himself, and would reign indeed.[1] Had he been a private man he would have been termed proud; but in a wise prince, it was but keeping of distance; which indeed he did towards all; not admitting any near or full approach either to his power or to his secrets. For he was governed by none. His queen (notwithstanding she had presented him with divers children: and with a crown also, though he would not acknowledge it) could do nothing with him. His mother he reverenced much, heard little. For any person agreeable to him for society (such as was Hastings to King Edward the Fourth, or Charles Brandon after to King Henry the Eighth) he had none; except we should account for such persons Foxe and Bray and Empson, because they were so much with him. But it was but as the instrument is much



HENRY VII
(1456–1509)

[1 No one can understand his reign, or that of his son, or, we might add, of his granddaughter, Queen Elizabeth, without appreciating the fact that, however well served with councillors, the sovereign was in those days always his own prime minister. The Tudor policy all along was for the sovereign to "reign indeed"—or, in modern language, not only to reign but to govern. —GAIRDNER.*b*]

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with the workman. He had nothing in him of vain-glory, but yet kept state and majesty to the height; being sensible that majesty maketh the people bow, but vain-glory boweth to them.

Henry's Choice of Advisers

He kept a straight hand on his nobility, and chose rather to advance clergymen and lawyers, which were more obsequious to him, but had less interest in the people; which made for his absoluteness, but not for his safety. Insomuch as I am persuaded it was one of the causes of his troublesome reign. For that his nobles, though they were loyal and obedient, yet did not co-operate with him, but let every man go his own way. He was not afraid of an able man, as Louis the Eleventh was. Neither did he care how cunning they were that he did employ; for he thought himself to have the master-reach. And as he chose well, so he held them up well. For it is a strange thing, that though he were a dark prince, and infinitely suspicious, and his times full of secret conspiracies and troubles, yet in twenty-four years' reign he never put down or discomposed counsellor or near servant, save only Stanley, the lord chamberlain. As for the disposition of his subjects in general towards him, it stood thus with him, that of the three affections which naturally tie the hearts of the subjects to their sovereign—love, fear, and reverence—he had the last in height, the second in good measure, and so little of the first, as he was beholding to the other two. For his pleasures, there is no news of them. And yet by his instructions to Marsin and Stile touching the queen of Naples, it seemeth he could interrogate well touching beauty. He did by pleasures as great princes do by banquets, come and look a little upon them, and turn away.

No doubt, in him as in all men (and most of all in kings), his fortune wrought upon his nature, and his nature upon his fortune. He attained to the crown, not only from a private fortune, which might endow him with moderation, but also from the fortune of an exiled man, which had quickened in him all seeds of observation and industry. And his times being rather prosperous than calm, had raised his confidence by success, but almost marred his nature by troubles. His wisdom, by often evading from perils, was turned rather into a dexterity to deliver himself from dangers when they pressed him, than into a providence to prevent and remove them afar off. And even in nature, the sight of his mind was like some sights of eyes—rather strong at hand than to carry afar off. For his wit increased upon the occasion; and so much the more if the occasion were sharpened by danger. Yet take him with all his defects, if a man should compare him with the kings his concurrents in France and Spain, he shall find him more politic than Louis the Twelfth of France, and more entire and sincere than Ferdinando of Spain. But if you shall change Louis the Twelfth for Louis the Eleventh, who lived a little before, then the consort is more perfect. For that Louis the Eleventh, Ferdinando, and Henry may be esteemed for the *tres magi* of kings of those ages. To conclude, if this king did no greater matters, it was long of himself; for what he minded he compassed. He was born at Pembroke castle, and lieth buried at Westminster, in one of the stateliest and daintiest monuments of Europe, both for the chapel and for the sepulchre. So that he dwelleth more richly dead, in the monument of his tomb, than he did alive in Richmond or any of his palaces. I could wish he did the like in this monument of his fame.[9]

HALLAM ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL EFFECTS OF THE REIGN

It has been usual to speak of this reign as if it formed a great epoch in our constitution; the king having by his politic measures broken the power of the barons who had hitherto withstood the prerogative, while the commons had not yet risen from the humble station which they were supposed to have occupied. I doubt, however, whether the change was quite so precisely referable to the time of Henry VII, and whether his policy has not been somewhat overrated. In certain respects his reign is undoubtedly an era in our history. It began in revolution and a change in the line of descent. It nearly coincides, which is more material, with the commencement of what is termed modern history, as distinguished from the middle ages, and with the memorable events that have led us to make that leading distinction, especially the consolidation of the great European monarchies, among which England took a conspicuous station.

But it is not evident that Henry VII carried the authority of the crown much beyond the point at which Edward IV had left it. The strength of the nobility had been grievously impaired by the bloodshed of the civil wars, and the attainders that followed them. From this cause, or from the general intimidation, we find that no laws favourable to public liberty, or remedial with respect to the aggressions of power, were enacted, or (so far as appears) even proposed in parliament, during the reign of Edward IV; the first, since that of John, to which such a remark can be applied. The commons, who had not always been so humble and abject as smatterers in history are apt to fancy, were by this time much degenerated from the spirit they had displayed under Edward III and Richard II. Thus the founder of the line of Tudor came, not certainly to an absolute, but a vigorous prerogative, which his cautious, dissembling temper and close attention to business were well calculated to extend.

The laws of Henry VII have been highly praised by Lord Bacon[g] as "deep and not vulgar, not made upon the spur of a particular occasion for the present, but out of providence for the future, to make the estate of his people still more and more happy, after the manner of the legislators in ancient and heroical times." But when we consider how very few kings or statesmen have displayed this prospective wisdom and benevolence in legislation, we may hesitate a little to bestow so rare a praise upon Henry. Like the laws of all other times, his statutes seem to have had no further aim than to remove some immediate mischief, or to promote some particular end. One, however, has been much celebrated as an instance of his sagacious policy and as the principal cause of exalting the royal authority upon the ruins of the aristocracy—the statute of Fines (as one passed in the fourth year of his reign is commonly called), which is supposed to have given the power of alienating entailed lands. But both the intention and effect of this seem not to have been justly apprehended.

In the first place, it is remarkable that the statute of Henry VII is merely a transcript, with very little variation, from one of Richard III, which is actually printed in most editions. It was re-enacted, as we must presume, in order to obviate any doubt, however ill grounded, which might hang upon the validity of Richard's laws. Thus vanish at once into air the deep policy of Henry VII and his insidious schemes of leading on a prodigal aristocracy to its ruin. It is surely strange that those who have extolled this sagacious monarch for breaking the fetters of landed property (though many of them

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were lawyers) should never have observed that whatever credit might be due for the innovation should redound to the honour of the unfortunate usurper. But Richard, in truth, had no leisure for such long-sighted projects of strengthening a throne for his posterity which he could not preserve for himself. His law, and that of his successor, had a different object in view.

The real intention of these statutes of Richard and Henry was not to give the tenant in tail a greater power over his estate (for it is by no means clear that the words enable him to bar his issue by levying a fine; and when a decision to that effect took place long afterwards, it was with such difference of opinion that it was thought necessary to confirm the interpretation by a new act of parliament); but rather, by establishing a short term of prescription, to put a check on the suits for recovery of lands, which, after times of so much violence and disturbance, were naturally springing up in the courts. It is the usual policy of governments to favour possession; and on this principle the statute enacts that a fine levied with proclamations in a public court of justice shall after five years, except in particular circumstances, be a bar to all claims upon lands. This was its main scope; the liberty of alienation was neither necessary, nor probably intended to be given.

The two first of the Tudors rarely experienced opposition but when they endeavoured to levy money. Taxation, in the eyes of their subjects, was so far from being no tyranny, that it seemed the only species worth a complaint. Henry VII obtained from his first parliament a grant of tonnage and poundage during life, according to several precedents of former reigns. But when general subsidies were granted, the same people, who would have seen an innocent man led to prison or the scaffold with little attention, twice broke out into dangerous rebellions; and as these, however arising from such immediate discontent, were yet a good deal connected with the opinion of Henry's usurpation and the claims of a pretender, it was a necessary policy to avoid too frequent imposition of burdens upon the poorer classes of the community. He had recourse accordingly to the system of benevolences, or contributions apparently voluntary, though in fact extorted from his richer subjects. These, having become an intolerable grievance under Edward IV, were abolished in the only parliament of Richard III with strong expressions of indignation. But in the seventh year of Henry's reign, when, after having with timid and parsimonious hesitation suffered the marriage of Anne of Brittany with Charles VIII, he was compelled by the national spirit to make a demonstration of war, he ventured to try this unfair and unconstitutional method of obtaining aid; which received afterwards too much of a parliamentary sanction by an act enforcing the payment of arrears of money which private men had thus been prevailed upon to promise.

Archbishop Morton is famous for the dilemma which he proposed to merchants and others whom he solicited to contribute. He told those who lived handsomely that their opulence was manifest by their rate of expenditure. Those, again, whose course of living was less sumptuous, must have grown rich by their economy. Either class could well afford assistance to their sovereign. This piece of logic, unanswerable in the mouth of a privy councillor, acquired the name of Morton's fork. Henry doubtless reaped great profit from these indefinite exactions, miscalled benevolences. But, insatiate of accumulating treasure, he discovered other methods of extortion, still more odious, and possibly more lucrative. Many statutes had been enacted in preceding reigns, sometimes rashly or from temporary motives, sometimes in opposition to prevailing usages which they could not restrain, of which the

pecuniary penalties, though exceedingly severe, were so little enforced as to have lost their terror.

These his ministers raked out from oblivion; and, prosecuting such as could afford to endure the law's severity, filled his treasury with the dishonourable produce of amercements and forfeitures. The feudal rights became, as indeed they always had been, instrumental to oppression. The lands of those who died without heirs fell back to the crown by escheat. It was the duty of certain officers in every county to look after its rights. The king's title was to be found by the inquest of a jury, summoned at the instance of the escheator, and returned into the exchequer. It then became a matter of record, and could not be impeached. Hence the escheators taking hasty inquests, or sometimes falsely pretending them, defeated the right heir of his succession. Excessive fines were imposed on granting livery to the king's wards on their majority. Informations for intrusions, criminal indictments, outlawries on civil process, in short, the whole course of justice, furnished pretences for exacting money; while a host of dependants on the court, suborned to play their part as witnesses, or even as jurors, rendered it hardly possible for the most innocent to escape these penalties.

Empson and Dudley are notorious as the prostitute instruments of Henry's avarice in the later and more unpopular years of his reign; but they dearly purchased a brief hour of favour by an ignominious death [under Henry VIII] and perpetual infamy. The avarice of Henry VII, as it rendered his government unpopular, which had always been penurious, must be deemed a drawback from the wisdom ascribed to him; though by his good fortune it answered the end of invigorating his power. By these fines and forfeitures he impoverished and intimidated the nobility. The earl of Oxford compounded, by the payment of £15,000, for the penalties he had incurred by keeping retainers in livery; a practice mischievous and illegal, but too customary to have been punished before this reign. Even the king's clemency seems to have been influenced by the sordid motive of selling pardons; and it has been shown that he made a profit of every office in his court, and received money for conferring bishoprics.

It is asserted by early writers, though perhaps only on conjecture, that he left a sum, thus amassed, of no less than £1,800,000[1] at his decease. This treasure was soon dissipated by his successor, who had recourse to the assistance of parliament in the very first year of his reign. The foreign policy of Henry VIII, far unlike that of his father, was ambitious and enterprising. No former king had involved himself so frequently in the labyrinth of continental alliances.[i]

KNIGHT'S PICTURE OF ENGLAND AT THIS PERIOD

It is the opinion of Hallam[i] that "there had evidently been a retrograde tendency towards absolute monarchy between the reigns of Henry VI and Henry VIII." An Italian historian, Biondi,[x] who wrote in the time of James I, describes our mixed constitution as "a well-constituted aristocratic-democratic monarchy" (*aristodemocratica monarchia*). It was the policy of the first Tudor to impair, if not to destroy, the aristocratic branch, before the democratic had acquired any great political force. The Venetian secretary[y] says, "of these lords, who are called *milites*, there are very few left, and these diminish daily."

[1 Gairdner[b] estimates this as equivalent to £18,000,000 to-day.]

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At the commencement of the reign of Henry VII, the long immunity of the clergy from any interference of the legislature with their course of life, however criminal, was in a slight degree interrupted by a statute, which recognises the existence in the commonwealth of "priests, clerks, and religious men openly noised of incontinent living." The "act for bishops to punish priests and other religious men for dishonest life," provides that they may be committed to ward and prison, upon examination and other lawful proof, and that no action of wrongful imprisonment shall arise out of such commitment. But by a statute of three years later we learn how frightful were the exemptions from the course of justice which persons in holy orders obtained.



PILGRIM COSTUME

At the end of the reign of Henry VII the monastic establishments were at the culminating point of their wealth and luxury. Some of the gross profligacy which gave the appearance, if not the reality, of justice to their violent suppression was the subject of papal admonitions in 1490. But in their hospitality and their magnificence they commanded much popular support; and nothing seemed so unlikely as that in thirty years they should be swept away. There was scarcely a cloud, "bigger than a man's hand," to give sign of the coming storm. It is only when we have evidence of the real contempt which the higher order of minds, even amongst churchmen, felt for the impostures which contributed so mainly to the riches of the monastic shrines, that we discover how doubtful was that tenure of popularity which rested more upon vain delusions than upon the real benefit which the people derived from the teachings of religion.

Although the material wealth of England had been decidedly increasing during the reign of Henry VII, we have abundant evidence that its natural resources were very imperfectly brought into operation. The population appeared to the Venetian travellery not to bear any proportion to the fertility of the land and the riches of the cities. In passing from Dover to London, and from London to Oxford, the country appeared to him to be very thinly inhabited. He inquired, also, of those who rode to the north of the kingdom, and of those who went to Bristol and into Cornwall, and found there was no difference in their report upon this point. The population at the beginning of the sixteenth century has been estimated at four millions; but the data for this conclusion are scarcely to be relied on.

In an act of 1488-9, "concerning the Isle of Wight," it is recited that the isle is "late decayed of people"; and in an act of the same session, "against pulling down of towns," it is declared, that "where, in some towns, two hundred persons were occupied and lived by their lawful labours, now be there occupied two or three herdmen." The grievance to which this decay of population is ascribed, is the conversion of tilled land into pasture; and the consolidation of farms and farmholds "into one man's hold and hands, that of old time were wont to be in many several persons' holds and hands, and

many several households kept in them, and thereby much people multiplied." This is the process of which More[2] so bitterly complains, but of which he judged with the half-knowledge of his time on all economical questions. "Forsooth, my lord, quoth I"—he is addressing Morton—"your sheep, that were wont to be so meek and tame, and so small eaters, now, as I hear say, be become so great devourers and so wild, that they eat up and swallow down the very men themselves. They consume, destroy, and devour whole fields, houses, and cities."

In the time in which Henry VII legislated, and More declaimed against the decay of population through pasturage, the tillage of the land was so unprofitable that it afforded no return for the employment of capital. It yielded only a miserable subsistence to those who worked it, with imperfect instruments; with no knowledge of the rotation of crops; with no turnip husbandry to fatten sheep less wastefully than in the pastures; with no sufficient knowledge of the value of manures. The employment of capital in the feeding of sheep, being the more profitable mode of its use, speedily produced a greater demand for the labour of the whole country, than the ancient mode of cultivating small patches of land by the cottier-tenantry, who had succeeded the serfs of the earlier times. The pastures were furnishing employment to the manufacturers, the retailers, the merchants, of the great towns; and the profit of the pastures would, in course of time, bring about that larger system of tillage which would more perfectly unite the operations of the shepherd and the ploughman under the same tenancy.

It was more profitable to export wool and broad-cloth than to export grain; and no legislation and no philosophy could compel the application of capital to the growth of corn where it could be more advantageously applied to the growth of sheep. The indirect stimulus which a judicious investment of accumulated wealth in one branch of industry must produce upon all industries, was not then understood; nor was it understood during succeeding periods of growing prosperity.

The visible wealth of the people in plate was the admiration of foreigners. "There is no small innkeeper, however poor and humble he may be, who does not serve his table with silver dishes and drinking cups; and no one who has not in his house silver plate to the amount of at least £100 sterling, is considered by the English to be a person of any consequence." This observer adds, "The most remarkable thing in London is the wonderful quantity of wrought silver." The accumulation of capital in the form of plate was the result of the law which forbade any investment which would produce interest upon loan. And yet legislation here, as in all other cases which interfere with the natural laws of exchange, was not altogether effectual; for the same traveller remarks, of the English traders, "they are so diligent in mercantile pursuits, that they do not fear to make contracts on usury." They had the boldness to carry on commerce upon borrowed capital—a proof that the industry of the country had become, to some extent, energetic and self-reliant.

Another law, of the same contracted nature, was the more stringent re-enactment of a statute of Edward IV which had expired, forbidding coin of England or any other country, or plate, bullion, or jewels, to be carried out of the kingdom, "to the great impoverishing of the realm."

This fallacy, that a country is rich in proportion as it receives money in foreign commercial transactions and pays none, was kept up for several hundred years in the delusion called Balance of Trade. How this law interfered with the extension of commerce, and the consequent ability of the consumers to be supplied at the cheapest rate, may be easily conceived. Its

oppression of the voyager from the shores of England may be understood from the instance of Erasmus, who, returning to his own country from Dover, was stripped by the king's officers of all his money, except six angels, the amount permitted to be carried out of the realm. The poor scholar's little treasure was what he had earned by imparting his stores of learning to the youth of the country that thus despoiled him.

The principle of regulating the prices of commodities still went on, as we have related of previous periods, without reference to any of the circumstances that must render an invariable price unjust, even if it were possible to be generally enforced. The complaint of the commons, that hat-makers and cap-makers "sell their hats and caps at an outrageous price"—averring that what they buy for sixteen pence they sell for three shillings—is simply evidence of the absence of competition. We may be quite sure that when it was enacted that no hatter should sell the best hat above the price of twenty pence, the purchaser really obtained no cheaper commodity; that he lost in quality what he gained in price. But it was long before governments found out the absurdity of such interference with private dealings, in matters where an universal principle could not be applied.

There had been no attempts to regulate wages for half a century. In 1495 a new scale is set up, which, after the short experience of one year, it was found impossible to maintain; and it was therefore repealed in 1496, for "divers and many reasonable considerations and causes." The price of corn was fluctuating, from four shillings a quarter in 1495 to twenty shillings a quarter in 1497; and we can therefore well believe that it was not "for the common wealth of poor artificers," that the carpenter, with his sixpence a day, should be content to earn the fortieth part of a quarter of wheat in 1497, when he had obtained an eighth part in 1495. His wages would not rise proportionately with the price of necessaries; but in the power of making a free contract he would find some mitigation of the hardships of a famine season. It is evident from the tone of the legislation of Henry VII that the labouring and indigent classes were regarded with a little more consideration than in the times which had immediately succeeded those of the system of slavery.

The cruelty of the laws against vagrancy, however modified, was seen by More[z]—"They be cast into prison as vagabonds, because they go about and work not, whom no man will set at work, though they never so willingly proffer themselves thereto." But if the wanderer was in this reign treated with a little lenity—however pursued with savage cruelty in the next reign—the thief, in most cases, was hanged without mercy.

Erasmus,[bb] in one of his letters, says that the harvest of highway-robbery is abundant amongst the English. Crimes of violence appear to have been far more common than the fraudulent offences for which the age of Elizabeth was so remarkable. The transition from the times of feudal service to those of independent labour was a necessary cause that the discharged servingman of a decayed house—"who was wont with a sword and a buckler by his side to jet through the street with a bragging look"—should take a purse instead of wielding a spade. It was an age of stews and ale-houses, of dice and cards; and these temptations produced their usual effects, when there were gross ignorance and low morals; unsettled employment; sanctuaries to flee to; and judgment to be arrested by the ability to read a verse of the Bible.

The sanitary condition of London and the great towns was not wholly disregarded. But the sweating sickness was the terror of England at the beginning of the sixteenth century, as the plague was in the seventeenth, and

the cholera in the nineteenth. Filth, and imperfect ventilation, were amongst the main causes of epidemic disease at each of these periods. Erasmus saw that the English so constructed their rooms as to admit no thorough draught; and says, "Before I was thirty years old, if I slept in a room which had been shut up for some months without ventilation, I was immediately attacked with fever." The close air of the English houses, in his sensible opinion, ripened into pestilence. The dirt even of the better households of the sixteenth century was most striking to the Rotterdam scholar, who came from a land of cleanliness: "The floors are mostly of clay, and strewed with rushes. Fresh rushes are periodically laid over them, but the old ones remain as a foundation for perhaps twenty years together." The abominations which Erasmus mentions as collected in these successive layers need not be here particularised.

"It would contribute to health," says the same observer of our manners, "if people ate and drank less, and lived on fresh rather than salt meat." The feasts of the metropolitan city were as magnificent in the days of Henry VII as in our times—and, it would appear, quite as stupid. The Venetian traveller saw the mayor's banquet at the Guildhall, where a thousand people were seated at table; and "this dinner lasted four hours or more." At the sheriff's dinner he also observed "the infinite profusion of victuals." He adds, "I noticed how punctiliously they sat in their order, and the extraordinary silence of every one." The habit of feasting and being feasted—the dinners of parade which the satirist of our own days so justly ridicules amongst the manifold follies of vulgar ostentation—was a part of the old English character: "They think that no greater honour can be conferred or received than to invite others to eat with them; and they would sooner give five or six ducats to provide an entertainment for a person than a groat to assist him in any distress."

The old pride of the English was national. "Above all things," says Erasmus, "take care not to censure or despise any individual things in the country; the natives are very patriotic, and truly not without reason." The Venetian says, "They think that there are no other men than themselves, and no other world but England; and whenever they see a handsome foreigner, they say that he looks like an Englishman." The "lords of human kind" have now, for the most part, absorbed the pride of country into a narrower circle. It is the pride of possession, the dignity of his own estate, his stock, his house, his carriage, his liveries, his dinners, and his wine, that now marks the high-blown patriotic native. His country is chiefly valued as comprehending whatever ministers to his individual glory and gratification.

The perilous joustings of the lists of the king's manor of Sheen; the solemn banquets of Guildhall; the Lords of Misrule at the festivals of the court and the city; the Masks and Disguisings of royal and noble palaces—these were but reflections of the spirit of activity and enjoyment that abided in the people, amidst many physical privations and a general absence of what we call comfort. The "antique pageantry" of Christmas, the old merriments of Easter and May-day, were transmitted from a higher antiquity. It was the poetry of the mixed British, Roman, and Saxon race, blending with the festivals of the early Christian church, and popularly kept up in the mixed excitement of reverence and frolic. These ceremonials, in their original simplicity so associated with the love of nature—with the holly and ivy of December, the linden of the early spring, the blossoms of the life-stirring May—were especially attractive to the inhabitants of the crowded towns. The citizens of Cornhill had danced under the May-pole beneath St. Andrew's

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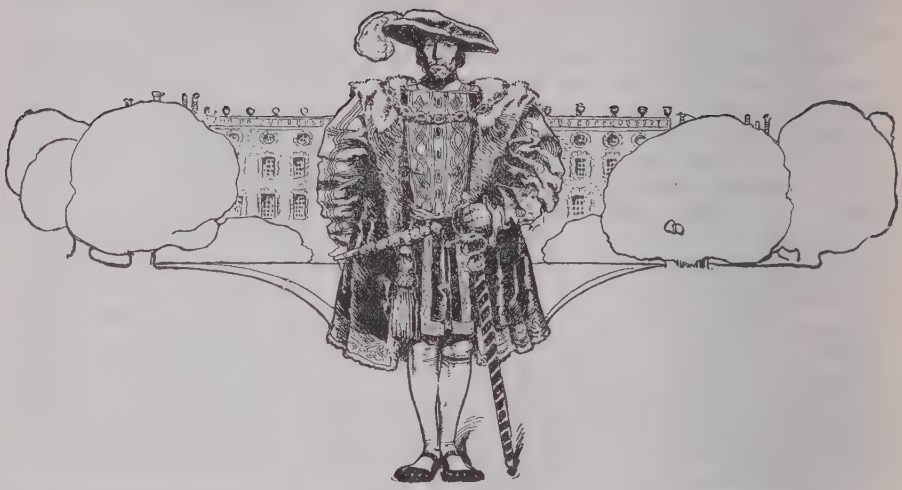
church from time immemorial. The parishes had joined from the earliest days of their guilds, to go forth to the woods to fetch in the May.

They had lighted the bonfires in the streets, as their fathers had lighted them; and the players at bucklers were there, as they were of old. The parish clerks performed their interludes in Smithfield as in the time of the second Richard. The wrestlers contended before the mayor and aldermen, and the archers went out into Finsbury Fields, as their fathers before them. The Marching Watch lighted up the gabled roofs of the city of Lud, as it had done, time out of mind, when every man's door was "shadowed with green birch, long fennel, St. John's wort, orpine, and white lilies"; seven hundred burning cressets sent up their "triumphant fires"; and the two thousand men of the marching watch came on with the cresset-bearers, each armed with harquebuss and bow and pike, their bright corslets glittering in the pitchy flame, whilst the waits of the city played their merriest tunes, and the morrice-dancers kept time to their inspiring notes. It was an institution that dated from the time of Henry III. There was a reality in this marvellous pageant, of which Stow[cc] writes with the enthusiastic pride of a London citizen. The men of the watch were the organised guardians of the city—its voluntary police, under the orders of its magistrates.

The poetry of the old London life is reflected in many other elaborate descriptions by London's most honoured antiquary. And he feels, too, that these seasons of civic display and of common rejoicing called forth a spirit of love out of the depths of the heart, which might be too often slumbering in the struggle for personal gain and honour in the great mart of commerce. Such is the sentiment which he infuses into his account of the simple hospitalities of the London streets, in the twilight hours of June and July: "On the vigils of festival days, and on the same festival days after the sun setting, there were usually made bonfires in the streets, every man bestowing wood and labour towards them; the wealthier sort, also, before their doors near to the said bonfires, would set out tables on the vigils, furnished with sweet bread and good drink, and on the festival days with meats and drinks plentifully, whereunto they would invite their neighbours and passengers also to sit and be merry with them in great familiarity praising God for the benefits bestowed on them."[m]

MACAULAY'S SUMMING UP

In the reign of Henry VII all the political differences which had agitated England since the Norman conquest seemed to be set at rest. The long and fierce struggle between the crown and the barons had terminated. The grievances which had produced the rebellions of Wat Tyler and Cade had disappeared. Villeinage was scarcely known. The two royal houses, whose conflicting claims had long convulsed the kingdom, were at length united. The claimants, whose pretensions, just or unjust, had disturbed the new settlement, were overthrown. In religion there was no open dissent, and probably very little secret heresy. The old subjects of contention, in short, had vanished; those which were to succeed had not yet appeared.[dd]



CHAPTER II

HENRY VIII AND CARDINAL WOLSEY

[1509–1527 A.D.]

THE crown which Henry VII had won on the battle-field and preserved among most extreme perils, he bequeathed to his son as an unquestioned possession. The son succeeded the father without opposition—a thing unprecedented for centuries.—VON RANKE.[b]

ENGLISHMEN were not in the mood to anticipate evil at the accession of Henry. In the young king all the conditions requisite for a prosperous reign seemed to be combined in a rare degree. To the dull monotony, varied only by Yorkist rebellions, to the greed, suspicion, and jealousy which made the shady side of the previous reign, succeeded an era of splendour and enjoyment in which every free and generous impulse should have scope. As Henry united in his own person the lines of the White Rose and the Red, there was no likelihood of a revival of the old broils. Those who grudged to see his Lancastrian father on the throne were well pleased to see it occupied by a son of Elizabeth of York. The hated avarice of Henry VII had provided means for the popularity of his successor; and to Henry VIII fell the easy and generous rôle of squandering the treasure which his father had amassed. Nor was this the only respect in which the young Henry entered on the fruit of other men's labours. In the wars of the Roses and by the policy of Edward IV and Henry VII, the old feudal nobility had been brought very low. When nothing more was to be feared from that quarter, it was Henry VIII's easy task to gather round him the broken remnants, to attach them to his person, and to make them the ready instruments of his will, in short, to convert the representatives of a haughty feudal baronage into submissive courtiers.

[1509 A.D.]

In character the young Henry was a king according to the people's heart; even in his faults he was exceptionally fortunate. He was handsome, frank, extravagant, of vast muscular strength, accomplished in all the manly exercises of the time and in the new learning; he was vain, thirsting for popularity, eager to retrieve the old renown of England, the enemy of France, and dreamed always of renewing the conquests of the Henrys and Edwards. It is not surprising that Henry excited the highest expectations in all classes of his subjects, for his varied character offered an attractive side to all of them. The men of the new learning were charmed by his love of letters. Ecclesiastics saw with pleasure his punctual performance of the duties of religion. All good men were delighted with the excellence and purity of his private life. Statesmen were struck by his capacity for business; his gaiety and frankness captivated the courtiers; the prospect of French conquest inspired the warlike and the ambitious.

From the description of Henry by the Venetian ambassador, Giustiniani,[c] in 1519, we can easily perceive what impression he must have made on England at his accession: "His Majesty is twenty-nine years old, and extremely handsome. Nature could not have done more for him. He is much handsomer than any other sovereign of Christendom—a good deal handsomer than the king of France—very fair, and his whole frame admirably proportioned. On hearing that Francis I wore a red beard, he allowed his own to grow; and as it is reddish, he has now got a beard that looks like gold. He is very accomplished, a good musician, composes well, is a most capital horseman, a fine jouster, speaks good French, Latin, and Spanish, is very religious, hears three masses daily when he hunts, and sometimes five on other days. He hears the office every day in the queen's chamber—that is to say, vesper and compline. He is very fond of hunting, and never takes his diversion without tiring eight or ten horses, which he causes to be stationed beforehand along the line of country he means to take; and when one is tired he mounts another, and before he gets home they are all exhausted. He is extremely fond of tennis, at which game it is the prettiest thing in the world to see him play, his fair skin glowing through a shirt of the finest texture."

When we take all these facts into consideration, when we remember also that ere long he had raised England from a third-rate position to a level with the greatest powers of Europe, and that for twenty years nothing serious occurred to break the harmony of his reign, we cannot be surprised that Henry was a most popular king.[d]

THE MARRIAGE WITH CATHERINE (1509)

If the new king was still unmarried, it had been owing to the capricious and interested policy of his father. Immediately after his accession, he assured Fuensalida, the Spanish ambassador, of his undiminished attachment to Catherine, and of his intention to bring the question of their marriage immediately before his council.[1] By its advocates was alleged in its favour the advantage of securing the alliance of Spain against the hostility of France; and to the objection drawn from the affinity between the parties were opposed the force of the papal dispensation, and the solemn assertion of Catherine, which she was ready to confirm by her own oath, and by the attestation of several matrons, that her former nuptials with Arthur had never

[1] According to Cardinal Pole,[e] "He desired her above all women, above all he loved her, and longed to wed her"; before they were married he often declared this.

been consummated.[1] With the unanimous assent of the council Henry was publicly married to the princess by the archbishop of Canterbury, June 3rd; their coronation followed, June 24th; and these two events were celebrated with rejoicings, which occupied the court during the remaining part of the year.[h]

FIRST ACTS OF HENRY

The reign of Henry VIII, according to the computations in official records, commenced on the 22d of April, 1509, his father having died on the 21st. It is held to be an erroneous idea, that the kings of England always ascended the throne the moment the preceding sovereign died. The new sovereign was "entering into the flower of pleasant youth," and England, in the words of Cavendish,[i] was "called then the golden world, such grace of plenty reigned then within this realm."

The first act of Henry VIII and his council was the arrest of Sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, the ministers of the extortions of Henry VII. Many of the false witnesses, or promoters, who were employed by these criminal agents of a greater criminal, were also apprehended; and, in the language of the time, "wore papers"—that is, they stood in the pillory each with a paper describing his offences. The prosecution of Empson and Dudley was a signal instance of the abuse of justice, however politic it might have been to appease the clamours of those whom they had injured. They defended themselves before the council with eloquence, and with a show of truth. They acted, as they declared, according to the commissions with which they were intrusted, and they conformed to precedent and the letter of the law.

The charges against them failed, for the real offender was their lord the king, who had benefited by their practices. But it was expedient to punish them, and a ridiculous charge of treason against the reigning monarch was got up against them, it being pretended that they conspired to seize the person of Henry on the death of his father and to assume the functions of government. Empson was convicted on this charge by a jury at Northampton, and Dudley by a jury in London. The parliament passed a bill of attainder against them at the beginning of 1510, and they were executed in the following August.[2] But out of the treasury, which Henry VIII found amply supplied in part through their evil labours, there came no relief to their victims. Some laws were made to prevent such abuses in future—an easier duty than that of restitution.

There is a curious document still existing which manifests the attention which the young king paid to his own affairs. It also shows the tendency of his mind, even at this early period, to assert the dignity of the crown in matters

[1] Henry acknowledged the truth of her assertion to her nephew the emperor, as is observed by Cardinal Pole[f] in his letter to the king, entitled, *Pro unitatis ecclesiasticæ defensione.* "You yourself declared that you took her a virgin, and you declared it to the emperor to whom it would hardly have been expedient to say it if you then thought of divorce." Peter Martyr,[g] in a letter dated May 6, 1509, before the marriage, tells us that the same was the belief in Spain. "It is the general opinion that her first husband left her intact because he was an invalid and not of mature age." On this account she was married with the ceremonies appropriated to the nuptials of maids. She was dressed in white, and wore her hair loose.

[2] The heirs of both were restored in blood, some two or three years after. John Dudley, the son of the first, became Viscount Lisle under Henry VIII, earl of Warwick under Edward VI, then duke of Northumberland, and was beheaded on the accession of Mary. It was the grandson of the rapacious minister of Henry VII that was married to Lady Jane Grey.[j]]

[1510 A.D.]

of church government. This document is the coronation oath of the kings of England, altered and interlined by the hand of Henry. The original form says, "The king shall swear at his coronation that he shall keep and maintain the right and the liberties of the Holy Church of old time granted by the righteous Christian kings of England." The copy, as interlined, reads, "The king shall swear that he shall keep and maintain the lawful right and the liberties of old time granted by the righteous Christian kings of England to the Holy Church of England, not prejudicial to his jurisdiction and dignity royal." The early education of Henry had led him to the consideration of ecclesiastical questions. Whether, in this modification of the accustomed oath, the king, in the words of Ellis,[n] "looked to something like supremacy in the Church of England, at the very outset of his reign"—or whether it was a general assertion of that dominant spirit which could brook no control and admit no superiority—the interlineations are equally consistent with the character of the man whose individual will was to produce the most signal consequences to the country over which he asserted his "dignity royal" for thirty-eight years.



TILTING LANCES
(Sixteenth century)

The parliament of the first year of Henry's reign had granted a subsidy of tonnage and poundage, as the customs duties upon certain exports and imports were called. These taxes were granted for the defence of the realm and the keeping of the sea. There were no circumstances to call for an especial provision beyond this ordinary revenue. The ministers of the crown moved in their accustomed course, without any trouble from apprehended dangers at home or abroad. The commonalty were gratified by the vengeance inflicted upon the legal harpies of the preceding reign; and there were no higher violations of the laws, to be met by more stringent legislation, than "the great and costly array and apparel used within this realm, contrary to good statutes"; which excess "hath been the occasion of great impoverishing of divers of the king's subjects, and provoked many of them to rob and to do extortion and other unlawful deeds to maintain thereby their costly array." Archbishop Warham, the chancellor; Bishop Foxe, lord privy seal; and Howard, earl of Surrey, lord treasurer, were the king's chief ministers.

For two years the narratives of the chroniclers, especially of Hall,[k] are chiefly limited to descriptions of the king's feats of chivalry and his exercise in all manly sports. In his second year, at the feast of Pentecost at Greenwich, "his grace, with two other with him, challenged all comers to fight with them at the barriers with target and casting the spear; and, that done, with two-handed swords." In the use of the old English long-bow "his grace shot as strong and as great a length as any of his guard." On May-day, "his grace being young, and willing not to be idle, rose in the morning very early to fetch May or green boughs, himself fresh and richly apparelled, and clothed all his knights, squires, and gentlemen in white satin, and all his guard and yeomen of the crown in white sarsnet." In these Mayings Queen Catherine sometimes accompanied her active consort; and very harmless bands of archers shot their flights at the command of Robin Hood, their chief, and the courteous outlaw feasted the gallant company in green arbours decked with flowers.

When the king entered the lists to joust and won the prize which the queen bestowed, "all young persons highly praised, but the ancient fathers much doubted, considering the tender youth of the king, and divers chances of horses and armour." They "fain would have him a looker-on rather than a doer." It was not in the disposition of this king to be "a looker-on." He soon made for himself more exciting occupations than his daily exercise "in shooting, singing, dancing, wrestling, casting of the bar, playing at the recorders, flute, virginals, and in setting of songs and making of ballads." He was to show himself "the most Christian king" by higher feats than that skill in music by which "he did set two goodly masses, every of them five parts, which were sung oftentimes in his chapel, and afterwards in divers other places." In the third year of his reign King Henry was preparing for war with France and Scotland.

THE "HOLY LEAGUE" AGAINST FRANCE (1511–1513 A.D.)

From the statute of 1511–12, which grants a subsidy to the king of "two whole fifteenths and tenths," we see that the impending war with France was essentially different in one material principle from any previous war in which England had engaged with a continental power. It was a war—if the preamble to the statute correctly interprets the royal counsels—for the maintenance of the Balance of Power in Europe. In the possible success of Louis of France against Ferdinand of Spain was to be dreaded "the inestimable loss and damage of this realm."

The principle thus asserted, in carrying out its necessary consequence of taxation of the people, has continued to be asserted in the same way for three centuries and a half. Success in this never-ending labour appears as remote as at the first hour when the professors of statecraft threw kingdoms and provinces now into one scale and now into another, to make the obstinately unresting beam for a moment level. But a war for maintaining the Balance of Power could scarcely appeal to the enthusiasm of the nation for support, and especially to the clergy, the most influential portion of the nation. In 1512 the object of a war with France is more precisely defined. It is to be a war for the "reformation of the schismatic demeanour" of the French king against "our holy father the pope," who has placed France under an interdict, which the said French king "despising, will not thereby reform himself." The real circumstances of this European contest, in which England might well have remained neutral without any loss of power and dignity, may be briefly told.

At the commencement of the reign of Henry VIII the papal throne had been filled during six years by Julius II—a pontiff who united the characters of the priest and the warrior, and was equally prepared to uphold the claims of his church, and increase the extent of his dominions, with sword or with interdict. His real policy was to render Italy independent—a project not to be suddenly accomplished by arms, when opposed to Louis of France, or Maximilian the emperor, or Ferdinand of Spain, but to be gradually furthered by sowing dissensions amongst the temporal princes. He had joined with these sovereigns in curbing the power of the Venetians by the League of Cambray, in 1508. He now professed to dread the ambition of France, and openly defied Louis by the invasion of the territories of his friend the duke of Ferrara. The French king sent an army from Milan to the support of his ally. Julius retired to Bologna, where in 1510 he was besieged by a French army, but without success. In 1511 that papal city was taken; and Louis took the bold step of calling a general council [at Pisa] "for the reforma-

[1512 A.D.]

tion of the Church, both in its head and its members." He had the support of his own clergy and of five cardinals. But the pope called another council [at St. John Lateran] and set in action the spiritual weapons of deposition and excommunication. The princes of Christendom were invited to join the "Holy League" for the defence of the Roman Church and the extinction of schism.

The impetuous king of England eagerly rushed to enrol himself amongst the supporters of the pope, who gratefully flattered him with the promise that the king of France should no longer be "the most Christian king," and that the orthodox Henry should bear that honoured title. But there was something in the prospect of a war more tempting to the pride and presumption of Henry than the flatteries of "our holy father." The old dream of the conquest of France—the circumstances being wholly changed which could give the slightest encouragement to a hope of such an issue—came once again before the eyes of an English king, with all its delusive images. In the fifth year of Henry's reign this gay vision was embodied in the preamble to a statute, which shows "the king, our sovereign lord, greatly desiring to recover the realm of France, his very true patrimony and inheritance, and to reduce the same to his obedience" (5 Hen. VIII, c. i). When Henry went with this avowal to parliament, his warlike career had been marked by some successes which might have intoxicated even a less wilful and arrogant ruler.

Scotland Joins France

There was another ancient quarrel of the kings of England, which the government of Henry appears to have kept up with some of the passion and prejudice which a sound policy would have rejected. There were reasonable causes of complaint on both sides between England and Scotland; but when the king asked for a subsidy in the third year of his reign, the quarrel with France being then ripening, the king of Scots is termed by the parliament, "very homager and obediencer of right to your highness." A famous Scotch privateer, Andrew Barton, with his two brothers, had conducted a naval war against the Portuguese, under letters of marque from James IV. The statute of the 3rd of Henry alleges as an offence of Scotland that the king "hath lately taken your subjects with their ships and merchandises on the sea." These captures were made by the Bartons; and the earl of Surrey fitted out two ships to repress these assaults on English vessels, which were not the less obnoxious because they were under colour of search for Portuguese goods.

Sir Thomas Howard, the son of Surrey, met Andrew Barton in his ship the Lion, cruising in the Downs, and in a desperate engagement the daring privateer fell mortally wounded on his deck. A smaller vessel belonging to this family was taken by another Howard. It is recorded of Surrey that when the exploits of the Bartons were made known in Henry's council, he said, according to Lloyd,[1] "The king of England should not be imprisoned in his kingdom, while either he had an estate to set up a ship or a son to command it." When James IV demanded satisfaction for the death of his brave mariner, Henry replied that kings should disdain to quarrel about the fate of a pirate. But there were other causes of difference less national in their character. Henry VII had bequeathed some valuable jewels to his daughter Margaret, the queen of Scotland. Her brother, with a meanness which might be supposed alien to his ordinary proud and impulsive bearing, withheld

this legacy. The family alliance, which should have ripened into a national alliance between England and Scotland, was broken; and in May, 1512, James IV concluded a league with France.

THE WAR WITH FRANCE

In June, 1512, an English force was sent to Spain, under the marquis of Dorset. These ten thousand Englishmen, who were intended for the conquest of Guienne, remained inactive near Fontarabia, whilst Henry's ally, Ferdinand, was carrying out his own projects in the conquest of Navarre. There is a curious picture of a raw and undisciplined English force, given in a letter of Dr. William Knight, addressed to "The right honourable M. Thomas Wolsey, almoner to the king's grace of England." "The army," he says, "doeth earthly nothing, but feed and sleep"; they mutinied for advance of pay to eightpence a day; they were not practised "how we should behave us in wars, as all other men do, and as all that ever I read of have done, specially when the army is unlearned, and hath not seen the feats of war." This communication to the king's almoner indicates the position which Thomas Wolsey now filled. We learn from his biographer, Cavendish,[i] that in the expedition to France, in 1513, Wolsey was essentially the war-minister. Strange as it may seem that a priest of the king's household should have the organisation of a great warlike expedition, it will appear less strange when we bear in mind that some of the highest offices of the state were filled by churchmen.



CARDINAL WOLSEY
(1471–1530)

The army of Guienne had returned to England without accomplishing any object beyond facilitating the conquest of Navarre by Ferdinand. The English fleet under Sir Edward Howard made descents on the coast of Brittany, and committed the usual ravages. There was a naval engagement off Brest, August 12th, 1512, which was called a victory, though the largest ship in the English navy, the Regent, was burned. So important was the loss of this ship deemed, that Wolsey, writing to Bishop Foxe, said, "Keep this tidings secret to yourself, for there is no living man knoweth the same here but only the king and I." The king immediately commanded a magnificent vessel to be built, which figures in history as the "Henri Grace Dieu." In the following spring of 1513 Brest was blockaded. Sir Edward Howard, having made a vow that he would never more see the king till he had revenged the death of Sir Thomas Knyvet, who perished in the flames of the Regent,

[1512 A.D.]

attempted to cut out a squadron moored in a bay strongly fortified,[1] and fell a victim to the principle which has given England so many naval victories [his favourite maxim], that temerity at sea becomes a virtue.

The evil that was inflicted upon the French coasts was naturally encountered by a similar infliction upon the English coasts. There is a statute of 1512 for the especial erection of bulwarks from Plymouth to Land's End, and in all other landing places, which furnishes sufficient evidence that the practical despotism of the government touched every man, however humble. To assist in the defence of their country against invasion necessarily demands some personal privation from the high and the lowly. But the government which enacted that all inhabitants of the maritime districts should be compelled to work at such bulwarks, with their own instruments, and to receive no compensation for their toil, was a government that hesitated not to rob the poor of their only capital, their power of labour, to spare the rich, whose property was chiefly imperilled by the probable assaults of a hostile force. Those who came not to work and to starve, at the summons of the mayors and constables, were to be committed to prison.

Ferdinand of Castile, with his usual adroitness, had concluded a truce with Louis XII. He had possessed himself of Navarre, and the object with which he drew England into a war was accomplished. But Henry, with Maximilian, the emperor, and the new pope (Leo X), formed a new league against France. England was dragged into a continuance of the war, contrary to the opinion of the soundest heads amongst her politicians,[2] that the boastful king who challenged all comers at the barriers might exhibit his pageantry on a real battle-field. Of Henry's animal courage there can be little doubt; but, like many other men possessing natural bravery, he was wholly unfitted for the duties of a commander. He had one great object ever present to his

[1 He was blockading the harbour of Brest, when it was suggested to him to cut out a squadron of six galleys under Prejent, or Prior John, moored in the bay of Conquet between rocks planted with cannon. Taking two galleys and four boats, April 2rd, 1513, he rowed up to the enemy, leaped on the deck of the largest vessel, and was followed by Carroz, a Spanish cavalier, and sixteen Englishmen. Unfortunately his own galley, which had been ordered to grapple with her opponent, fell astern; the gallant Sir Edward and his companions were borne overboard by a superior force, and the fleet, disconcerted by the loss of its commander, hastened back into port. Prejent seized the opportunity to insult the coast of Sussex; but the king ordered the lord Thomas Howard to take the place and revenge the death of his brother; and the new admiral chased the enemy into Brest, and captured several valuable prizes.—LINGARD.*h*]

[2 Henry was inexorable. He longed to wipe away the disgrace of the last year, and the feelings of the people harmonised with those of their sovereign. The clergy granted him two-tenths, the laity a tenth, a fifteenth, and a capitation tax, towards the prosecution of the war. This tax was fixed after the following rates (Rolls xxvi, xxvii):

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
A duke	6	13	4	The possessors of personal property, value 800£	2	13	4
Marquess or earl	4	0	0	From 400£ to 800£	2	0	0
Wives of ditto	4	0	0	200£ to 400£	1	6	8
Baron, baronet, and baroness	2	0	0	100£ to 200£	0	13	4
Other knights not lords of parliament	1	10	0	40£ to 100£	0	6	8
Proprietors of lands above 40£ yearly value	1	0	0	20£ to 40£	0	3	4
From 20£ to 40£	0	10	0	10£ to 20£	0	1	8
10£ to 20£	0	5	0	2£ to 10£	0	1	0
2£ to 10£	0	2	0	Labourers and servants with wages of 2£ yearly	0	1	0
Below 2£	0	1	0	From 1£ to 2£	0	0	6
				All other persons	0	0	4

From these rates it appears that the old distinction between greater and lesser barons was not yet abolished. They are called barons and baronets, and are considered equally as lords of parliament.—LINGARD.*h*]

mind, in peace or in war; to display Henry the king, in his presumed superiority of mind and body, made doubly impressive by his regal magnificence.

A more vain-glorious and self-willed coxcomb never wore a crown. In his first experience of war, in 1513, his qualities were exhibited in a way which sufficiently betokens the total absence of real greatness of character. Two divisions of an army of twenty-five thousand men had sailed for France in May, and the king was to accompany the last division in June. He committed the governance of the realm to his queen, leaving his commands for the execution of the earl of Suffolk, who had remained shut up in the Tower since 1506. Richard de la Pole, his brother, had accepted a command in the French army; and the hereditary jealousy of the "White Rose" stirred up the feeling with which the first and second Tudor regarded every possible claimant to the Plantagenet blood. The two divisions of the English army, under the earl of Shrewsbury and Lord Herbert, were besieging Thérouanne, a strong town of France, near the Flemish frontier, when Henry, on the 15th of June, set forth toward Dover, from his royal manor of Greenwich, accompanied by his queen and a great retinue, to head the third division. It was the 30th of June before the king and his courtiers went on ship-board, and, in the words of Hall,[k] "took leave of the queen and of the ladies, which made such sorrow for the departing of their husbands that it was great dolour to behold."

Ostentatiously sailing near Boulogne, firing guns and sounding trumpets, the king's fleet reached Calais. Wherever Henry appears, we derive from the old chronicler the most intricate details of his magnificent wardrobe; and for three weeks he lingered at Calais, exhibiting his "garment of white cloth of gold, with a red cross," and surrounded by the six hundred archers of his guard, "all in white gaberdines." On the 12th of August Maximilian was to join him. Henry was now in his great element, and "prepared all things necessary to meet with the emperor in triumph." How the noblemen of the king's camp were gorgeously apparelled; how their coursers wore trappings of gold and silver, with little bells of gold; how the king was in a garment of great riches in jewels, and armed in a light armour—these trifles are most elaborately depicted.[m]

HENRY VIII AND THE BATTLE OF THE SPURS (1513 A.D.)

The news that a French army, under the command of the Duke de Longueville and the far-famed Bayard—*Le chevalier sans peur et sans reproche*—was moving to the relief of Thérouanne, had caused the young king to mount his warhorse,[1] and on the 21st of July he marched out of Calais with a magnificent army amounting to about fifteen thousand horse and foot. They had scarcely got beyond Ardres when they saw a strong detachment of French cavalry manœuvring in their front. Expecting a battle, Henry dismounted, and threw himself into the centre of his lansquenets, to fight on foot like the Henrys and Edwards of former times. The brilliant Bayard, who was with the French horse, would have charged, but his superiors in command reminded him that King Louis had given orders that they should most carefully avoid fighting the English in open battle; and, after reconnoitring the invaders, the French withdrew, having already succeeded in another part of their commission, which was to throw provisions and gunpowder into the

[1] At this time we find Queen Catherine writing very humbly and affectionately to the rising Wolsey, and entreating him to send her frequent news of her husband, his grace the king.—See Sir HENRY ELLIS.[n]

[1513 A.D.]

besieged town. The English, "without let or hindrance," joined the divisions under Lord Herbert, and the siege was then pressed with some vigour. The besieged garrison was numerous, brave, and skilful: they countermined a mine attempted by Baynam, the English engineer; and their artillery, though it made less noise, did more mischief than that of the besiegers.

In this state of affairs the Emperor Maximilian, who had received an advance of 120,000 crowns from the English treasury to enable him to raise troops, came to Thérouanne with nothing but a small escort. Henry put on all his magnificence for this reception; for, nominally, the emperor was the first of Christian princes. The two potentates met in a tremendous storm of wind and rain (which must have deranged the white silk jackets of the English courtiers) in the midst of a plain between Aire and the camp. The broad way to Henry's heart had been discovered by all his royal brothers, and, his vanity being once satisfied—for Maximilian assured him that he, the Emperor of the West, was come to serve under him in quality of volunteer—he seems to have overlooked the omission of which he had been guilty in not bringing an army with him. The emperor had scarcely arrived at headquarters when Henry received a much less flattering visitor. This was Lyon, king-at-arms, bringing him the defiance and declaration of war of the king of Scotland, who had already taken the field and sent his fleet to co-operate with his ally the king of France. Henry, however, knew that the brave Surrey was in the marches, and he told the messenger that that earl would know how to deal with his master.

Nearly six weeks had now been wasted in the siege of the insignificant town of Terouanne; and so absurdly had the siege been conducted, that the garrison still continued to receive supplies from the army of the count of Angoulême (later Francis I). When these communications were interrupted, the main body of the French army, consisting of about twelve thousand men, advanced from Plangy, with a view of throwing in provisions under cover of a feigned battle. Upon this Henry and Maximilian crossed the river, and formed in order of battle between it and the town and the French army. The emperor, who had won a victory over the French on that very ground thirty-four years before, directed the operations of the English, wearing the red cross of England above his armour, and the red rose of Lancaster, Henry's favourite cognizance, in his helmet. All this, according to an old historian, Bishop Godwin,[o] deserves to be recorded to the eternal honour of the nation, as also the fact of the emperor's taking for pay 100 crowns a day, besides what was disbursed among his attendants.

The French horse charged in a brilliant manner, but, after throwing some powder within reach of the besieged, they wheeled round to fall back upon their main body. Being hotly followed by the mounted English archers and a few squadrons of German horse, they quickened their pace to a downright flight, galloped into the lines of their main body, and threw the whole into uproar and confusion. As the English charged with tremendous shouts of "St. George! St. George!" the panic became complete; and every Frenchman that was mounted struck spurs into his horse and galloped from the field. In vain the bravest of their officers tried to rally them; the attempts, indeed, were worse than vain, for, owing to their not making the same use of their spurs and fleeing with the rest, the duke de Longueville, the illustrious Bayard, La Fayette, and many other captains of high rank, were taken prisoners by the English. Henry could not help congratulating his captives on the great speed their men had put into their horses: the light-hearted Frenchmen joined in his laugh, and said that it had been nothing but a "Battle of

Spurs."[1] By this name, accordingly, the affair came afterwards to be popularly known.

The panic, however, was both real and lasting, and if Henry had taken advantage of it, and of other circumstances, he might have inflicted a much more serious blow. The Swiss, to whom he had sent some money, had crossed the Jura Mountains in great force, and had penetrated into France as far as Dijon, the capital of Burgundy. With a Swiss army of twenty thousand men on one side, and an English army on the other, Paris began to betray symptoms of alarm. But, to the great joy of Louis, Henry, instead of advancing, permitted himself to be amused another whole week by the siege of Terouanne. At the end of August the French garrison capitulated, and were allowed to march out with all the honours of war; the town, by the advice of Maximilian, who had an interested and evident motive for this advice, was dismantled and burned. That the destruction might be complete, without any labour to the English, the Flemings in the neighbourhood, the subjects of the emperor's grandson the archduke Charles, were let loose upon the devoted place, and, being animated with the old enmities usual to bordering nations, razed the walls, filled up the ditches, set fire to the houses, and scarcely left one stone standing upon another. The weather continued to be very rainy, and Henry by this time, according to Bishop Godwin,[o] "had so much of war that he began to be weary of the toil thereof, and to cast his mind on the pleasures of the court." But still it was only the beginning of the month of September, and military etiquette required that something more should be done before going into winter quarters.

What Henry did was a military absurdity; but he continued to be guided by Maximilian, who was still working for the profit of the Flemings and his grandson Charles. Instead of advancing into France, he turned back to lay siege to Tournay, which belonged to France, though it was *enclavé* in the territory of Flanders, over the trade of which it exercised a bad influence. The emperor was wise in getting possession of it without cost or risk. But what interest Henry could have in such an enterprise was not very apparent. His favourite, Wolsey, however, had an interest, and a great one: Maximilian had promised him the rich bishopric of Tournay, and this prevailing favourite no doubt recommended the siege. The French citizens of Tournay refused the assistance of a garrison of the royal troops, and made a bold show of resistance, but as soon as the English artillery got into play, they changed their tone, and in a few days capitulated.

On the 22nd of September Henry rode into Tournay with as much pomp and triumph as if he had taken the capital of France. Ten days before this inglorious conquest, the Swiss, who saw what sort of an ally they had in the English king, concluded a treaty highly advantageous to themselves with the king of France, and marched back to their own mountains. Louis was thus enabled to concentrate his forces in the north, and the grand plan of the allies vanished in air. Wolsey got the rich bishopric, Henry spent some money in jousts and tournaments, and then returned well satisfied to England, where he arrived safe and sound on the 22nd of October. Although he did not gain quite so much by it, Maximilian had duped the vain-glorious king almost as much as Ferdinand had done before. The money which Henry

[1 Alluding to the tragic battle of Courtrai in 1302, so called because of the great number of gold spurs found on the dead nobility of France slain by the victorious Flemings. Others have said that Henry VIII's victory was named from a near-by village of Spours, but this is not the accepted account. Henri Martin[p] credits the panic of the French to the sudden appearance of German artillery on their flank.]

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had expended on the Continent amounted to an enormous sum. But his confidence in the earl of Surrey had not been misplaced, and during his absence that nobleman had gained one of the most remarkable victories on record. Following up his defiance, the Scottish king had put himself at the head of a numerous and gallant but somewhat undisciplined army, and, contrary to the advice of most of his ministers, crossed the Tweed and began hostilities.

FLODDEN FIELD

The version most received of the fatal field of Flodden is so striking and romantic, that we scarcely hope to rectify what is incorrect in the impressions it has made,[1] but the following appear to have been the real circumstances which preceded and attended that battle. Although undertaken against the advice of the majority of the nobility, the war was very popular with the Scottish people, who flocked in such numbers to the royal standard that James was enabled, on the 22nd of August, to cross the Borders with one of the most formidable armies that had ever invaded England. His artillery and appointments were also superior to what had hitherto been seen in Scottish armies. Instead of advancing, however, he lingered on the right bank of the Tweed, besieging Norham castle, which did not surrender till the 29th of August. He then marched up the Tweed to Wark castle, which detained him a day or two. From Wark he went to Etal, and thence to Ford,[2] another border fortress of no great consequence, but which he attacked out of spite to the family of the Herons (to whom it belonged), a member of which, John Heron, was suspected of having murdered his favourite, Sir Robert Kerr.

From York the earl of Surrey, who was allowed time to reinforce his army [it numbered between thirty and forty thousand], advanced to Alnwick, whence, on the 4th of September, he despatched Rouge Croix, the pursuivant-at-arms, to reproach James with his breach of faith, and to offer him battle on the following Friday, if he had courage to remain so long on English ground. The same herald bore another message from Surrey's son, the lord Thomas Howard, now admiral of England, who in very rude terms told the Scottish monarch that he would come to justify the death of that pirate, Barton, which had been charged upon him as a foul murder by James, and that he neither expected to receive nor would give quarter. To Surrey James replied in a chivalrous tone, accepting his challenge; but he left the brutal message of his son unanswered. Though his army was already somewhat thinned by desertion,[3] James resolved to abide the battle, and chose his ground with some skill on Flodden Hill, an offshoot of the Cheviot range,

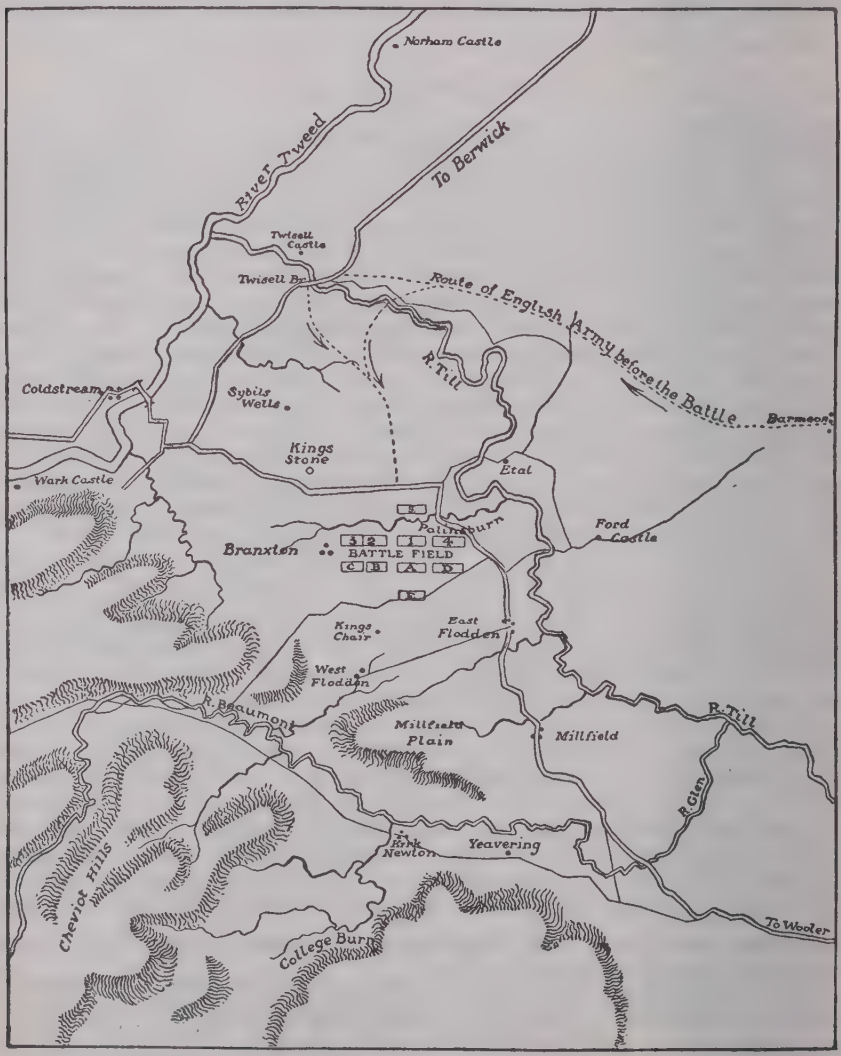
[1 P. Hume Brown *q* says, "The authorities for this battle are mainly English, and in several points are contradictory and incredible."]

[2 Elizabeth, the wife of William Heron, in the absence of her husband, petitioned the king to spare the castle, and had obtained, on that condition, from Surrey the liberty of the lord Johnstone, and of Alexander Home. But James refused the exchange, and rejected the petition of the lady. I suspect that this is the only foundation of the tale which is sometimes told, that James was captivated by the charms of Mrs. Ford, who revealed his secrets to Surrey, and that he spent in dalliance with her that time which ought to have been employed in penetrating into England. But it should be recollected that the whole time allotted for the capture of Ford Etal and Wark is comprised within a short space, between the 29th of August, when Norham surrendered, and the 3d of September, when Surrey reached Alnwick. The king therefore appears to have lost but little of his time.- LINGARD.*h*]

[3 Because, according to Leslie,*r* of the incessant "great cold, wind, and wet." According to Polydore Vergil,*s* he had, however, sixty thousand men. According to Hall,*k* one hundred thousand. But, according to Brown,*q* Surrey's movements show that the English had the greater number.

steep on both flanks, and defended in front by the deep Till, a tributary of the Tweed.

When the English came in sight of this position they did not like it, and Surrey, on the 7th of September, sent James a second letter, reproaching



Map of Flodden Field

him with having "put himself into a ground more like a fortress or a camp, than any indifferent ground for battle to be tried." As this taunting message had not the desired effect, Surrey sought to obtain his end by manœuvring round the position, by advancing towards Scotland, and then turning sharply round the rear of Flodden. On the morning of the 8th he crossed the Till,

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near Weetwood, without meeting any opposition, and marched over some rugged ground to the village of Barmoor, on the right bank of the river. Early on Friday morning, instead of pursuing his march towards Berwick, he faced the northwest, proceeded to Twisell bridge, recrossed the Till, and advanced towards Branxton[1] as if it was his intention to occupy a hill to the westward of Flodden.

James, who had thrown away an admirable opportunity of attacking the English while they were crossing at Twisell bridge, and at a dangerous ford a little higher up, now put himself in motion, in order to prevent them from taking up a formidable position between him and his own country. Setting fire to their huts and litter, the Scots descended their hill, and, under cover of the great smoke they had raised, hurried forward to seize the heights of Branxton, towards which the English vanguard was hastening in another direction. Between Twisell bridge and Flodden, but nearer to the latter than the former, runs the small stream of Palinsburn, which the English had crossed before the wind drove away the smoke, and discovered the Scottish army within a quarter of a mile of them, in perfect order, "marching like the Germans, without talking or making any noise."[2]

Several of the Scottish nobles had advised a retreat; among these was the same Lord Lindsay of the Byres that made James III the fatal present of the gray charger, a rough old soldier, who had a turn for parables, and who had represented to the council that the stakes between the combatants were not equal. For this advice James, it is said, threatened to hang Lindsay at his own castle gate; nor were the remonstrances of the earl of Huntly and the earl of Angus (the once terrible Bell-the-Cat) heard with more calmness. It is added that the king told the latter that, if he were afraid of the English, he might go home. The taunt touched the old man to the quick, and he burst into tears. He turned, however, to depart, saying mournfully, "My age renders my body of no use in battle, and my counsel is despised; but I leave my two sons and the vassals of Douglas in the field; may old Angus' foreboding prove unfounded!"

To decline the battle was now impossible, and the Scottish nobles, with a very few exceptions, made up their minds to conquer or die with their sovereign. The two armies were about equal in number, each counting about thirty thousand men. The disposition of both armies was also much the same, and very simple. The battle began about four in the afternoon of Friday, the 9th of September, with cannonading on both sides. The English were superior in artillery, and their guns seem to have been better served. According to Hall,[k] "Then out burst the ordnance on both sides with fire, flame, and hideous noise; and the master gunner of the English slew the master gunner of Scotland and beat all his men from their guns, so that the Scottish ordnance did no harm to the Englishmen, but the Englishmen's artillery shot into the midst of the king's battail, and slew many persons—which seeing, the king of Scots and his brave men made the more haste to come to joining."

The earl of Huntly and Lord Home, with part of the left wing of the Scots, who fought on foot with "long spears like Moorish pikes," fell upon part of the English right wing, under Sir Edmund Howard, with a fury that was irresistible. Sir Edmund was beaten down; his banner was brought to the dust;

[1 The English of the time called the battle by the name of Branxton.]

[2 Official account written to Henry VIII in French. The good order and striking silence of the Scots are noticed by nearly every contemporary writer. "Little or no noise did they make," says a black-letter account, printed by Richard Faques in 1513, and reprinted by Mr. Haslewood in 1809.

his lines were completely broken, and part of his men fled in the greatest disorder. Sir Edmund, after being saved by the remainder of the right wing under the lord admiral, fell back towards the English centre, which extended its line to receive him, while Lord Dacre, who was in reserve behind the centre, came up and charged with all the English cavalry. Though the Borderers under Lord Home, fancying they had already gained the victory, had begun to disperse over the field in search of plunder, that Scottish wing kept its ground with wonderful obstinacy, throwing off the English horse at the point of their long spears; but charge after charge told upon them, and after a long conflict and a terrible slaughter on both sides, Huntly and Home retreated before Sir Edmund, the lord admiral Howard, and Lord Dacre. The earls of Crawford and Montrose, who were not able to prevent this retrograde movement, were charged in their turn by horse and foot, whom they received in line without wavering upon the points of their spears; and when they were reinforced from the centre, they not only became the assailants, but also threw the whole right wing of the English, with the cavalry from their reserve, into confusion.

At this critical moment the lord admiral sent the Agnus Dei which he wore at his breast to his father, who was with the English centre, requesting him to bring up the whole of that division with all possible speed. Surrey advanced,[1] but King James, who watched his movements, fell upon him with the entire centre of the Scots, fighting himself most gallantly in their front. The battle was now tremendous; and when the earl of Bothwell came up with the reserve to the support of the king, the victory for a while inclined to the Scots. But there were two circumstances—the shyness of Lord Home, and the rashness of the Highlanders who formed James' right wing—which proved fatal to the high hopes of the imprudent but gallant sovereign. When the earl of Huntly urged Home to renew the fight and advance with his portion of the left wing, which had suffered cruelly, to the assistance of the king, he is said to have replied, "He does well that does for himself. We have foughten our vanguards, and have won the same; therefore let the lave (the rest) do their part as well as we." When the right wing, under the earls of Lennox and Argyle, with the Campbells, the Macleans, the Macleods, and the other clans from the Highlands and the Isles, who obeyed no orders save those of their chiefs, descended a hill to join the main body, they were met by the extreme left of the English—hardy bowmen and stout pikemen from Cheshire and from Lancashire—under Sir Edward Stanley, who galled them sorely with their arrows.

In a frenzy, the half-naked clansmen threw away shield and target, and with their broadswords and axes, and without any order, rushed among the English. In vain La Motte, a commissioner from the French king, and other experienced French officers, endeavoured to keep them in their ranks; on they rushed, as if every Highlandman thought of deciding that great engagement with his own right arm. At first the English were astonished at this fierce onslaught, but they stood firm, closed their ranks and squares, and opposed as wonderful a coolness to the wonderful impetuosity of their enemies, who at length were driven back, and, being unable to reform, were slaughtered in detail or put to downright flight. Their chief commanders, the earls of Lennox and Argyle, both perished on the field. Stanley now charged the king's centre on its right flank and rear; and, at the same time, James had to sustain the shock of Surrey in front and the attack of the admiral Howard

[1 Surrey was now 70 years of age and rode in a carriage; hence Lindsay[t] calls him "an old crooked earle lying in a chariot."]

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and Lord Dacre, who, after repulsing the earls of Crawford and Montrose, who were both slain, had fallen upon his left flank.

In fact, he was now surrounded—hemmed in within a gradually contracting circle of foes, who by this time seem to have adopted, to a man, the savage resolution of the lord admiral, Thomas Howard, of giving no quarter. Now was the time that the nobles and the meanest subjects of the doomed prince showed their valour and their attachment to his person. In Sir Walter Scott's verse:

"The English shafts in volleys hail'd,
In headlong charge their horse assail'd;
Front, flank, and rear, the squadrons sweep
To break the Scottish circle deep,
That fought around their king.
But yet, though thick the shafts as snow,
Though charging knights like whirlwinds go,
Though billmen ply the ghastly blow,
Unbroken was the ring;

"The stubborn spearsmen still made good
Their dark impenetrable wood,
Each stepping where his comrade stood,
The instant that he fell.
No thought was there of dastard flight;
Link'd in the serried phalanx tight,
Groom fought like noble, squire like knight,
As fearlessly and well."

Nor did they cease fighting when James bit the dust, with an English arrow sticking in his body and with a mortal wound from an English bill on his head: they closed round the body, which fell within a spear's length of Surrey, defending it dead as obstinately as they had defended it living. Night closed upon the carnage, and separated the combatants. Surrey was for a while uncertain of the victory; but during the night his scouts brought him intelligence that the Scots were in full retreat towards their own country, and that none remained on the field; "upon which the earl thanked God with humble heart."

But the intelligence of the scouts was not quite correct: during the night the Borderers, who had fought under the standard of Lord Home, being joined by marauders from Tynedale and from Teviotdale, stripped the slain, and pillaged part of the baggage of both armies, and when day dawned Home's banner was seen hovering near the left flank of the English, while another body of Scots—apparently the remnant of the centre, which had fought under the king—appeared in front, occupying a hill, as if determined to renew the contest. Surrey brought his artillery to bear upon them, and they were dislodged; but even then they seem to have retreated very deliberately, and Lord Home's people carried a rich booty and a considerable number of prisoners across the Tweed. Lord Dacre found seventeen pieces of cannon deserted on the hillside; and it appears to have been in the morning, and not in the preceding evening, that the English horse followed a portion of the retiring Scots for about four miles, and not further. It is quite certain that Surrey had suffered dreadfully in this stern conflict, and that he had no inclination whatever to try the fords of the Tweed, and the moors and morasses beyond it.

The loss of the Scots, according to the most moderate calculation, amounted to 8,000 or 9,000 men; but in this number were included the very prime of their nobility, gentry, and even clergy. Besides the king and his natural son, Alexander Stuart, archbishop of St. Andrews, who had studied abroad and received instruction from Erasmus, there were slain twelve earls—Crawford,

Montrose, Lennox, Argyle, Errol, Athole, Morton, Cassilis, Bothwell, Rothes, Caithness, and Glencairn; to these must be added fifteen lords and chiefs of clans; the bishop of the Isles; abbot of Kilwinning; abbot of Inchaffray; the dean of Glasgow; La Motte, the French agent, and most of his countrymen. Some families of the gentle blood of Scotland lost all their male members that were of an age capable of bearing arms.

The body of the king was found by Lord Dacre among a heap of dead. Dacre, who had known him well, recognised it, though it was disfigured by many wounds, and it was afterwards identified by James' chancellor, Sir William Scott, and some other prisoners. The body was conveyed to Berwick, where it was embalmed and wrapped in sheets of lead, and it was then sent secretly, among other packages, to Newcastle. From Newcastle the earl of Surrey took it with him to London, and then placed it in the monastery of Sheen, near Richmond. Meanwhile, in Scotland, the people were loath to believe that their king was dead; and those who believed it attributed his death not to the English in the field, but to certain traitors in the retreat. It was said that James, after escaping across the Tweed, was murdered by some of the retainers of the earl of Home; and the classical, but credulous and imaginative Buchanan[u] tells us that he himself had heard one Lawrence Telfer say that he saw the king on the north of the Tweed after the battle. Leslie,[r] again, informs us that it was asserted by many that it could not be the king's body which Surrey had conveyed to London, as James was seen alive by many, and safe at Kelso, after the flight of Flodden; and he adds that some of the Scots continued to believe that the king had gone on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land to pray for the souls of his slaughtered nobles, and to pass the rest of his life in devotion and penitence. By these romantic believers it was particularly objected to the English, that they could never show the token of the iron belt which James constantly wore round his body, in penance for his youthful rebellion and the death of his father; but the English produced the unfortunate monarch's sword and dagger, and a turquoise ring (supposed to have been sent him by the queen of France), which are still preserved in Heralds' College, London; and no rational doubt can be entertained that James perished at Flodden Field.

Queen Catherine instantly announced this victory to her husband in a very spirited and very English letter. Being on the winning side, she said, "All that God sendeth is for the best"; and she sent Henry the coat-armour of the unfortunate James. The affectionate tone of the letter is remarkable. She calls the king "my Henry," and concludes with praying God to send him home shortly, as without this no joy can be complete. The king received this conjugal despatch while he lay before Tournay. Soon after his return to England he rewarded Surrey by restoring to him the title of duke of Norfolk, which had been forfeited by his father, who fell in the battle of Bosworth Field.

The victory at Flodden had been so dearly bought, and money and provisions were so scarce in his camp, that Surrey was in no condition to follow up his advantages. Instead of invading Scotland, he stopped at Berwick, and having put some troops in garrison, he disbanded the rest of his army. The Scots prepared manfully for the defence of their country, and the queen, at the same time, wrote an affectionate letter to her brother Henry, requesting his forbearance for a widowed sister and an infant orphan. Henry was, perhaps, not incapable of generous sentiments; but it is not uncharitable to suppose that the determined attitude of the Scots, and the old recollections of the unprofitable nature of Scottish wars, had their weight in his council, which agreed to a peace.

TREATY AND MARRIAGE ALLIANCE WITH FRANCE (1514)

Louis XII pursued a course of diplomacy which broke up the coalition against him, and which would have left the English to make war by themselves, had Henry's military ardour tempted him to a renewal of the struggle. He completely reconciled himself with the court of Rome, and he not only prolonged his truce with Ferdinand, but won over the emperor Maximilian—the volunteer of England—by proposing a treaty of marriage. Louis offered the hand of Renée, his second daughter, with his claim to the duchy of Milan, to Prince Charles, who was grandson both to Maximilian and to Ferdinand. Charles, it will be remembered, had been affianced during the lifetime of the late king to the princess Mary of England, Henry's youngest sister. The bargain had been arranged with Charles' father, Philip, during his detention in Windsor castle; but Henry did not consider it the less binding from the force and treachery which had been used on that occasion, and, as Charles was now approaching the age of puberty, he expected shortly to see the completion of the marriage.

The first person to inform Henry of these negotiations was the French king himself, through the medium of the duke of Longueville, who had been taken prisoner in the battle of the Spurs and conveyed into England. That accomplished courtier soon won the favour of the English king; and when Henry was almost frantic at the treachery of his allies, the duke adroitly proposed a family alliance with his master. Louis' wife, Anne of Brittany, had died in the month of January, just in time for the furthering of this sudden scheme. She had left no son, and her widower, notwithstanding his declining health, hoped that a new marriage might bless him with an heir. The private feelings of the princess were disregarded, as in all such cases. Louis was fifty-three years old; Mary was sixteen, and passionately enamoured of Charles Brandon, viscount Lisle, one of her brother's favourites, and the handsomest and most accomplished nobleman in the English court.

The treaty, which was to secure lasting peace and amity between the two nations, was concluded with the usual forms: Louis agreed to pay Henry a million of crowns, in ten yearly instalments, in discharge of arrears due on the old treaty of Étaples, and Henry agreed to give his sister, Mary, a dower of 400,000 crowns. On the 7th of August a marriage ceremony was performed at Greenwich, the duke of Longueville acting as proxy for his master. If Mary was in no haste to leave England, Louis was very impatient for her society, and he wrote more than once to hurry her departure. In October Henry and his court accompanied the young queen of France to Dover, where she embarked for Boulogne, accompanied by a splendid retinue, among whom were Surrey, now duke of Norfolk, her lover, the viscount Lisle, who had been created duke of Suffolk, and Anne Boleyn, then a pretty little girl and maid of honour.[1] On the 8th of October she made her public entrance into Abbeville.

On the following day the marriage was resolemnised by a French cardinal, Louis suffering grievously from the gout during the ceremony; and the day after, to the great vexation of the young queen, he dismissed the lady Guildford, her governess, Sir Richard Blount, her chamberlain, with all the rest of her English attendants, except Anne Boleyn and two or three mere menials. The accomplished Charles Brandon, however, remained with the duke of Norfolk in quality of ambassador. In the month of December Louis wrote to his

[1] In the original list signed by King Louis, which is preserved among the Cottonian manuscripts, this personage is merely named as *Madamoyselle Boleyn.*

"good brother, cousin, and gossip," the king of England, to express his happiness in this marriage; and on the first of January following he expired at Paris, worn out with sickness and debility. Mary was not an inconsolable widow. It was generally rumoured that Francis I, who now ascended the throne of France in the twenty-first year of his age, was not insensible to her beauty and accomplishments; but he was provided with a queen.

Mary, who had been not quite three months a wife, and scarcely two months a widow, gave heart and hand to her lover, and was privately married at Paris to the captivating Brandon, almost as soon as he arrived at that capital. It had not been unusual for princesses of the blood to marry subjects, but the notion of the royal dignity was now wonderfully on the increase; and it had been set down as law, at least as far back as Henry VI, that no such marriages should be allowed without the express permission of the king; and for this it appears Mary did not ask. She wrote to implore pardon for the step she had taken to secure her own happiness, and then travelled with her husband to Calais, where a more public marriage was solemnised shortly after. Henry for a time was, or appeared to be,[1] exceedingly wroth at the unequal match; and on their return to England, in the month of August, the duke and duchess went to their manor in Suffolk instead of joining the court. The king, however, had a warm affection both for his sister Mary and for the accomplished Brandon, who had been brought up with him from his childhood, and who delighted Henry by his cheerful humour, his gallant deportment, and his great address in tournaments and all martial exercises; and a perfect reconciliation soon took place, aided by the goodwill of my "Lord cardinal"—for Wolsey, still rising, got the cardinal's hat in the course of this summer.

THE RISE OF WOLSEY

It is time to say a word touching the history of this gorgeous churchman, who for nearly twenty years was more king of England than Henry himself. His father, who was rather wealthy for the time, procured him a good education, and brought him up for the church.[2] He studied at Oxford, where, on account of his precocity and early attainments, he was honoured with the name of the Boy Bachelor. He was not distinguished at any period of his life by temperance and sobriety, and a command of his passions; in the hot season of youth he appears to have been guilty of sundry indiscretions. It is quite certain that the young parson soon grew weary of the obscurity of a country life; "bearing a mind that looked beyond this poor benefice," which he soon left to become domestic chaplain to the treasurer of Calais. The treasurer introduced him to the notice of Bishop Foxe, the cunning minister and diplomatist—"a man that knew rightly how to judge of good wits." Foxe

[1 According to the letters quoted by Fiddes,[v] it seemed to Lingard[h] "certain that Wolsey, and therefore probably Henry, was in the secret from the beginning; but it had been deemed less indecorous in the king to forgive afterwards than to consent beforehand."]

[2 Simple repetition has made it commonly believed that Robert Wolsey was by trade a butcher. The assertion was first set afloat by enemies of the great cardinal, and was intended to be disparaging. The probability, however, seems to be that he was really a grazier, and perhaps also a wool merchant. He certainly belonged to the better class of merchants, was connected with wealthy people, and himself died possessed of lands and property in and about Ipswich. Fairly trustworthy tradition points to a house in St. Nicholas Street there as occupying the site of his own dwelling. According to Fiddes,[v] supported as to the year by Cavendish,[i] Wolsey's birth happened in March, 1471, though contemporary evidence would place it some years later.—P. W. Cameron.[w]]

[1515 A.D.]

warmly recommended him to his master, Henry VII, whose particular talent it was to discover the abilities of other men, and who never employed a dull one. Henry presently employed Wolsey in certain secret affairs of great moment. "What need many words?" exclaims an Episcopal historian, Bishop Godwin;[o] "he so far pleased the king, that in short time he became a great man, and was first preferred to the deanery of Lincoln, and then made the king's almoner."

Upon the death of the old king there was a struggle for supremacy in the council between Bishop Foxe and the duke of Norfolk, then earl of Surrey. The bishop was not slow in perceiving that the earl, whose military character and tastes pleased the young king, was getting the upper hand, and to counteract this influence he introduced Wolsey to Henry VIII. It was the old story—the tool was too sharp for the hand that would have worked with it for its own purposes. Instead of propping the bishop against the weight of the earl, the chaplain supplanted them both, and soon acquired more power and influence at court than they had ever possessed between them. Though nearly twenty years his senior, Wolsey glided into all the tastes and habits of the young king,[1] some of which, however, seem to have been natural to him; and though a churchman, he became a sort of model and a bosom friend to Henry, whose chief but not only ambition it was to figure as a warlike monarch and perfect knight. It quite suited Wolsey's views to encourage this feeling, and to take the whole business of government upon himself.[i]

It has seemed necessary to introduce this short account of the rise and character of a minister who was destined to bear for several years a very prominent part in the most important transactions not only in this, but in all the neighbouring kingdoms; we may now revert to the affairs of Scotland, which, after the death of its king and the destruction of its nobility in the field of Flodden, presented for some time a melancholy scene of confusion and terror. Fortunately the victorious army had been hastily collected; the want of provisions and of military supplies had compelled Surrey to disband his forces. By degrees the Scottish spirit recovered from its depression; the call for revenge was echoed throughout the nation; several chieftains gathered their retainers; and the devastation of one inroad was repaid by the devastation of another.

The queen had been permitted, in conformity with the will of her husband, to assume the regency as guardian to her son, James V, an infant not a year and a half old; but when it was discovered that her relationship to the king of England did not restrain the hostility of that monarch, the partisans of France intrusted the reins of government to the hands of John, duke of Albany, the son of that Alexander who had been banished by his brother, James III.

Henry had already tampered with the princess to bring her children to England, and intrust them to the care of their uncle; but Albany besieged the castle of Stirling, compelled the queen to surrender the two princes, and placed them under the custody of three lords appointed by parliament.

[1 Henry was captivated with the elegance of his manners and the gaiety of his disposition; he frequently resorted with his favourite companions to the house of his almoner; and on these occasions, if we may believe the sarcastic pen of an adversary (Polydore Vergil,[s] the pope's sub-collector in England, who by the order of Wolsey had been imprisoned for more than six months), Wolsey threw off the decencies of his station, and sang and danced and caroused with all the levity and impetuosity of the most youthful among his guests. It was soon discovered that the most sure and expeditious way to the royal favour was through the recommendation of the almoner; and foreigners, as well as natives, eagerly solicited and frequently purchased his patronage.—LINGARD.[k]]

These events had already taught the king of England to view with jealousy the conduct of his "good brother and perpetual ally," the French monarch. Francis, whose youth and accomplishments made him the idol of his people, had already formed the most gigantic projects of conquest and aggrandisement, from which he did not suffer himself to be diverted by the remonstrances of Henry. Having endeavoured to pacify that monarch, he put in motion the numerous army which he had collected with the avowed purpose of chastising the hostility of the Helvetic cantons; but instead of following the direct road either into Switzerland or Italy, he passed unexpectedly between the maritime and Cottian Alps, and poured his cavalry into the extensive plains of Lombardy. His real object was now manifest. The Italian princes, whose jealousy had guarded to no purpose the accustomed roads over the Alps, were filled with consternation; in a consistory at Rome, it was proposed to solicit the aid of Henry; and September 11th, 1515, a few days later, Leo, to secure the mediation of Wolsey, named that minister cardinal priest of St. Cicely beyond the Tiber.



COSTUME OF A NOBLEMAN OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Francis, who still affected to be thought the friend of the English monarch, received the first intelligence of this promotion; and though he was aware of its object, despatched a messenger to offer his congratulations to Wolsey. But neither that prelate nor his sovereign could view with satisfaction the progress of the young conqueror; who, by the bloody but decisive victory of Marignano, and the subsequent reduction of Milan, had repaired the losses of his predecessor and restored the ascendancy of the French power in Italy. Was the former league to be renewed, or was Francis to be permitted to pursue his conquests? After much deliberation in the English cabinet, it was resolved to follow a middle course between peace and war; to avoid actual hostilities with France, but to animate its enemies with hopes and to aid them with subsidies. Some money was advanced, more was promised both to the emperor and the cantons of Switzerland; an army of fifteen thousand Germans, and of an equal number of Swiss, was collected, and the emperor Maximilian at its head forced his way to the very gates of Milan. But here his resources failed, and a mutiny of his troops, who demanded their pay, compelled him to retrace his steps to the city of Trent.

There he sent for Wyngfield, the English agent, and made to him the following most singular proposal. It was evident, he said, that the other powers would never permit either himself or Francis to retain permanent possession of Milan. Would then the king of England accept the investiture of the duchy? In that case he was ready to adopt Henry for his son, and to resign in his favour the imperial dignity; but on these conditions, that the king should

[1516–1518 A.D.]

declare war against France, should cross the sea with an army, and should march by Tournay to the city of Treves, where Maximilian would meet him, and make the resignation with all the formalities required by law. Thence the two princes, leaving the bulk of the English forces to invade France in conjunction with an army of Germans, might proceed together towards Italy, pass the Alps at Coire, take possession of Milan, and continue their journey to Rome, where Henry should receive the imperial crown from the hands of the sovereign pontiff.

There was much in this dazzling and romantic scheme to captivate the youthful imagination of the king, but he had the good sense to listen to the advice of his council, contented himself with accepting the offer of adoption, and directed his attention to a matter which more nearly concerned his own interests, the conduct of the duke of Albany in Scotland. Against the regency of that prince he had remonstrated in strong and threatening terms. The Scottish parliament returned a firm though respectful answer, July 4th, 1516; but Francis, who still dreaded the hostility of the king of England, advised the Scots to conclude a perpetual peace with Henry, refused to ratify the renewal of the ancient alliance between the two kingdoms, though it had been signed by his envoy at Edinburgh, and even required the regent, in quality of his subject, to return to France. Albany willingly obeyed the command; and obtained permission from the Scottish parliament to revisit his family and estates. But before his departure provision was made for the return of Margaret, who had sought an asylum in England; and a temporary council was appointed, in which the numbers of the two parties were nearly balanced, and under the nominal government of which Scotland passed four years of dissension and anarchy.

Francis, having won the duchy of Milan, determined to secure his conquest by disarming the hostility of his neighbours, and with large sums of money he purchased peace.

It chanced that at this period, Selim, emperor of the Turks, having conquered Egypt and Syria, had collected a numerous army, and publicly threatened the extirpation of the Christian name. The princes on the borders of Turkey trembled for their existence; Maximilian, in a letter to the pontiff, offered to devote his remaining years to the common service of Christendom in opposing the enemies of the cross; and Leo, having by his own authority proclaimed a general truce of five years, May 7th, 1518, despatched legates to the different powers, exhorting them to compose their private quarrels, and to unite their forces in their common defence. His advice was followed; the pope, the emperor, and the kings of England, France, and Spain, entered into a confederacy, by which they were bound to aid and protect each other, and in every case of invasion of territory, whether the invader were one of the confederates or not, to unite their arms in defence of the party aggrieved, and to obtain justice for him from the aggressor. At the same time, to cement the union between England and France, the dauphin, an infant just born, was affianced, October 4th, 1518, to Mary, the daughter of Henry, a child not four years old; and, that every probable occasion of dispute might be done away, Tournay with its dependencies was restored to France for the sum of six hundred thousand crowns. Thus after ten years of war and negotiation, of bloodshed and perfidy, were all the powers re-established in the same situation in which they had stood previously to the league of Cambray, with the exception of the unfortunate and perhaps unoffending king of Navarre, whose territories on the south of the Pyrenees could not be recovered from the unrelenting grasp of Spain.

WOLSEY'S INCREASING POWER

Wolsey still retained the first place in the royal favour, and continued to rise in power and opulence. Archbishop Warham had often solicited permission to retire from the chancery to the exercise of his episcopal functions; and the king, having at last accepted his resignation, tendered the seals to the cardinal. Whether it was through an affectation of modesty, or that he thought this office incompatible with his other duties, Wolsey declined the offer; nor was it till after repeated solicitations that he had acquiesced in the wish of his sovereign, December 22nd, 1515. He had, however, no objection to the dignity of papal legate,[1] with which he was invested by Leo X. The commission was originally limited to two years; but Wolsey procured successive prorogations from different popes, and, not content with the ordinary jurisdiction of the office, repeatedly solicited additional powers, till at length he possessed and exercised within the realm almost all the prerogatives of the sovereign pontiff. Nor was his ambition yet satisfied. We shall afterwards behold him, at the death of each pope, labouring, but in vain, to seat himself in the chair of St. Peter.

His love of wealth was subordinate only to his love of power. As chancellor and legate he derived considerable emoluments from the courts in which he presided. He was also archbishop of York; he farmed the revenues of Hereford and Worcester, sees which had been granted to foreigners; he held in commendam the abbey of St. Albans, with the bishopric of Bath; afterwards, as they became vacant, he exchanged Bath in 1523 for the rich bishopric of Durham, and Durham in 1528 for the administration of the still richer church of Winchester. To these sources of wealth should be added the presents and pensions which he received from foreign princes. Francis settled on him an annuity of 12,000 livres, as a compensation for the bishopric of Tournay, and Charles and Leo granted him a yearly pension of 7,500 ducats from the revenues of the bishopries of Toledo and Palencia in Spain. In justice to his memory it should, however, be observed, that if he grasped at wealth, it was to spend, not to hoard it.

His establishment was on the most princely scale, comprising no fewer than five, perhaps eight, hundred individuals. The chief offices were filled by barons and knights; and among his retainers he numbered the sons of many distinguished families, who aspired under his patronage to civil or military preferment. On occasions of ceremony, he appeared with a pomp which, though it might be unbecoming in a clergyman, showed him to be the representative of the king of England and of the sovereign pontiff. The ensigns of his several dignities, as chancellor and legate, were borne before him; he was surrounded by noblemen and prelates, and was followed by a long train of mules bearing coffers on their backs covered with pieces of crimson cloth.

He spared no expense in his buildings; and as soon as he had finished the palace of Hampton Court and furnished it to his taste, he gave the whole to Henry; perhaps the most magnificent present that a subject ever made to his sovereign. The character of Wolsey has been portrayed by the pencil of

[1 As Gardiner[x] points out, he was a legate *a latere*, *i.e.*, "sent from the pope's side, and therefore having power to speak with almost full papal authority. Wolsey was therefore clothed with all the authority of king and pope combined." Von Ranke[b] observes that "when Wolsey spoke of the government, he was wont to say 'the king and I,' or 'we,' or finally, simply 'I.'"]

[1525 A.D.]

Erasmus,[y] who had tasted of his bounty,[1] and by that of Polydore,[s] whom his justice or policy had thrown into confinement. Neglecting the venal praise of the one and the venomous slander of the other, we may pronounce him a minister of consummate address and commanding abilities; greedy of wealth and power and glory; anxious to exalt the throne on which his own greatness was built, and the church of which he was so distinguished a member; but capable, in the pursuit of these different objects, of stooping to expedients which sincerity and justice would disavow, and of adopting, through indulgence to the caprice and passions of the king, measures which often involved him in contradictions and difficulties, and ultimately occasioned his ruin. It is acknowledged on the other hand, that he reformed many abuses in the church, and compelled the secular and regular clergy to live according to the canons. He always decided according to the dictates of his own judgment, and the equity of his decrees was universally admitted and applauded.

To appease domestic quarrels and reconcile families at variance with each other, he was accustomed to offer himself as a friendly arbitrator between the parties; that the poor might pursue their claims with facility and without expense, he established courts of requests; in the ordinary administration of justice he introduced improvements which were received with gratitude by the country; and he made it his peculiar care to punish with severity those offenders who had defrauded the revenue or oppressed the people. But his reputation, and the ease with which he admitted suits, crowded the chancery with petitioners; he soon found himself overwhelmed with a multiplicity of business; and the king, to relieve him, established four subordinate courts, of which that under the presidency of the master of the rolls is still preserved.

Literature found in the cardinal a constant and bountiful patron. He employed his influence in foreign courts to borrow valuable manuscripts for the purpose of transcription. On native scholars he heaped preferment, and the most eminent foreigners were invited by him to teach in the universities. Both of these celebrated academies were the objects of his care; but Oxford chiefly experienced his munificence in the endowment of seven lectureships, July 13th, 1525, and the foundation of Christ Church, which, though he lived not to complete it, still exists a splendid monument to his memory. As a nursery for this establishment he erected another college at Ipswich, the place of his nativity.

But these occupations at home did not divert his eyes from the shifting scenes of politics abroad. He was constantly informed of the secret history of the continental courts; and his despatches, of which many are still extant, show that he was accustomed to pursue every event through all its probable consequences, to consider each measure in its several bearings, and to furnish his agents with instructions beforehand for almost every contingency. His great object was to preserve the balance of power between the rival houses of France and Austria; and to this we should refer the mutable politics of the English cabinet, which first deserted Francis to support the cause of Charles, and, when Charles had obtained the ascendancy, abandoned him to repair the broken fortunes of Francis. The consequence was, that as long as Wolsey presided in the council the minister was feared and courted by princes and pontiffs, the king held the distinguished station of arbiter of Europe.

[1] Erasmus praises him highly in some of his epistles, and yet had the meanness to dispraise him as soon as he heard of his fall.

HENRY SEEKS TO BECOME EMPEROR (1519)

Charles of Austria, who, in right of his father Philip, had inherited the rich and populous provinces of the Netherlands, the ancient patrimony of the house of Burgundy, ascended the Spanish throne on the death of Ferdinand. He was in the vigour of youth, gifted with superior talents, and anxious to earn the laurels of a conqueror—qualities which equally formed the character of his neighbour, the king of France. Three years after the demise of Ferdinand, the rivalry between the young kings was called into full activity by the death of the emperor Maximilian, January 12, 1519.



Costume of Time of Henry VIII

That prince, anxious to secure the succession to the imperial crown in the house of Austria, had in the last diet solicited the electors to name his grandson Charles king of the Romans. The majority had promised their voices; but from this engagement they were released by his death, and were now summoned to choose not a king of the Romans, but an emperor. Charles announced himself a candidate; and the vanity of Francis immediately prompted him to come forward as a competitor. The intrigues of the French and Spanish courts on this occasion are foreign from the subject of the present work, but the conduct of Henry demands the attention of the reader. His former refusal of the imperial crown, when it was offered by Maximilian, had not proceeded from the moderation of his desires, but from diffidence in the sincerity of his ally. Now that the glittering prize was open to competition, he disclosed his wishes to his favourite; and both the king and the cardinal, reciprocally inflaming the ambition of each other, indulged in the most flattering delusions. In fancy they were already seated, the one on the throne of the Cæsars, the other in the chair of St. Peter, and beheld the whole Christian world, laity and clergy, prostrate at their feet.

The election of Henry would secure, it was foretold, the elevation of Wolsey; and the bishop of Worcester was commissioned to procure the consent and aid of the pope, whilst Pace hastened to Germany, with instructions to sound the dispositions of the electors, to make them the most tempting promises, and, if he saw a prospect of success, to name the king of England as a candidate; if not, to propose a native prince to the exclusion of both Francis and Charles. But experience soon taught this envoy that with mere promises he was no match for the agents of the other candidates, who came furnished with ready money; and therefore adhering to subsequent instructions, he threw into the scale the whole weight of his influence in favour of the king of Spain, who after a long debate was chosen without a dissentient voice. In this transaction Francis had great reason to complain of the duplicity of

"his good brother." From the very beginning he had received assurances of the most cordial support from the English court, and in return had expressed his gratitude to the king by a letter of thanks, and to Wolsey by a promise of securing for him on the first vacancy fourteen votes in the conclave.

Prudence, however, taught him to accept with seeming satisfaction the apology of the English cabinet, that Pace would have aided him had there appeared any chance of success, and had only seconded the election of Charles because it was in vain to oppose it. Though the two competitors during the contest had professed the highest esteem for each other, the bitterest animosity already rankled in their hearts, and each sought to fortify himself with the support of Henry against the presumed hostility of his rival. To Francis the late conduct of the king of England afforded but slender hopes of success; he trusted, however, to his own address and eloquence, and summoned Henry to perform an article in the last treaty, by which it was agreed that the two monarchs should meet each other on the border of their respective dominions.

The intelligence alarmed the jealousy of the Spanish cabinet; remonstrances were made against an interview so pregnant with mischief to the interests of Charles; and Henry, while he pretended a readiness to fulfil the treaty, suggested difficulties, demanded explanations, and artfully contrived reasons to suspend or postpone the meeting. But his cunning was opposed with equal cunning; and Francis brought the question to an issue by signing a commission, which gave full power to Wolsey to settle every point in debate as he should judge most conducive to the joint honour of the two kings. Still the struggle continued between the two monarchs, the one labouring to evade, the other to enforce this award. Among the artifices to which Henry resorted, there is one which will amuse the reader. As a proof of his sincerity, he swore before the French ambassador that he would never more cut his beard till he had visited "his good brother"; and Francis, anxious to bind him still faster, immediately took a similar oath. But the former neglected, the latter fulfilled his promise; and when long beards had in consequence become the prevailing fashion in the French court, Sir Thomas Boleyn was compelled to apologise for the bad faith of his master, by alleging that the queen of England felt an antipathy to a bushy chin.[h]

THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD (1520)

On the 12th of March, 1520, a solemn instrument was prepared by Wolsey, for the regulation of a meeting between Henry and Francis before the end of the following May. It was drawn up with a strict regard to an equal weighing of the honour and dignity of the two kings. The equality of their personal merits is also flatteringly asserted in this document: "As the said serene princes of England and France be like in force corporal, beauty, and gift of nature, right expert and having knowledge in the art militant, right chivalrous in arms, and in the flower and vigour of youth," they are to "take counsel and dispose themselves to do some fair feat of arms." The place of meeting was to be between the English castle of Guines and the French castle of Ardres. The curious *Chronicle of Calais* records, that on the 19th of March the commissioners of King Henry landed, "to oversee the making of a palace before the castle gate of Guines; wherefore there was sent the king's master-mason, master-carpenter, and three hundred masons, five hundred carpenters, one hundred joiners, many painters, glaziers, tailors, smiths,

and other artificers, both out of England and Flanders, to the number in all two thousand and more." The temporary palace was of stone walls and framed timber, with glazed windows and canvas roofs. These particulars are curious, as showing how labour could be organised in England for the rapid completion of a great work, at a period when we are accustomed to think that the national industry was conducted upon a very small scale.

On the 21st of May Henry and the queen set forth from Greenwich toward the sea-side. On the 25th they arrived at Canterbury, at which city the feast of Pentecost was to be kept. Slowly had the court travelled, for there was something to be accomplished before the great interview at Calais should take place. Another personage was to appear upon the scene, by the merest accident, at the exact moment when he was wanted. Tidings were brought to Canterbury that Charles, the emperor elect, was on the sea, in sight of the coast of England. He was on his passage from Spain to visit his dominions in the Netherlands. He could not pass the English shores without landing to behold the king whom he so reverenced and the aunt he so dearly loved. Wolsey hastened to Dover to welcome Charles, who landed at Hythe. The "*Deus ex machina*" was produced, to the wonderment of all spectators, and no one saw the wheels and springs of the mechanism.[1] The politic young statesman won the hearts of the English, who rejoiced "to see the benign manner and meekness of so great a prince." Henry came to Dover. They kept the Whitsuntide together at Canterbury, "with much joy and gladness"; and on the last day of May Charles sailed to Flanders from Sandwich, and Henry from Dover to Calais.

The character of this royal embarkation has been handed down to us in an ancient painting. The low towers of Dover have vomited forth their fire and smoke; and in a few hours the guns of Calais salute the English king. The great palace was ready, with its ceilings draped with silk, and its walls hung "with rich and marvellous cloths of arras wrought of gold and silk."

But while Henry was contemplating his splendours, Wolsey was busy arranging a treaty with Francis. The friendship of England was to be secured by a renewal of the treaty of marriage between the dauphin and the princess Mary. There can be little doubt that at this very time the cardinal was bound to the interests of the emperor, with the full concurrence of his royal master. Yet the play was to be played out. Henry was to meet the French king with such a display of the magnificence of his court as might challenge any rivalry. But Francis, possessing much of the same temper, was not to be outdone in pageantry.

> "To-day the French
> All clinquant, all in gold, like heathen gods,
> Shone down the English; and, to-morrow, they
> Made Britain India; every man that stood
> Show'd like a mine."

Shakespeare has described this famous meeting in a short dialogue. Hall,[k] the chronicler, who was present, elaborates these "fierce vanities" in many quarto pages. On the 7th of June the two kings met in the valley of Andren. Titian has made us acquainted with the animated features of Francis. Holbein has rendered Henry familiar to us in his later years; but at this period he was described by a Venetian resident in England as "handsomer by far than the king of France." It is scarcely necessary to transcribe the compli-

[1 So far was this visit from being accidental, that Henry, on the 8th of April, had instructed his ambassadors to fix the time and place.—LINGARD.*h*]

mentary speeches and the professions of affection which are related to have passed at this meeting. The two kings did not come to the appointed valley, surrounded each with an amazing train of gorgeously apparelled gentlemen and nobles, and with a great body of armed men, without some fears and suspicions on either side. The English, if we may believe the chronicler, were most wanting in honourable confidence. The English lords and their attendants moved not from their appointed ranks. "The Frenchmen suddenly brake, and many of them came into the English party, speaking fair; but for all that, the court of England and the lords kept still their array."

The solemnities of "The Field of the Cloth of Gold," as the place of this meeting came to be called, occupied nearly three weeks of that June of 1520. Ten days were spent in the feats of arms for which Wolsey had provided. There was tilting with lances, and tourneys on horseback with the broadsword, and fighting on foot at the barriers. The kings were always victorious against all comers. But from the court of the emperor there came no knight to answer the challengers. The lists were set up close to the Flemish frontier, but not a gentleman of Spain, or Flanders, or Brabant, or Burgundy, stirred to do honour to these pageantries. "By that," says Hall,[k] "it seemed there was small love between the emperor and the French king." On Midsummer Day the gaudy shows were over. The kings separated after an exchange of valuable presents—Francis to Paris, Henry to Calais. Here the English court remained till the 10th of July.

It was in vain that the French king had come unattended and unarmed into the English quarter, to show his confidence in the friendship of his companion in feats of chivalry. In vain had the French nobles put all their estates upon their backs,[1] to rival the jewelled satins and velvets of England. On the 11th of July Henry met the emperor near Gravelines, and the emperor returned with him to Calais. After a visit of three days Charles accomplished far more by his profound sagacity than Francis by his generous frankness. Wolsey was propitiated by presents and promises; Henry by a studied deference to his superior wisdom. Hall has recorded that during the pomps of the valley of Andren, on the 18th of June, "there blew such storms of wind and weather that marvel was to hear; for which hideous tempest some said it was a very prognostication of trouble and hatred to come between princes." The French, in this second meeting between Henry and Charles, saw the accomplishment of the foreboding beginning to take a definite form.

THE EXECUTION OF BUCKINGHAM (1521)

In the roll of illustrious names of nobles and knights at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, the name of the duke of Buckingham stands at the head. He was there one of the four judges of the jousts, deputed on the king's part. High as he was in wealth and honours, he might have deemed that the evil destinies of his line were at an end; and that, whilst his father had died on the scaffold under Richard III, and the three preceding heads of his house had fallen in civil warfare, he might have securely passed through life to the death of the peaceful. But any lineal descendant of Edward III was still unsafe, especially if his pride of ancestry were not held in check by unrelaxing prudence. The father of this Edward Stafford perished through his vain conviction that he was "meet to be a ruler of the realm"; and the son,

[1 Plusieurs y porterent leurs moulins, leurs forests, et leurs préz sur leurs épaules.—Du Bellay.z]

although a man of ability, was tempted by the ever-present thought of his high descent to commit himself by some unguarded though trifling acts, of which his enemies took advantage. His chief enemy is said to have been Wolsey; and the cause of the cardinal's enmity is held to have arisen out of Buckingham's dissatisfaction with the expense of the great pageantry at Guines. But the jealousy of Henry had been exhibited in 1519, when Sir William Bulmer, who had quitted the king's service to enter that of the duke, had to acknowledge his fault in the star chamber and to implore the mercy of the king. Henry forgave the offence, but said "that he would none of his servants should hang on another man's sleeve; and that he was as well able to maintain him as the duke of Buckingham, and that what might be thought by his (Bulmer's) departing, and what might be supposed by the duke's retaining, he would not then declare."

The king had now entered upon that course of action which rendered his subsequent career so fearful and so odious. He could cover up his hatreds till the moment arrived for striking his victim securely. After eighteen months had passed since he had rebuked Sir William Bulmer, and darkly hinted at some evil motive of the duke in retaining him in his service, the mine, which had been warily constructed, exploded under Edward Stafford's feet. He was suddenly sent for from his castle of Thornbury, to appear in the king's presence. He was watched by the king's officers to Windsor, and there perceived that he could not escape. On his way to London his barge was boarded and he arrested. His fate was soon determined.

On the 13th of May, 1521, he was indicted before his peers, the duke of Norfolk presiding. Charles Knyvet, a discarded officer of the duke, was the chief witness against him, and deposed to certain words of Buckingham said to himself and Lord Abergavenny, which, even if true, could not be fairly wrested into an overt act of treason. Hopkins, a monk of the Charterhouse, who pretended to a knowledge of future events, "had divers times said to the duke that he should be king of England; but the duke said that in himself he never consented to it." The judicial inference was, that he had committed the crime of imagining the death of the king, and that his words were satisfactory evidence of such imagining. Buckingham was convicted, and Norfolk pronounced the sentence.[1] The heroic attitude of the man in this his hour of agony needs no exaltation by the power of the poet. He said to his judges: "May the eternal God forgive you my death, as I do. I shall never sue to the king for life, howbeit he is a gracious prince, and more grace may come from him than I deserve." The duke was beheaded on the 17th of May.

In the early part of the reign of Henry VIII there were many reversals of attainders that had been passed in the previous reign. There was then evidently a merciful desire for the oblivion of political offences, and for restoring to their estates and honours the heirs of those unfortunate persons who had suffered the penalties of treason. There was no hesitation in the avowal that it was possible that an attainted person might have been unjustly condemned. The time was not yet arrived when he should find his ready instruments of despotism in the highest of the land; and when he should be able to perpetrate, through his slaves in a parliament, the murders which the oriental despot could effect by a single sign to the eunuchs of the seraglio.

[1 Hume,[bb] who is favourable to Wolsey, says, "There is no reason to think the sentence against Buckingham unjust." But no one who reads the trial will find any evidence to satisfy a reasonable mind; and Hume himself soon after adds, that his crime proceeded more from indiscretion than deliberate malice. In fact, the condemnation of this great noble was owing to Wolsey's resentment, acting on the savage temper of Henry.—HALLAM.[cc]]

[1521 A.D.]

He tasted of blood when he put Buckingham to death; and after a few more years, during which his will, being unquestioned, was less tyrannical, he showed that his relish for it was not to be satisfied to his dying hour.[m]

THE RIVALRY WITH FRANCIS I

Ever since the king had failed in his attempt to procure the imperial dignity, he had turned his thoughts and ambition towards the crown of France. That crown, so he believed, was his inheritance; if it had been torn from the brows of one of his predecessors by force of arms, why might it not be replaced by force of arms on his own head, since it was his by hereditary right? For this, indeed, he stood in need of allies; but where could he seek a more powerful and more interested ally than in the emperor, whose quarrel was similar to his own, and who burned to reannex to his dominions the ancient patrimony of the house of Burgundy, wrested from his ancestors by the kings of France. This subject had been secretly discussed by Henry and Charles during the late visit of the latter to his uncle: it had led to the proposal of a stricter union between the crowns by the marriage of the emperor with the daughter of Henry; and that proposal was accompanied with the project of a confederacy for the joint prosecution by the two monarchs of their hereditary rights at a more convenient season. But whilst they thus amused themselves with dreams of future conquests, the flames of war were unexpectedly rekindled by the ambition of Francis, in Spain, and Italy, and the Netherlands. The Spaniards did not conceal their dissatisfaction at the conduct of their young sovereign.

Francis suffered himself to be seduced by so favourable an opportunity. He had summoned Charles to do justice, but the Spanish revolt put an end to the negotiation; the French army burst over the Pyrenees, and in fifteen days Navarre was freed from the yoke of Spain. The insurgents beheld this event with indifference; but the French army no sooner approached Logroño in Castile, than they rallied at the call of their country, repelled the invaders, and recovered Navarre as rapidly as it had been lost. The contending parties immediately appealed to Henry; both claimed his aid in virtue of the treaty of 1518. This was certainly the time for him to make common cause with the emperor; but he was taken unawares; he had made no preparations adequate to the gigantic project which he meditated; and therefore he first exhorted each monarch to conclude a peace, and then proposed that, before he should make his election between them, they should appoint commissioners to plead before him or his deputy, that he might be able to compromise the quarrel or to determine who had been the aggressor.

Henry conferred the high dignity of arbitrator on Wolsey, who proceeded to Calais in great state, July 2nd, 1521, as the representative of his sovereign. But besides this, the ostensible object of his journey, he had been instructed to attend to the secret and important project of the confederacy with Charles, for the purpose of reclaiming the hereditary dominions of each prince from the grasp of the French monarch. Though the cardinal laboured to soothe the irritation and moderate the demands of the litigants, they grew daily more warm and obstinate; and at last Gattinara, the imperial chancellor, declared that it was beneath the dignity of his master to assent to any terms till he had previously received satisfaction from Francis, and that he was confined by his instructions to the mere exposure of the injuries which the

emperor had received, and the demand of the aid, to which the king of England was bound by the late treaty.

This declaration afforded, perhaps was meant to afford, the cardinal a pretext for paying a visit to the emperor at Bruges, to which he was secretly bound by his instructions, and warmly solicited by Charles himself. With a train of more than four hundred horsemen he proceeded to Bruges. By Charles he was received with the most marked attention. Thirteen days were spent in public feasting and private consultation; and before his departure the more important questions were settled respecting the intended marriage, the voyage of Charles by sea to England and Spain, and the time and manner in which he and Henry should conjointly invade France. On his return, August 29th, the conferences were resumed; and the air of impartiality with which the cardinal listened to every representation, joined to the zeal with which he laboured to accommodate every difference, lulled the jealousy of the French envoys. At last, however, the cardinal, in despair of an accommodation, pronounced his final judgment, that Francis had been the aggressor in the war, and that Henry was bound by treaty to aid his imperial ally.

The result of the interview at Bruges was now disclosed, by the conclusion of a league at Calais, in which the contracting parties were the pope, the emperor, and the king of England. It was agreed that, in order to restrain the ambition of Francis and to further the intended expedition against the Turks, each of these powers should in the spring of the year 1523 invade the French territories with a powerful army; that, if Francis did not conclude a peace with the emperor, Henry should declare war against him on the arrival of Charles in England; and that for the common good of Christendom the projected marriage between the dauphin and Mary, the daughter of Henry, should be set aside for the more beneficial marriage of the same princess with the emperor. Before the signature of this treaty Milan had been recovered by the combined forces in Italy, November 16th, 1521; shortly afterwards Tournay surrendered to the arms of the imperialists; and Francis was compelled to content himself with the reduction of the unimportant fortresses of Hesdin and Bouchain.

The deliverance of Milan from the yoke of France diffused the most extravagant joy throughout the Italian states. The pontiff ordered the event to be celebrated with thanksgivings and games, hastened to Rome that he might enjoy the triumph of his policy and arms, and entered his capital in high spirits and apparently in perfect health. Yet a sudden indisposition prevented him from attending a consistory which he had summoned, and in a few days it was known that he was dead. The news travelled with expedition to England, and Wolsey immediately extended his views to the papal throne. Charles, through policy or inclination, promised his aid; and Wolsey, with a decent affectation of humility, consented to place his shoulders under the burden. He despatched messengers to remind the emperor of his promise, and secretary Pace to sound the disposition of the conclave. But the election of Adrian, though a Belgian, and personally unknown, was carried by acclamation; and within nine years from the time when Julius drove the barbarians out of Italy, a barbarian was seated as his successor on the papal throne. The envoy of Wolsey was instructed to congratulate the new pope on his accession, and to obtain for his employer the prolongation of his legatine authority.

Francis, who was aware of the league which had been formed against him, employed the winter in fruitless attempts to recover the friendship of the king of England. He next demanded the succours to which he was entitled

[1522 A.D.]

by treaty, postponed the payment of the annual pension, and at length, as an indemnity to himself, laid an embargo on the English shipping in his ports and seized all the property of the English merchants. In retaliation, Henry confined the French ambassador to his house, ordered all Frenchmen in London to be taken into custody, and at length sent to Francis a defiance by Clarenceaux, king-at-arms, May 26th, 1522. The emperor himself, as was stipulated in the treaty of Bruges, landed at Dover, and was accompanied by the king through Canterbury, London, and Winchester, to Southampton. Every day was marked by some pageant or entertainment; but while the two princes appeared intent on nothing but their pleasures, the ministers were busily employed in concluding treaties and framing plans of co-operation.

It was agreed that each power should make war on Francis with forty thousand men; that Charles should indemnify Henry for all the moneys which might be withheld from him in consequence of this treaty; that the king should not give his daughter in marriage, nor the emperor marry any other person, before the princess Mary was of mature age; that when she had completed her twelfth year they should be married by proxy; and that, if either party violated this engagement, the defaulter should forfeit the sum of five hundred thousand crowns. At Southampton the emperor took leave of the king, July 1st, and embarked on board his fleet of one hundred and eighty sail, the command of which, in compliment to his uncle, he had given to the earl of Surrey, lord admiral of England.

That nobleman had succeeded to the earl of Kildare in the government of Ireland, where by his generosity he won the esteem, while by his activity he repressed the disorders, of the natives. But the reputation which he had acquired by his conduct in the field of Flodden induced the king to recall him to England, that he might assume the command of the army destined for the invasion of France.

That army, however, existed only upon paper; the money necessary for its support was yet to be raised; and to supply these deficiencies required all the art of Wolsey, aided by the despotic authority of the king. Commissioners were despatched into the different shires, with instructions to inquire what was the annual rent of the lands and houses in each township, what the names of the owners and occupiers, and what the value of each man's movable property; and, moreover, to array in the maritime counties, under the pretext of an apprehended invasion, all men between the ages of sixteen and sixty, and to enrol their names, and the names of the lords whose tenants they were. As a temporary expedient, a loan of twenty thousand pounds was exacted from the merchants of London; and after a decent respite, the cardinal, in quality of royal commissioner, called the citizens before him and required that every individual supposed to be worth one hundred pounds should certify upon oath the real value of his property. They remonstrated that to many men "their credit was better than their substance"; and the cardinal, relaxing from the rigour of his first demand, consented to accept their respective returns in writing, which he promised should not on any pretext be afterwards divulged.

With this preparatory knowledge he was enabled to raise men, and supply himself with money as it was wanted. Precepts under the great seal were issued at his discretion, ordering some persons to levy a certain number of men among their tenants, and others to advance to the king a certain sum of money, which generally amounted to a tenth from the laity and a fourth from the clergy. It was, however, promised at the same time that the lenders should be indemnified from the first subsidy to be granted by parliament.

At length the earl mustered his army under the walls of Calais, and found himself at the head of twelve thousand men paid by the king, of four thousand volunteers, and of one thousand German and Spanish horse. With this force he marched through the Boulonnais and Artois into the vicinity of Amiens, carefully avoiding the fortified towns, and devoting to the flames every house and village which fell in his way; while the French, who had been forbidden to risk an engagement, hovered in small bodies round the invaders, sometimes checking their progress and at other times intercepting the stragglers. But the season proved the most formidable enemy. Cold and rain introduced a dysentery into the camp; the foreigners hastily retired to Bethune, and the earl led back his followers to Calais, October 16th, 1522. It was an expedition which reflected little lustre on the English arms, but it enriched the adventurers, and inflicted a severe injury on the unfortunate inhabitants.

In the early part of the summer, Francis, that he might divert the attention of the king, sought to raise up enemies to Henry both in Ireland and Scotland.

In Scotland Francis found a willing associate in the duke of Albany. That prince had returned to assume the government at the invitation of Margaret, the queen dowager, who had quarrelled with her husband on account of his amours, and with her brother on account of his parsimony. In February the truce between the two nations expired, and every attempt to renew it failed, through the obstinacy of Albany, who sought to include the French, and of Henry, who insisted on the immediate departure of the duke himself from Scotland.

War succeeded, of course, August 4th, 1522; the earl of Shrewsbury was ordered to array the men of the northern counties; and Albany, having received supplies and instructions from Francis, assembled the Scottish army at Annan. Thence he marched at the head, it is said, of eighty thousand men, with forty-five pieces of brass ordnance; while the English general, without men or money, had no force to oppose to the invaders. But the storm was dispersed by the address of the lord Dacre, warden of the western marches. He assumed a tone of bold defiance, boasted of the numerous army hastening to his aid; alluded to the disaster which had befallen the Scots at Flodden Field; and, after some debate, "granted" to the pusillanimous duke a month's abstinence from war, that he might have time to solicit peace from the indulgence of Henry. Albany engaged to disband his army; Dacre to forbid the advance of the English forces, which, instead of being on their march, were not in reality assembled. Wolsey, amazed at the result, characterised the regent in one of his letters to Henry as "a coward and a fool."

WOLSEY'S CONTEST WITH THE COMMONS

The minister's chief embarrassment at this period arose from the exhausted state of the treasury. Immense sums had been wastefully lavished in entertainments and presents to foreign princes: the king's annual pension was no longer paid by Francis, nor could it be expected from Charles during the war; and policy forbade him to have recourse to a forced loan after the experiment of the last summer. Henry, following the example of his father, had governed during eight years without the aid of the great council of the nation; but his necessities now compelled him to summon a parliament to meet April 15th, 1523, at the Blackfriars; and Sir Thomas More, a member of the council, was, by the influence of the court, chosen speaker of the commons.

[1523 A.D.]

After some days the cardinal carried to that house a royal message, showing from the conduct of Francis that the war was just and necessary; estimating the expenses of the intended armament at eight hundred thousand pounds,[1] and proposing to raise that sum by a property tax of twenty per cent.

The commons, astonished at this unprecedented demand, preserved the most obstinate silence. It was in vain that Wolsey called on different members by name and asked them for a reasonable answer. At length he exclaimed: "Masters, unless it be the manner of your house (as very likely it may) by your speaker only in such cases to express your mind, here is without doubt a most marvellous silence." Sir Thomas More, bending the knee, replied that they felt abashed in the presence of so great a personage; that, according to the ancient liberties of the house, they were not bound to return an answer; and that he as speaker could make no reply until he had received their instructions. Wolsey retired in discontent; the debate was adjourned from day to day; and a deputation was appointed to solicit a diminution of the demand. The cardinal again repaired to the house, answered the arguments which had been employed by the leaders of the opposition, and begged that they would reason with him on the subject. They replied that they would hear whatever he might say, but would reason only among themselves. After his departure they agreed to a tax upon every kind of property, of five per cent. for two years, to be continued during the third year on fees, pensions, and rents of land, and during the fourth year on movables only. The king in return published a general pardon.



WELL HALL, KENT, SIXTEENTH CENTURY,
Where Sir Thomas More's daughter lived

The grant required of the clergy amounted to fifty per cent. on the yearly income of their benefices; and as the demand was higher than that made on the laity, so was their resistance proportionably more obstinate. The convocations of the two provinces had assembled after the usual manner, when Wolsey, conceiving that he should possess more influence in an assembly under his own immediate control, summoned them both, by his legatine authority, to meet him in a national synod, April 20th, in the abbey of Westminster. The proctors, however, argued that, as the powers which they held were confined to grants to be made in convocation, no acts which they might perform in the synod could legally bind their constituents; and the cardinal reluctantly suffered them to depart, and to vote their money according to the ancient method. The convocation of his own province awaited the determination of the convocation of Canterbury. In the lower house the opposition was led by a popular preacher of the name of Philips, whose silence was at length purchased by the policy of the court; in the

[1 According to Gardiner,[x] this sum of £800,000 was "nearly equal to £12,000,000 at the present day."]

higher, the bishops of Winchester and Rochester persisted in animating the prelates to resist so exorbitant a demand. Four months passed in this manner; at last a compromise was made; the clergy voted the amount, the cardinal consented that it should be levied in five years at ten per cent. each year. He held, however, his legatine council, but more for parade than utility, and to cover the disgrace of the defeat which he had suffered in the first attempt.

The money thus extorted from the laity and clergy was lavishly expended in repelling an invasion of the Scots, in supporting an expedition into France, and in furnishing aid to the allies in Italy.

WAR WITH SCOTLAND

The duke of Albany, after his inglorious negotiation with Lord Dacre, had left Scotland; but the principal lords remained constant in their attachment to France, and impatiently expected his return with supplies of men and money. To Henry, meditating a second expedition to the Continent, it was of importance to provide for the defence of his northern frontier. He sought a reconciliation with his sister Queen Margaret, that he might set her up in opposition to Albany, and gave the chief command in the north to the earl of Surrey, son to the victor of Flodden Field, with instructions to purchase the services of the Scottish lords with money, and to invade and lay waste the Scottish borders, that they might be incapable of supplying provisions to a hostile army. Margaret gladly accepted the overture, and consented to conduct her son (he was only in his twelfth year) to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, and to announce by proclamation that he had assumed the government, provided the English general would march a strong force to her support.

Surrey repeatedly entered the marches, spread around the devastation of war, and at last reduced to ashes the large town of Jedburgh.[1] But on that very day Albany landed at Dumbarton with two thousand soldiers and a great quantity of stores and ammunition. The projects of Margaret were instantly crushed; at the call of the parliament the whole nation rose in arms, and on the Burgh muir the regent saw above sixty thousand men arrayed round his standard. When Surrey considered the numbers of the enemy and the paucity of his own followers, he trembled for the result; by repeated letters he importuned the council for reinforcements. His hopes were, however, raised by the successive arrival of troops, that swelled his army from nine to fifty thousand men, and he hastened to Bedford. Albany trembled at the name of the hero of Flodden Field; and at midnight the Scottish army retired in confusion to Lauder amidst a heavy fall of snow. "Undoubtedly," exclaims Surrey in his despatch to the king, "there was never man departed with more shame or more fear than the duke has done to-day."

The result of this expedition, combined with the remembrance of the last, overturned the authority of Albany; and after an ineffectual attempt

[1] Of the havoc occasioned by these inroads, the reader may judge from a letter to the cardinal, dated August 31st, in this year. "The earl of Surrey hath so devastated and destroyed all Tweedale and March, that there is left neither house, fortress, village, tree, cattle, corn, or other succour for man; insomuch that some of the people that fled from the same, afterwards returning and finding no sustenance, were compelled to come unto England begging bread, which oftentimes when they do eat they die incontinently for the hunger passed. And with no imprisonment, cutting off their ears, burning them in their faces, or otherwise, can be kept away."

to retain the regency, he sailed for France, May 20th, 1524, never more to set foot in Scotland. His departure enabled Margaret to resume the ascendancy, and proclaim her son; but her imperious temper, and scandalous familiarity with Henry Stuart, the son of Lord Evendale, alienated her friends; her application to Francis and Albany was received with indifference; and her husband, the earl of Angus, under the protection of Henry, took upon himself the office of regent. This revolution led to more friendly relations between the two kingdoms; with the hope of obtaining aid from France the war terminated; truce succeeded to truce, and the borders of both countries enjoyed a cessation from hostilities during eighteen years.

When Francis supplied Albany with troops and money, he had flattered himself that the Scottish invasion would detain the English forces at home and afford him leisure to pursue his intended expedition into Italy. To oppose him, a league for the defence of Lombardy had been concluded between the emperor, his brother Ferdinand, archduke of Austria, the Venetians, and Francesco Sforza, the reigning duke of Milan; and to this confederacy had afterwards acceded the pope, the kings of England and Hungary, and the republics of Florence, Sienna, and Genoa. It was determined that as soon as Francis should have crossed the Alps the English should invade Picardy, the Germans in the pay of England, Burgundy, and the Spaniards, Guienne, and that at the same moment the duke of Bourbon should unfurl his standard in the centre of the kingdom. Henry already felt the crown of France fixed on his own head; Charles saw himself in possession of Burgundy, the patrimony of his forefathers; and Bourbon already governed his duchy and the county of Provence as a sovereign prince.

Francis had received some dark hints of the plot, but the apparent candour of Bourbon dispelled his suspicions, and he proceeded in security to Lyons, where he was informed that the sick man had already fled in disguise out of France. This intelligence disconcerted his former plans. Bonnivet with the greater part of the army was ordered to enter Lombardy; the king remained to make head against his numerous enemies, who were already in motion. The duke of Suffolk, the English general, had been joined by the imperialists under the count De Buren, and twenty thousand men were detained under the walls of St. Omer, while it was debated in council whether they should open the campaign with the siege of Boulogne, or march through France to form a junction with the army from Germany. The latter plan, but against the wish of Henry, was adopted; the allied generals, though carefully watched by the duke of Vendome, traversed Artois and Picardy, crossed the Somme and the Oise, alarmed the unwarlike citizens of Paris, and sought their German friends in the neighbourhood of Laon. But to the Germans had been opposed the duke of Guise, who with an inferior force arrested their progress, and by intercepting their provisions compelled them to evacuate the French territory. Disappointed in their hopes, the allies retraced their steps, November 8th, in the direction of Valenciennes; a continuance of rainy weather, succeeded by a long and intense frost, multiplied diseases in their camp; the men perished daily in considerable numbers, and the two generals by common consent broke up the army. Italy, however, became the principal theatre, as it was the great object, of the war.

In the mean time, on September 14th, Pope Adrian died—an event which suspended the march of the papal troops and rekindled the expiring hopes of the English cardinal. The king immediately claimed of the emperor the execution of his former engagement in favour of Wolsey. That minister requested him to intimidate the conclave by the advance of the imperial

army, and the English envoys at Rome received orders to spare neither money nor promises to secure the tiara. But the real struggle lay between the French and imperial factions, of which the first, after a long resistance, gave way, and Giulio de' Medici was chosen, November 19th. He took the name of Clement VII.[h]

Before the summer of 1524 the French were driven out of Italy. They had lost the noble Bayard, their own countryman, the duke of Bourbon, was carrying on the contest with the fierceness which generally marks the conduct of the apostate from his faith or his country. Francis was resolved to make another effort to regain Milan. He turned from the pursuit of the imperial army, which he had followed to the gates of that city, that he might undertake the siege of Pavia. This was in October. For three months the siege was conducted with various success; and Francis, with characteristic rashness, detached a part of his army to invade Naples. The governor of Pavia, in February, 1525, saw famine approaching, and wrote to the general of the imperial army, "Come to us, or we must cut our way to you." They did come. On the 24th of February the French king moved his troops out of their intrenchments. A general battle took place, and Francis, after fighting with the gallantry of the elder chivalry, was taken prisoner. Bourbon, now the commander of the imperial army, came before his captive sovereign and asked to be permitted to kiss his hand. The French king refused. Bourbon, with tears, said that if his counsel had been followed he would not have sustained this reverse. Francis made no direct reply, but ejaculated, "Patience! since fortune hath failed me."

THE PEOPLE RESIST EXACTION

The fall of Francis called forth no sympathy from Henry of England. A solemn thanksgiving for the victory of Pavia was offered at St. Paul's. The cardinal officiated and the king was present. The ambition of Henry to be lord of France now revived. He proposed that the emperor and himself should invade France, that the French dominions should be his, as his lawful inheritance, and that Charles should take the Burgundian provinces. But to accomplish these mighty undertakings was difficult with an empty treasury. The last parliament had been troublesome. They refused to give all that the king required. They had asserted the old freedom of the commons of England to deliberate amongst themselves, without instruction from the minister of the crown. A subsidy[1] was therefore demanded without the intervention of parliament, and commissioners were appointed to levy the illegal claim of the sixth part of every man's substance. From the clergy more was demanded. The resistance was universal.

The temper of the nation may be collected from a letter of the archbishop of Canterbury to Wolsey: "It hath been showed me in a secret manner of my friends, the people sore grudgeth and murmureth, and speaketh cursedly among themselves, as far as they dare, saying that they shall never have rest of payments as long as some liveth, and that they had better die than to be thus continually handled, reckoning themselves, their children, and wives, as despoiled, and not greatly caring what they do, or what becomes of them. They fear not to speak that they be continually beguiled, and no promise is kept unto them; and thereupon some of them suppose that if this gift and

[1 It was called an "Amicable Loan."]

[1525 A.D.]

grant be once levied, albeit the king's grace go not beyond the sea, yet nothing shall be restored again, albeit they be showed the contrary. I have heard say, moreover, that when the people be commanded to make fires and tokens of joy for the taking of the French king, divers of them have spoken that they have more cause to weep than to rejoice thereat. And divers, as it hath been showed me secretly, have wished openly that the French king were at his liberty again, so as there were a good peace, and the king should not attempt to win France, the winning whereof should be more chargeful to England than profitable, and the keeping thereof much more chargeful than the winning. Also it hath been told me secretly that divers have recounted and repeated what infinite sums of money the king's grace hath spent already in invading of France, once in his royal person, and two other sundry times by his several noble captains, and little or nothing in comparison of his costs hath prevailed; insomuch that the king's grace at this hour hath not one foot of land more in France than his most noble father had, which lacked no riches or wisdom to win the kingdom of France, if he had thought it expedient."

But such warning was of little use. The people said, "If men should give their goods by a commission, then it would be worse than the taxes of France, and England should be bond and not free." The clothiers of Suffolk had been frightened into submission by the king's commissioners; but the men who worked for the clothiers now showed the agents of despotism where the burthen of oppressive taxation must chiefly fall. The narrative of Hall[1] is deeply interesting, and shows of what solid stuff—the sturdy compound of acute feeling and plain sense—the Anglo-Saxon was composed. The people of Suffolk had begun "to rage and assemble themselves in companies." The duke of Suffolk was for subduing them by the strong hand, and directed that their harness should be taken from them. The people now openly rebelled, and the duke called upon the gentlemen to assist him. But they would not fight against their neighbours.

More moderate counsels prevailed. "The duke of Norfolk, high treasurer and admiral of England, hearing of this, gathered a great power in Norfolk, and came towards the commons, and of his nobleness he sent to the commons to know their intent, which answered, that they would live and die in the king's causes, and to the king to be obedient: when the duke wist that, he came to them, and then all spake at once, so that he wist not what they meant. Then he asked who was their captain, and bade that he should speak; then a well-aged man of fifty years and above, asked license of the duke to speak, which granted with good will.

"'My lord,' said this man, whose name was John Greene, 'sith you ask who is our captain, forsooth his name is Poverty, for he and his cousin Necessity hath brought us to this doing. The cloth-makers have put all these people, and a far greater number from work; the husbandmen have put away their servants, and given up household; they say the king asketh so much that they be not able to do as they have done before this time, and then of necessity must we die wretchedly: wherefore, my lord, now, according to your wisdom, consider our necessity.'

"The duke was sorry to hear their complaint, and well he knew that it was true: then he said, 'Neighbours, sever yourselves asunder, let every man depart to his home, and choose further four that shall answer for the remnant, and on my honour I will send to the king and make humble intercession for your pardon, which I trust to obtain, so that you will depart.' Then all they answered they would, and so they departed home." The despot now learned

that his absolute rule was to have some limit.[1] But for the artisans of Suffolk, England, at this period, would probably have passed into the condition of France, where the abuse of the royal power had long before deprived the people of their rights.

Henry, with a meanness equal to his rapacity, affected not to know "that the commissioners were so straight as to demand a sixth of every man's substance." Wolsey took the blame upon himself. Pardons were issued for all the rioters, the commissions were revoked, and the old trick of a voluntary "benevolence" was again resorted to. The rich did not dare to show the spirit of the poor, and they yielded to irregular exactions in the form of gifts and loans, under the terror of such speeches as one which Wolsey made to the mayor and aldermen of London: "It were better that some should suffer indigence than the king at this time should lack; and therefore beware, and resist not, nor ruffle not in this case, for it may fortune to cost some their heads."

THE EMPEROR AT WAR WITH THE POPE

After the capture of Francis I the emperor made no attempt to follow up his success by any bold measures against France. He was without the means of paying an army to invade his rival's territories, and was too prudent, even if he had possessed the necessary finances, to risk an assault upon a brave and proud nation, who would maintain the integrity of their own kingdom though their king was a captive. Charles V told the English envoys that it was best to be quiet. "The deer was in the net, and thought need only to be taken for the division of his skin." He concluded an armistice with France for six months. He had complaints to make against the English government. His ambassador, De Praet, had been insulted. A secret envoy of France had been in communication with Wolsey in London. He had discovered that the princess Mary, who had long been contracted to him, had been the object of a matrimonial negotiation both with France and with Scotland. Charles now demanded that the contract should be fulfilled. Henry declined to complete the arrangement on account of the youth of his daughter, and insisted that the marriage should depend upon the ability of the emperor to give him the crown of France, or his willingness to surrender Francis to his, the king of England's, keeping. Charles, it is said, assumed an arrogant tone in these negotiations; but there was a greater impediment to friendship than his haughty bearing. He had no money to give Henry or his profuse minister.

A treaty was entered into with the government of France, under the regency of the queen-mother, in which this essential condition of an alliance

[1 No very material attempt had been made since the reign of Edward III to levy a general imposition without consent of parliament, and in the most remote and irregular times it would be difficult to find a precedent for so universal and enormous an exaction; since tallages, however arbitrary, were never paid by the barons or freeholders, nor by their tenants; and the aids to which they were liable were restricted to particular cases. If Wolsey, therefore, could have procured the acquiescence of the nation under this yoke, there would probably have been an end of parliaments for all ordinary purposes, though, like the states-general of France, they might still be convoked to give weight and security to great innovations. We cannot, indeed, doubt that the unshackled condition of his friend, though rival, Francis I, afforded a mortifying contrast to Henry. Even under his tyrannical administration there was enough to distinguish the king of a people who submitted, in murmuring, to violations of their known rights, from one whose subjects had almost forgotten that they ever possessed any. But the courage and love of freedom natural to the English commons, speaking in the hoarse voice of tumult, though very ill supported by their superiors, preserved England in so great a peril.—HALLAM, *cc*]

was amply provided for. But whilst the French cabinet made the most lavish engagements with Henry and Wolsey, having the full consent of the parliament of Paris, a protest was solemnly recorded against these conditions, that Francis might at some future time repudiate the contracts made in his absence. The conduct of each of the governments exhibits the low cunning of the most unscrupulous chafferers, instead of the high faith that should belong to all the transactions of great nations.

The policy of England now more and more inclined to a league with France, which was completed in August, 1525. Meanwhile, Francis remained in captivity—first in Italy and afterwards in Spain. Negotiations for his release were at length entered into at Madrid, he having, after repeated refusals, consented to restore Burgundy to the emperor. After being a prisoner for more than a year, the king of France was released; and when his foot touched the French territory, he exclaimed, "Now I am again a king!" French historians say that after his capture he wrote, "All is lost, except honour." When he became free, all was gained at the price of honour. He refused to ratify his engagement for the surrender of Burgundy, to which he had solemnly sworn. The pope dispensed with his oath, and Henry instructed his ambassadors to urge him to violate it. In these dishonourable transactions the apprehension of the power of Charles V might have influenced the secret conduct of the English government, as the same fear impelled the court of Rome, and other Italian states, to open hostility with the emperor. The war upon which the pope entered against the emperor, in 1526, has a claim upon our sympathy, for it was a war for the independence of Italy. Clement VII engaged in this war as a temporal prince, but his position as bishop of Rome had a material influence upon its results.

The doctrines of Luther had made considerable progress in Germany. Many pious and moderate men had adopted them from an earnest principle. The worldly-minded had taken their sides in the contest of opinions from the hope of political or personal advantage. The turbulent and discontented of the cities, and the fierce adventurers of the mercenary armies, saw in the general hatred of the papal power a coming opportunity for spoliation. Clement VII had stirred up this spirit into a bitter hostility to himself amongst the Germans, by his rupture of an alliance with the emperor. George Frundsberg, a German noble of great influence, had raised an army of sixteen thousand men, with small pay and large promises. In November, 1526, his fierce lance-knights crossed the Alps, made more ferocious even than their ordinary temper by hunger and all destitution. "If I get to Rome," said their leader, "I will hang the pope." Bourbon, now the general of the emperor's armies in Italy, had no resources for the supply of a mutinous army of various nations but the plunder of some hostile state. In January, 1527, he marched from Milan at the head of twenty-five thousand men.

Clement, meanwhile, had concluded a separate treaty with Lannoy, one of the imperial generals, for a suspension of arms. Bourbon refused to be a party to the arrangement. He was the commander of men who, if he disappointed their hopes of booty, would turn and rend him. At last he moved out of Tuscany towards Rome. The pope made no attempt to defend the passes of the Roman territory. He appears to have relied too securely upon his spiritual weapons. He excommunicated Bourbon and his troops, denouncing the Germans as Lutherans and the Spaniards as Moors. On the 5th of May Bourbon and his men were encamped before the magnificent capital; and as they gazed upon its domes and towers, they were told that the treasures which had there been accumulating for centuries would be theirs at

the morrow's dawn. On that morrow the Eternal City was assaulted in three separate attacks. The morning was misty, and their approach to the suburbs was unperceived. There was a brave resistance of the few who defended the outworks. Bourbon leaped from his horse, and planting a scaling-ladder against the wall, shouted to his men to follow him. A ball from the ramparts terminated his career. His death produced no relaxation in the ardour of his followers. Their prey was before them, and in a few hours the devoted city was in their hands. The pope and his cardinals shut themselves up in the castle of St. Angelo.

The intelligence of the triumph of his arms, and of the excesses which disgraced it,[1] produced in the emperor a singular attempt of policy to discriminate between the spiritual and the temporal power of the pope. By his command the people were called upon to mourn in his dominions, and to offer up prayers for the deliverance of the pontiff. This has been called "hypocrisy." It was an attempt to refine upon an occurrence which in the eyes of the multitude was a victory over the papal power, desecrated by wielding the carnal weapon. The people of England took this broad view of the question. The English chronicler Hall,[k] who is a tolerably faithful expositor of the popular feeling, says, "The king was sorry, and so were many prelates; but the commonalty little mourned for it. The pope was a ruffian. He began the mischief and was well served." Wolsey, according to the same authority, called upon the king to show himself a defender of the church; and Hall puts this answer into Henry's mouth: "I more lament this evil chance than my tongue can tell; but when you say that I am defender of the faith, I assure you that this war between the emperor and the pope is not for the faith, but for temporal possessions and dominions." We may take such formal speeches in the old historians for what they are worth—the setting forth of current opinion.[m]

MATRIMONIAL TREATIES

While Bourbon led his hungry followers to the sack of Rome, the kings of England and France were idly employed in devising offensive leagues and matrimonial alliances. Francis before his liberation from captivity had been contracted to Leonora, the emperor's sister; but his subsequent offer to proceed to the solemnisation of marriage was rejected by Charles, on the ground that he had not yet complied with the other obligations of the treaty; now Henry, to widen the breach between the two sovereigns, tendered to Francis the hand of the princess Mary, who had reached her eleventh year. The French monarch, equally anxious to bind his English brother to his interests, accepted the offer, March 24th, 1527, urged an immediate marriage, and made light of the objections which the father drew from the immature age of his daughter. But Henry was inflexible; and the French ambassadors, the bishop of Tarbes and the viscount of Turenne, at length, on April 30th, signed a treaty by which it was agreed that the princess should marry either Francis, or his second son the duke of Orleans; Francis, as it was afterwards explained, if that monarch should remain a widower till she arrived at the age of puberty; the duke of Orleans, if in the interval it should be deemed desirable by both parties that the king should marry Leonora.

Two other treaties were concluded at the same time, that both monarchs should jointly make war on the emperor, if he rejected the proposals which

[1 Guicciardini's *dd* account of this pillage, which Gibbon *ee* declared more destructive than that of the Goths, will be found in the history of Italy, volume ix, chapter xiv.]

[1527 A.D.]

they meant to offer; that Henry for himself, his heirs and successors, should renounce all claim to any lands at that time in possession of the king of France, and that Francis and his successors should pay forever to Henry and his heirs a yearly rent of fifty thousand crowns of gold, in addition to all other sums due to him from the French monarch. It was during the conferences respecting this marriage that the bishop of Tarbes, if we may believe the suspicious assertion of the king and the cardinal, ventured to ask whether the legitimacy of the princess were unimpeachable. What could prompt him to put the question, we are not informed. It is certain that he had no such instructions from his court, which still continued to solicit the union; and the public afterwards believed that he spoke by the suggestion of Wolsey, who sought to supply the king with a decent pretext for opening his project of a divorce.

Before their departure Henry gave to the ambassadors a magnificent entertainment at Greenwich. Three hundred lances were broken before supper; in the evening the company withdrew to the ball-room, where they were entertained with an oration and songs, a fight at barriers, and the dancing of maskers. About midnight the king and Turenne retired with six others, disguised themselves as Venetian noblemen, and returning took out ladies to dance. Henry's partner was Anne Boleyn. That lady had gained an ascendancy over the heart of the king, to whom a divorce from Catherine was now become an object of greater importance than the friendship of the most powerful prince in Christendom.[h]





CHAPTER III

THE FALL OF WOLSEY

[1528–1530 A.D.]

THE reign of Henry falls naturally into two periods, separated by the question of the divorce. During the first period Henry is the splendid and jovial king at home, abroad a figure of the first magnitude in the wars and international diplomacies of the time. The dilettante politics of Henry's early career were to be superseded by occupations of a tragically earnest nature. Adventurous enterprises abroad were to give place to real interests at home, and the jovial young king was to be transformed into the stern, self-willed, and often cruel revolutionary. The serious and important part of Henry's life therefore is still to come; but before leaving the earlier period it is well to remark that it lasted twenty years, or more than half of his reign; that during these years Henry was popular in the highest degree; and especially that he had gratified the national pride of his subjects by restoring England to a leading position in Europe. This should not be forgotten during the troubled and more questionable events that were to follow.

The year 1528 may justly be fixed as the turning-point of Henry's life. By that time the divorce had become a national and even a European question, and Henry had decisively committed himself to the course which was to result in the separation from Rome.—KIRKUP.[b]

To understand the relative positions of Henry, the king, and of Wolsey, his chancellor, we must constantly bear in mind that the English minister was also the representative of the papal supremacy. The cardinal and legate wielded his great power and displayed his extraordinary magnificence, not in opposition to the prerogative of the king or in rivalry with his dignity, but in strict conformity with the desire of Henry to be the faithful son and devoted champion of the Roman church. In the magnificence of the great churchman Henry might believe that his people would recognize and humbly bow before the paramount authority of the church. The vast abilities and

the lofty ambition of the king's powerful minister might practically invest the temporal government with the real ecclesiastical supremacy. The great cardinal was pope in England, but he was also the devoted servant of the crown.

HENRY'S EARLY RESISTANCE TO THE REFORMATION

The period in which Wolsey was in full possession of these extraordinary powers was one in which the European mind was strongly agitated by signs of approaching change. The wealth, luxury, and immunities of the church were offensive to a large portion of the laity. The spirit of the Lollards was not wholly trodden out in England. In Germany a new antagonist to the corruptions of the papacy had arisen, whose voice filled a wider area than that of Wycliffe. The spirit with which Martin Luther first denounced the abomination of the sale of indulgences might naturally suggest the fear that other iniquities would be laid bare. The time for effectually suppressing opinions was past, for the printing-press would do its work in spite of papal bulls and excommunications. Leo X, even without yielding to that foreign influence which is supposed to have given Wolsey the cardinal's hat, would naturally look to one so able of himself, and so favoured by circumstances, to keep England safe from the contaminating opinions of the monk of Wittenberg. The appointment of Henry's great minister as the papal legate had been concurrent with the time when Luther first challenged the power of the pope to absolve the sinner from the penalties of divine justice. The choice was a wise one; for as long as Wolsey was in power, though he was a church-reformer in a limited degree, he maintained the papal supremacy inviolate in England. When his reign was over, the delegated authority of Rome was snatched forever from the hands that had previously kept the world in awe.

That Wolsey had a perfect understanding with his royal master as to the parts which each was to sustain in matters of ecclesiastical controversy, may be inferred from the position which each took in 1515. By an Act of Henry VII the "benefit of clergy" was regulated so as to inflict some penalty upon murderers and robbers. In the fourth year of Henry VIII, 1512, a statute was passed which exempts from the benefit of clergy all murderers, highway-robbers, and burglars, "such as be within holy orders only except." The act could not be passed through the house of lords without granting the exception to "such as be within holy orders," and a provision was added that it should only endure for a year. Reasonable and just as this statute was, as far as it went, the ecclesiastical authorities regarded it as an encroachment upon the privileges of the church, and they prevented its renewal on the expiration of the first year. Murderers and robbers might again "bear them bold of their clergy."

A violent controversy now sprang up between the parliament and the convocation, which became more serious from a remarkable incident of the same period, which agitated the people of London far more than the dispute about the franchises of the church. There was a paltry quarrel between the incumbent of a parish in Middlesex and Richard Hunne, a merchant tailor of London, about the right of the clergyman to a piece of linen which he claimed as what was called "a mortuary." A charge of heresy was got up against Hunne. He was imprisoned in the Lollards' Tower at St. Paul's; and, being brought before the bishop of London, was terrified into an admission of some of the crimes of which he was accused, one of which was that he had in his possession the epistles and gospels in English, and "Wycliffe's

damnable works." He was sent back to his prison, and two days after was found hanging in his cell. A coroner's inquest charged the bishop's chancellor and other officers with murder, but it was maintained by them that the heretic had committed suicide. The bishop and the clergy had the incredible folly to begin a new process of heresy against the dead body, which was adjudged guilty, and, according to the sentence, burned in Smithfield. "After that day," says Burnet,[c] "the city of London was never well affected to the popish clergy."

This affair was eventually compromised. But the previous dispute was kept up by the convocation summoning before them Dr. Standish, who had conducted the discussion against the abbot of Wincelcumbe, to defend the opinions which he had declared before the king in council. The matter was again referred to Henry, who called the lords, some of the commons, and the judges, before him at Baynard's castle. Wolsey, as cardinal, knelt before the king, and, in the name of the clergy, protested that none of them intended to do anything that might derogate from his prerogative; and implored that the king, "to avoid the censures of the church, would refer the matter to the decision of the pope and his council at the court of Rome." Henry, with that determination to uphold his prerogative which was an abiding principle of his government, said, "By the permission and ordinance of God we are king of England, and the kings of England in times past had never any superior but God alone. Therefore know you well that we will maintain the right of our crown, and of our temporal jurisdiction as well in this and in all other points, in as ample manner as any of our progenitors have done before our time." Rebuking then the spirituality for interpreting their decrees at their own pleasure, he left the matter as it stood.

In the year 1521 Henry had been king for twelve years. Possessed of considerable ability and some learning, his mind was not so wholly occupied by pleasures and pageantries as in the flush of youth. He sought for a higher excitement in theological controversy. There was a daring innovator, who had proceeded from attacking the open sale of indulgences for sin to question the foundations of the authority of the church. Martin Luther had been first despised in his supposed obscurity; but his preaching and writing had produced an effect in Europe, which had stirred Leo X. At length, in 1520, the pope issued a bull declaring certain passages of Luther's writings heretical; denouncing the penalties of excommunication against him unless he should recant; and threatening the same penalties against all princes who should neglect to secure the heretic.[d]

HENRY VIII AS "DEFENDER OF THE FAITH" AGAINST LUTHER

Wolsey, by his office of legate, was bound to oppose the new doctrines; and Henry attributed their diffusion in Germany to the supine ignorance of the native princes. By a letter to Charles he had already evinced his hostility to doctrinal innovation; but it was deemed prudent to abstain from any public declaration till the future decision of the diet could be conjectured with some degree of certainty.

Then the legate attended by the other prelates and the papal and imperial ambassadors, proceeded to St. Paul's; the bishop of Rochester preached from the cross; and the works of Luther, condemned by the pontiff, were burned in the presence of the multitude, May 12th. Ever since the middle of the last reign classical learning had become the favourite pursuit of the

[1521 A.D.]

English scholars, who naturally leagued with their brother Humanists on the Continent, and read with eagerness the writings, if they did not adopt the opinions, of the reformer and his disciples. But the cardinal now ordered every obnoxious publication to be delivered up within a fortnight, and commissioned the bishops to punish the refractory with the sentence of excommunication. Henry himself was anxious to enter the lists against the German; nor did Wolsey discourage the attempt, under the idea that pride no less than conviction would afterwards bind the royal polemic to the support of the ancient creed. That the treatise in defence of the seven sacraments, which the king published, was his own composition, is forcibly asserted by himself; that it was planned, revised, and improved by the superior judgment of the cardinal and the bishop of Rochester, was the opinion of the public.

Clarke, dean of Windsor, carried the royal production to Rome, and in a full consistory submitted it to the inspection and approbation of the pontiff, October 2nd, with an assurance that as his master had refuted the errors of Luther with his pen, so was he ready to oppose the disciples of the heresiarch with his sword, and to array against them the whole strength of his kingdom. Clement accepted the present with many expressions of admiration and gratitude; but Henry looked for something more pleasing to his vanity than mere acknowledgments. The kings of France had long been distinguished by the appellation of "Most Christian," those of Spain by that of "Catholic." When Louis XII set up the schismatical synod of Pisa, it was contended that he had forfeited his right to the former of these titles; and Julius II transferred it to Henry, but with the understanding that the transfer should be kept secret till the services of the king might justify in the eyes of men the partiality of the pontiff. After the victory at Guinegate, Henry demanded the publication of the grant; but Julius was dead; Leo declared himself ignorant of the transaction; and means were found to pacify the king with the promise of some other, but equivalent, distinction. Wolsey had lately recalled the subject to the attention of the papal court; and Clarke, when he presented the king's work, demanded for him the title of "defender of the faith." This new denomination experienced some opposition; but it could not be refused with decency, and Leo conferred it by a formal bull on Henry, who on October 11th, 1521, procured a confirmation of the grant from the successor of Leo, Clement VII.[1]

Whatever knowledge the German reformer might possess of the doctrines, his writings displayed little of the mild spirit of the gospel. In his answer to the king of England, the intemperance of his declamation scandalised his friends while it gave joy to his enemies. To the king he allotted no other praise than that of writing in elegant language; in all other respects he was a fool and an ass, a blasphemer and a liar. Henry complained to Luther's patron, the elector; the German princes considered the work as an insult to crowned heads; and at the earnest entreaty of Christian, king of Denmark, Luther condescended to write an apology. In it he supposes that the "Defence of the Seven Sacraments" had been falsely attributed to Henry; offers to acknowledge his error, and to publish a book in the king's praise; paints in seductive colours the purity and holiness of his own doctrine; and takes occasion to inveigh against the tyranny of the popes, and against that bane

[1] It should be observed that in neither of the bulls is there any grant of inheritance. The title belonged to the king personally, not to his successors. But Henry retained it after his separation from the communion of Rome, and in 1543 it was annexed to the crown by act of parliament, 35 Hen. VIII. Thus it became hereditable by his successors; and it was retained even by Philip and Mary, though the statute itself had been repealed.

of England, the cardinal of York. Such an apology was not likely to appease the mind of Henry, who was proud of his work and attached to his minister; and the assertion that the king began to favour the new gospel provoked him to publish a severe but dignified answer. The publication of this letter rekindled the anger and exasperated the venom of the reformer. He announced his regret that he had descended to the meanness of making an apology, and condemned his own folly in supposing "that virtue could exist in a court, or that Christ might be found in a place where Satan reigned."

THE KING TIRES OF HIS QUEEN

When Henry married the princess Catherine she was in her twenty-sixth year. The graces of her person derived additional lustre from the amiable qualities of her heart, and the propriety of her conduct, during a long period of trial and suspense, had deserved and obtained the applause of the whole court. She bore him three sons and two daughters, all of whom died in their infancy except the princess Mary, who survived both her parents, and afterwards ascended the throne. For several years the king boasted of his happiness in possessing so accomplished and virtuous a consort; but Catherine was older than her husband, and subject to frequent infirmities; the ardour of his attachment gradually evaporated, and at last his inconstancy or superstition attributed to the curse of Heaven the death of her children and her subsequent miscarriages.[d] Friedmann,[e] while admitting Catherine's good qualities of kindliness, forgiving nature, and courage, yet blames her for narrow-mindedness and lack of tact with which to humour and rule Henry, and for her unfortunate behaviour at the time of the victory of Flodden Field. Henry's victory in France was minimised by the glory of Surrey, and by Catherine's own heroism in taking horse and setting forth to put herself at the head of the troops. Though she got only as far as Woburn before the victory, she gloated over Henry's petty success. Furthermore, he felt a superstition that she was cursed with inability to bear him a son. He had been dissatisfied with the conduct of her father, Ferdinand, in 1514, and with Charles V, her nephew. And finally he felt that fierce longing for an heir which later impelled Napoleon to divorce Josephine.[a] As long as he was attached to Catherine, he was careful to confine his passions within the bounds of public decency, and though he might indulge in occasional amours, he retrained from open and scandalous excesses. The first of the royal mistresses, whose name has been preserved in history, was Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir John Blount, and relict of Sir Gilbert Tailbois. By her he had, in 1519, a son, named in baptism Henry Fitzroy, whom he successively raised to the titles and offices of earl of Nottingham, duke of Richmond, admiral of England, warden of the Scottish marches, and lieutenant of Ireland. His excessive partiality to the boy provoked a suspicion that he intended to name him his successor, to the prejudice of his legitimate daughter; but, to the grief and disappointment of the father, the young Fitzroy died in London before he had completed his eighteenth year.

To Elizabeth Tailbois succeeded in the king's affections Mary Boleyn,[1] whose father, Sir Thomas Boleyn, was sprung from a lord mayor of London, and whose mother, Elizabeth, was daughter of Thomas, duke of Norfolk. She retained for some time her empire over the fickle heart of her lover; but Henry at length treated her as he had treated so many others; and his

[1 This name, like most of the others of the period, is variously spelled Bullen, Bouleyn, Boullan, or Boulain.]

desertion of Mary furnished, at a subsequent period, a useful lesson to her sister, the gay and accomplished Anne Boleyn.[1] It is unfortunate that we cannot ascertain the exact year in which that lady was born. The earliest year assigned is 1500, the latest 1507. Neither of these dates rests on satisfactory authority. The first appears to accord better with the earlier circumstances of her life, the other plainly makes her much too young. The



HENRY VIII
(1491–1547)

reader is aware that she was one of the few English ladies selected by Louis XII as attendants on his wife, Queen Mary,[2] who, soon after the death of her

[1] The reluctance of Burnet to acknowledge Mary as one of the king's mistresses must yield to the repeated assertions of Pole, in his private letter to Henry, written in 1535. "She (Anne Boleyn) is a sister of her whom first you violated and long after kept by you as a concubine." At her marriage with William Carey, 1521, of the privy chamber, the king honoured the ceremony with his presence and made his offering at the altar. [Friedmann's[e] researches confirm the belief that Anne's sister was Henry's mistress before her, and that this was the real reason for annulling Anne's later marriage. Froude[s] denies it, but his argument is full of misstatements. No one now believes, however, the atrocious scandal that Anne was the daughter as well as the mistress of Henry VIII by a liaison with Lady Boleyn. Henry VIII was only eleven years old at the time of Anne's birth.

[2] Dr. Brewer[f] maintained that it was not Anne, but Mary Boleyn, that went to France; but Friedmann[e] on more recent evidence establishes the accepted belief, and makes it clear that Anne was older than Mary.]

royal husband, returned to England. Anne, however, remained in France. She was soon admitted into the household of Claude, queen of Francis I. In the service of that virtuous princess she continued almost seven years; and though reports unfavourable to her moral character, during the latter period of her residence in the French court, may be found in foreign writers, they appear undeserving of credit, and were probably suggested by her subsequent unhappy fate.

In 1522 she was recalled to England by Henry VIII, who had it in contemplation to put an end to the controversy between Sir Thomas Boleyn and Sir Piers Butler, by giving Anne Boleyn in marriage to the son of Sir Piers. She returned to England in 1522, and was soon admitted into the household of Queen Catherine, in a situation similar to that which she before held in the service of Queen Claude. Her French education gave her superiority over her companions; she played and danced and sang with more grace than any other lady at court, and the gaiety of her conversation, with the buoyancy of her disposition, attracted a crowd of admirers. It happened that, when the cardinal was closeted with the king, the gentlemen of his suite, to pass their time, would repair to the apartment occupied by the queen's maids. There Anne first saw the lord Percy, son to the earl of Northumberland; a warm attachment grew up between them, and they began seriously to think of a clandestine marriage. But their secret was revealed to Henry, and Wolsey received orders to separate the lovers. Anne was sent back to her parents, and Percy was compelled to marry Mary Talbot, daughter to the earl of Shrewsbury.

After a short delay the young Boleyn was recalled to court, where she gradually resumed her former ascendancy, and consoled herself by a new conquest for her late disappointment. The projected union between her and the son of Sir Piers Butler now appeared more distant than ever; Henry himself on several occasions treated her with marked attention; once he made to her the present of a valuable set of jewels; and it was probably to gratify her that he created her father viscount Rochford, and appointed him treasurer of the royal household. Anne could not be blind to the impression which her charms had made on the amorous monarch; but when he ventured to hint to her his real object, she indignantly replied that she could not be his wife, and would not be his mistress.[1] This answer, instead of checking, served only to irritate the passion of the king, who for more than a twelvemonth persisted in urging his suit with protestations of the most ardent attachment. But Anne had derived wisdom from the fate of her sister Mary. She artfully kept her lover in suspense, but tempered her resistance with so many blandishments, that his hopes, though repeatedly disappointed, were never totally extinguished.

Henry was aware that some objections had been formerly raised to his marriage with Catherine, but the question had been set at rest by the unanimous decision of his council, and seventeen years had elapsed without a suspicion of the unlawfulness of their union. Now, however, his increasing passion for the daughter of Lady Boleyn induced him to reconsider the subject; and in the company of his confidants he affected to fear that he was living in a state of incest with the relict of his brother. Whether the idea of a divorce arose spontaneously in his mind, or was suggested by the officiousness of

[1 Friedmann e feels that this refusal to become the king's mistress was not especially virtuous in view of his shabby treatment of his loves. The mother of his son Henry Fitzroy had been married off to a plain knight, and Mary Boleyn's husband had been left simply Mr. Carey. Besides, these and other mistresses had never been given much prominence at court.]

[1525 A.D.]

others, may be uncertain;[1] but the royal wish was no sooner communicated to Wolsey, than he offered his aid, and ventured to promise complete success. His views, however, were very different from those of his sovereign. Either unapprised of Henry's intentions in favour of Anne, or persuading himself that the present amour would terminate like so many others, he looked forward to the political consequences of the divorce; and that he might "perpetuate" the alliance between England and France, had already selected, for the successor of Catherine, Renée, the daughter of Louis XII.

EASY METHODS OF DIVORCE

Under the Catholic theory that marriage is a sacrament and therefore indissoluble, divorce as now understood was impossible, but human ingenuity had as usual learned how to bend the law without breaking it. It was only necessary to secure a ruling or some pretext or other that the marriage had never been valid. The mercenary or favour-currying courts could usually be brought to this step by those rich or influential enough. Professor Brewer [b] cites the case of the duke of Suffolk, who committed bigamy twice, was three times freed from the marriage bond, and included among his wives his aunt and his daughter-in-law. Friedmann [c] asserts that "the repudiation of a wife was almost a daily occurrence." Thus we see that the matrimonial laxity of ancient Rome or of some modern nations was rivalled by England at her most orthodox period. It was Catherine's royal blood and determination to protect the legitimacy of her daughter Mary, together with the political dilemma of the captive pope, that complicated Henry's situation.[a] Several canonists and divines had easily discovered the real wish of their sovereign through the thin disguise with which he affected to cover it—the scruples of a timorous conscience and the danger of a disputed succession. Most of them, from a passage in Leviticus,[2] contended that no dispensation could authorise a marriage with the widow of a brother; two, from passages in Deuteronomy, inferred that the prohibition was not universal, but admitted an exception in the king's case, where the first marriage had been unproductive of issue.

The following abstract of the reasoning on both sides of the question may not be unacceptable to the reader. It is taken from Dupin.(*k*) "Those on the king's party alleged: 1. That the laws of Moses which concerned marriage were not intended for the Jews exclusively, but were for all times and all nations; that they were grounded upon natural decency; that God calls the breaches of those laws wickedness and abominations, and threatens the most severe punishments to such as will not observe them; and that the prohibition to marry the brother's wife was not less strict than that of marrying within the degrees of consanguinity and affinity set down in Leviticus. 2. That that law was never repealed nor explained by Jesus Christ or his apostles. 3. But that, on the contrary, St. John the Baptist had sharply reproved Herod for marrying

[1] The first suggestion of the divorce has been attributed to different persons. By the public the credit or infamy of it was given to Wolsey. Wolsey denied or admitted it, as best suited his purpose. Henry himself declared that the idea originated not with the cardinal, but with himself, and that his scruples were confirmed by the bishop of Tarbes. But Cardinal Pole,[a] who, writing to the king on such a subject, would hardly venture to assert what, if it were not true, Henry must have known to be false, assures us that it was first mentioned to the king by certain divines whom Anne Boleyn sent to him for that purpose.

[2 Leviticus xx. 21: "If a man shall take his brother's wife, it is an unclean thing: he hath uncovered his brother's nakedness; they shall be childless."]

his brother's wife. 4. That the first Christians always accounted the laws of Leviticus to be inviolable."

On the other hand, the writers of the queen's party maintained: "1. That the prohibition in Leviticus, to marry a brother's wife, was not a law of nature, but only a positive law; which Moses had sufficiently shown by commanding, in Deuteronomy, the brother to marry his brother's widow when the latter died without children, demonstrating by this exception that the law admitted of dispensation, and consequently was not a law of nature; that before Moses that law was of no force, because Jacob married Leah and Rachel, two sisters; and Judah, after he had married two of his sons to Tamar, promised her the third. 2. That in the New Testament Jesus Christ approved of the exception in Deuteronomy, in answer to the Sadducees, who had proposed that law to him. 3. That St. John the Baptist reproved Herod for marrying his brother's wife, either because his brother was yet living, or because, if he was dead, he had left children. 4. That the fathers always looked upon the law of Deuteronomy as an exception to that of Leviticus."



COSTUME OF A LADY OF THE COURT OF HENRY VIII

It had been agreed that Wolsey should proceed to the Continent, that he might settle in person with Francis certain points which still remained in suspense. Of these, the chief, in the king's estimation, regarded the promised marriage of the princess Mary. How could he give her, as his heir-apparent, to Francis, at the moment when he intended to bastardise her by repudiating her mother? That monarch still insisted on their union; and the most that Wolsey could obtain in the conferences in April was that the marriage should take place either with the king or his second son, the duke of Orleans. Henry would not consent to the first part of this alternative, and therefore imposed on his minister the task of persuading Francis to be satisfied with the second, or to break off the intended marriage altogether. It was with many misgivings that the cardinal had accepted the commission. He knew that the advice came from his political enemies, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the lord Rochford [Anne Boleyn's father], all warm advocates for the divorce; and he foresaw that they would improve the opportunity of his

[1527 A.D.]

absence to undermine his credit with the king, by insinuating that he was an enemy to it. Perhaps he might have succeeded in his attempt to avoid this mission had not the news arrived of the recent occurrences in Italy. The king, though he felt, or affected to feel, the deepest grief for the misfortunes of the pontiff, was not blind to the benefits which might be derived from his captivity.

Hitherto the king had concealed his thoughts respecting a divorce from the knowledge of the queen, and with that view had sworn to secrecy every individual to whom they had been communicated. But Catherine's eyes had witnessed his partiality for her maid, and her jealousy at last discovered the whole intrigue, June 30th. In a fit of passion she reproached him to his face with the baseness of his conduct, attributing it, however, to the policy of the cardinal, and to his hostility to her on account of her family. After a "shorte tragedie," Henry appeased her. He appealed to her piety, and protested that his only object was to search out the truth and to tranquillise his own conscience. She replied that she came a virgin to his bed; that she would never admit that she had been living in incest for eighteen years; and that she would have, what could not in justice be denied her, the aid of both native and foreign counsel to defend her right. From that moment all her proceedings were strictly watched; for it was become of importance to cut her off from all communication with the emperor, as long as that prince kept the pontiff in his custody. Still, in defiance of every precaution, she found the means of sending information to the archduchess in Flanders, and also to her nephew in Spain.

WOLSEY'S EMBASSY TO AMIENS (1527 A.D.)

In the mean while the cardinal had set out on his embassy, July 1st, 1527, having previously begged of the king by letter to defend him during his absence against those who might represent him as a covert opponent of the divorce. Crossing the sea, he entered France July 11th, where he was received with all the distinction due to a crowned head, because he had been appointed locum tenens of the king.[1] On his representation that no peace could be hoped for in Europe unless the French king should marry Leonora, Francis consented, though not without a real or pretended struggle, to waive the claim to the princess Mary. It was agreed that she should marry the duke of Orleans, a boy eight years old, but that the articles of marriage—Mary throughout the negotiation was considered heir-apparent—should not be settled till the young prince had attained the age of puberty; and that if, for any reason, or on account of any event which might come to pass, the marriage did not take place, that failure should not interrupt the friendship between the crowns nor invalidate any provision of the treaties concluded between them. The two kings were made to unite in a declaration that, as long as the pontiff remained in captivity, they would neither consent to the convocation of the general council, nor admit any bull or breve issued by Clement in derogation of their rights, or of the rights of their subjects; that during the same period the concerns of each national church should be conducted by its own bishops.

[1] Letters from Wolsey to the king are included in *State Papers*, published by order of government. Prof. J. S. Brewer [b], the learned and accurate editor of this invaluable collection of historical materials, remarks that this appears to be the first occasion of Wolsey's adopting the style of "majesty" in addressing Henry VIII. English kings had till now been satisfied with "your highness," or "your grace." [l]

Whilst the ambassador was employed in these treaties, Henry, at the persuasion of Wakefield, professor of Hebrew in the university of Oxford, had resumed the plan so recently abandoned, and had resolved to rest his cause on the prohibition in Leviticus. With this view a treatise was composed. The materials may have been furnished by others, but the king laboured assiduously at the work himself, and fortified his case with every argument and authority which his reading or ingenuity could supply.[1] The result was such as might have been anticipated. He convinced himself by his own reasoning; he believed that no impartial judge could pronounce against him; he began to look upon every man as an enemy who dared to doubt of the success of his cause. In this temper of mind it was with deep displeasure that he read the letters of the cardinal from France, detailing the difficulties which must arise from the observance of judicial forms, the opposition of the emperor, and the obstinacy, the protests, and the appeals of Catherine. Henry rejected these suggestions, and let him know that they were thought to proceed more from a wish to gratify his own ambition than to promote the cause of his sovereign. The king's distrust was now deeply rooted; he refused to give his confidence to the agents employed by Wolsey, resolved to negotiate with the pope through an envoy of his own, and selected for that mission his secretary Knight.

Soon afterwards the king took an opportunity of communicating to Wolsey his fixed determination to marry Anne Boleyn. The minister received the intelligence with grief and dismay. The disparity of her birth, the danger of being supplanted by a rival family, the loss of the French interest, which he hoped to secure by a future marriage with a French princess, and the additional difficulties which this resolution would throw in the way of the divorce, crowded upon his mind. On his knees he besought the king to recede from a project which would cover him with disgrace; but, aware of the royal temper, he soon desisted from his opposition, became a convert to the measure which he could not avert, and laboured by his subsequent services to atone for the crime of having dared to dispute the pleasure of his sovereign. The king's case or treatise was now laid before Sir Thomas More, who, pleading his ignorance of theology, suspended his judgment; and before Fisher, the bishop of Rochester, who, having maturely weighed the arguments on both sides, gave an opinion unfavourable to the divorce. It was to no purpose that the cardinal employed his eloquence and authority, that he repeatedly held assemblies of prelates and divines; few could be induced to pronounce in favour of the king. With the nation at large the royal cause was unpopular.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE POPE

One great point, which exercised and perplexed the ingenuity of the royal advisers, was to effect the divorce in so firm and legal a manner that no objection might be afterwards raised to the legitimacy of the king's issue by a subsequent marriage. For three months instructions were issued and revoked, amended and renewed, to Knight, the royal agent in Italy, to Wolsey's agents, the three brothers Da Casale, and to Staphilæo, dean of the Rota, whose approbation of the divorce had been obtained in his late visit to London. The emperor, on the other hand, had professed a determination to support

[1] Henry in one of his letters to Anne writes, that his book maketh substantially for his purpose—that he had been writing it four hours that day—and then concludes with expressions too indelicate to be transcribed.

the honour of his aunt, and demanded of the pontiff—who, to procure provisions, had been compelled to admit the imperialists into the castle of St. Angelo, June 7th—an inhibition to prevent the cause from being tried before any judge in England, with a promise that he would not consent to any act preparatory to a divorce without the previous knowledge of Charles himself. To the last of these demands Clement assented; but he refused the first, on the ground that it was contrary to the established usage.

In the mean while a French army commanded by Lautrec, and accompanied by Sir Robert Jerningham, the English commissary, had crossed the Alps for the avowed purpose of liberating the pope from confinement. Clement contrived to escape one evening in the disguise of a gardener, and reached in safety the strong city of Orvieto. There the first who waited on him were the English envoys. They congratulated the pontiff on the recovery of his liberty, but required his immediate attention to the requests of their sovereign. To Clement nothing could have happened more distressing than this untimely visit. Bound to Henry by the ties of gratitude, he was unwilling to disoblige his benefactor; with his capital and his states in the possession of the imperialists, he dreaded to provoke the resentment of the emperor. The envoys presented to him for signature two instruments, by the first of which he would empower Wolsey (in case of objection to Wolsey they were permitted to substitute Staphilæo) to hear and decide the cause of the divorce; by the second he would grant to Henry a dispensation to marry, in the place of Catherine, any other woman whomsoever, even if she were already promised to another, or related to himself within the first degree of affinity.

This dispensation was thought necessary to secure the intended marriage with Anne Boleyn from two objections which might afterwards be brought against it. 1. A suspicion was entertained that she had been actually contracted to Percy, and was therefore his lawful wife. On this account the dispensation was made to authorize the king's marriage with any woman, *etiamsi talis sit, quæ prius cum alio contraxerit, dummodo illud carnali copula non fuerit consummatum.* 2. Mary Boleyn had been Henry's mistress. Now the relationship between sister and sister is as near as the relationship between brother and brother; whence it was argued that, if Henry, as he contended, could not validly marry Catherine, on the supposition that she had been carnally known by his brother Arthur, so neither could Anne validly marry Henry, because he had carnally known her sister Mary. On this account the following clause was introduced. *Etiamsi illa tibi alias secundo aut remotiore consanguinitatis aut primo affinitatis gradu, etiam ex quocumque licito seu illicito coitu proveniente, invicem conjuncta sit, dummodo relicta fratris tui non fuerit.* Thus the king was placed in a most singular situation, compelled to acknowledge in the pontiff a power which he at the same time denied, and to solicit a dispensation of the very same nature with that which he maintained to be invalid. In delivering these instruments to Knight, the pope observed that he had sacrificed the considerations of prudence to those of gratitude; that his safety, perhaps his life, now depended on the generosity of the king.

In the mean time Wolsey urged his sovereign to the faithful performance of those engagements which he had lately contracted with the king of France.

At the beginning of 1528 war was formally declared against the emperor by France and England. This war against Charles was most unpopular in England. The clothiers could not sell their broadcloths; the bulk of the people, who were suffering from a great dearth of corn, could not obtain their wonted supplies out of Flanders. The conduct of the emperor towards Eng-

land was marked by extreme moderation. He had thrown the blame of the quarrel upon Wolsey, alleging that he had provoked the war because the emperor would not satisfy his rapacity or place him by force in the chair of St. Peter. Of the members of the French commission for the investment of Henry with the order of St. Michael, Jean du Bellai, bishop of Bayonne, remained as ambassador. His correspondence with the French government during the eventful years of 1528–9 presents us with incidental views of the state of England, the politics of the court, and the feelings of the people, more precise and life-like than we can derive from any other source. This clear-sighted bystander saw more of the game than the players. On the 16th of February, 1528, Bellai[m] writes, "I think that he (the cardinal) is the only one in England who desires the war in Flanders." He describes how the London merchants had refused to go upon 'Change, so that, the manufacturers being unable to sell their cloth, there might be revolt in the provinces. On the 23rd, he says, that those who would gladly see Wolsey come to ruin, rejoice when everything goes wrong, and say, "These are the works of the legate." The government did not wholly set itself against the popular voice. An armistice was concluded between England and the Netherlands, June 15th, 1528, whilst hostilities went on as between England and Spain.

Meanwhile, in February, 1528, upon the urgent representations of Stephen Gardiner and Edward Fox, Clement had granted the commission authorising Wolsey, as legate, with the aid of one of the English prelates, to inquire into the sufficiency of the dispensation for Henry's marriage with his brother's widow, and to pronounce accordingly upon the validity or invalidity of that marriage. Wolsey shrank from this fearful responsibility, the more so that the king expressed himself satisfied. He had to encounter technical objections which in the ardour of his political views he had overlooked. When Henry knew of his honest doubts he chafed with indignation. Wolsey obtained a new commission from the pope, dated in June, 1528, in which Cardinal Campeggio was associated with him to try this great question of the legality of the marriage. The bishop of Bayonne, before the arrival of Campeggio in England, says that Wolsey had to endure much anxiety in this matter, upon which Henry had set his heart.[d] If gratitude and affection led the pontiff to favour the king of England, the experience of what he had lately suffered taught him to fear the resentment of the emperor. Charles was not wanting in the defence of his aunt; his ambassador systematically opposed every overture which was made by Gardiner, and each prince had significantly hinted that his subsequent obedience to the see of Rome would depend on the treatment which he should receive. To add to his perplexity, victory had now deserted the French for the imperial banner. Italy lay prostrate at the feet of Charles.

In these circumstances Clement resolved to prolong the controversy, in the hope that some unforeseen event might occur to relieve him from his embarrassment; and for that purpose the infirmities of Campeggio might, it was thought, prove of considerable service. The legate was instructed to proceed by slow journeys; to endeavour to reconcile the parties; to advise the queen to enter a monastery; to conduct the trial with due caution, and according to the established forms; but at all events to abstain from pronouncing judgment till he had consulted the apostolic see; for, though his holiness was willing to do anything in his power to afford satisfaction to Henry, yet in a cause which had given rise to so many scandalous remarks, and in which one imprudent step might throw all Europe into a flame, it was necessary for him to proceed with due reflection and caution.

[1528 A.D.]

Anne was careful to employ every art to confirm her empire over her lover, and lavished protestations of gratitude on the cardinal to animate his exertions in her favour. After a tedious journey, which had been repeatedly suspended by fits of the gout, Campeggio reached London, October 7th, 1528, but in such a state of suffering and weakness that he was carried in a litter to his lodgings, where he remained for several days confined to his bed. Previously to his arrival a sense of decency had induced the king to remove his mistress a second time from court. He lived with the queen apparently on the same terms as if there had been no controversy between them. They continued to eat at the same table and to sleep in the same bed. Catherine carefully concealed her feelings, and appeared in public with that air of cheerfulness which she used to display in the days of her greatest prosperity.[1]



TWO-HANDED MACE, SIXTEENTH CENTURY

(Called Henry VIII Walking-Stick)

A fortnight elapsed before the legate was sufficiently recovered to leave his house. By the king he was most graciously received, October 22nd; but the caution of the Italian proved a match for all the arts both of Henry and Wolsey. Though the minister harassed him with daily conferences, and the king honoured him with repeated visits; though his constancy was tempted by flattery and promises; though his son received the honour of knighthood, and to himself an offer was made of the rich bishopric of Durham, he kept his real sentiments an impenetrable secret, and never suffered himself to be betrayed into an unguarded expression. Campeggio, after he had been introduced to Henry, waited on the queen, October 27th, first in private and then in the company of Wolsey and four other prelates. He exhorted her in the name of the pontiff to enter a convent, and then explained to her the objections against the validity of her marriage. Catherine replied with modesty and firmness, that it was not for herself that she was concerned, but for one whose interests were more dear to her than her own; that the presumptive heir to the crown was her daughter Mary, whose right should never be prejudiced by the voluntary act of her mother; that she thought it strange to be thus interrogated without previous notice on so delicate and important a subject; that she was a weak, illiterate woman, a stranger without friends or advisers, while her opponents were men learned in the law, and anxious to deserve the favour of their sovereign; and that she therefore demanded as a right the aid of counsel of her own choice, selected from the subjects of her nephew. This request was partially granted; and in addition to certain English prelates and canonists, she was permitted to choose two foreign advocates, provided they were natives of Flanders, and not of Spain.

A few days later, November 8th, the king undertook to silence the murmurs of the people, and summoned to his residence in the Bridewell the members of the council, the lords of his court, and the mayor, aldermen, and prin-

[1] Ne a les voir ensemble se scauroit on de riens appercevoir; et jusqu'a cette heure n'ont que un lict, et une table—says the bishop of Bayonne.[m] We notice this passage because our modern historians tell us that for some years the delicacy of Henry's conscience had compelled him to abstain from Catherine's bed.

cipal citizens. Before them he enumerated the several injuries which he had received from the emperor, and the motives which induced him to seek the alliance of the king of France. Then, taking to himself credit for delicacy of conscience, he described the scruples which had long tormented his mind on account of his marriage with the widow of his deceased brother. These he had at first endeavoured to suppress; but they were revived and confirmed by the alarming declaration of the bishop of Tarbes in the presence of his council. To tranquillise his mind he had recourse to the only legitimate remedy. He consulted the pontiff, who had appointed two delegates to hear the cause, and by their judgment he was determined to abide. He would therefore warn his subjects to be cautious how they ventured to arraign his conduct. The proudest among them should learn that he was their sovereign, and should answer with their heads for the presumption of their tongues. Yet, with all this parade of conscious superiority, he did not refuse the aid of precaution. A rigorous search was made for arms, and all strangers, with the exception of ten merchants from each nation, were ordered to leave the capital.[l]



Anne Boleyn
(1507–1536)

This banishment of strangers of three nations from the capital applied, we may suppose, to Flemings, Spaniards, and Germans. Its effect must have produced the most extensive derangement of commercial affairs, if, as is said, "more than fifteen thousand Flemings would in consequence be removed." The people were suspected of a disposition to revolt. "There has been a search for fire-arms and cross-bows," says the bishop of Bayonne,[m] "and wherever they are found in the city they are taken away, so that they are left with no worse weapon than the tongue." With the great there was less indignation: "As to the nobles, the king has made them so understand his fantasy that they speak more soberly than they were wont to do."

Amidst all this open and suppressed dislike of the proceedings of the court, the national spirit was surging up at the notion of foreign dictation. The emperor, knowing his popularity in England, had threatened that he would expel Henry from his kingdom by his own subjects. Wolsey repeated this before an assembly of a hundred gentlemen. They were silent; but one at last said, "By those words the emperor has lost a hundred thousand hearts in England." Wolsey laboured hard to make Charles hated and Francis beloved in England; "but," says the French ambassador, "it is a hard thing to strive against nature."[d]

It was now expected that the legates would proceed to the trial; but delays were sought and created, not by the pontiff but by the king himself.

Ever since the breaking up of the French army before Naples the war had languished in Italy, and the undisputed ascendancy maintained by the

emperor enabled that prince to treat with generosity his feeble opponent, the Roman pontiff. Henry received this intelligence of the emperor's moderation with alarm; he suspected the existence of a secret understanding between Charles and Clement, complained in bitter terms of the supineness and ingratitude of Francis, and, December 8th, despatched two new agents to Rome, Sir Francis Bryan, master of the henchmen, and Peter Vannes, his secretary for the Latin tongue. They had received instructions to retain the ablest canonists in Rome as counsel for the king, and to require, with due secrecy, their opinions on the following questions: 1, Whether, if a wife were to make a vow of chastity and enter a convent, the pope could not, of the plenitude of his power, authorise the husband to marry again; 2, whether, if the husband were to enter into a religious order that he might induce his wife to do the same, he might not be afterwards released from his vow and at liberty to marry; 3, and whether, for reasons of state, the pope could not license a prince to have, like the ancient patriarchs, two wives, of whom one only should be publicly acknowledged and enjoy the honours of royalty.

The Pope's Opposition to Henry's Plans.

The reader is aware that the objections to the original dispensation were of two sorts: one denying the power of the pontiff to dispense in such cases, the other denying the truth of the allegations on which the bull of Julius had been founded. Henry had wavered from one to the other, but of late relied chiefly on the latter. To his surprise, December 20th, Catherine exhibited to him the copy of a *brève* of dispensation, which had been sent to her from Spain. It was granted by the same pope, was dated on the same day, but was worded in such manner as to elude the objections made to the bull. The king and his advisers were perplexed. The ground on which they stood was suddenly cut from under their feet. The very commission of the legates empowered them to determine the validity of the bull only; and it was, moreover, found that the pollicitation itself was not absolute but conditional. Henry grew peevish and suspicious, and repeated mortifications announced to the minister the precarious tenure by which he held the royal favour. The king's agents sometimes cajoled, sometimes threatened the pontiff; they forced their way to his sick-bed, and exaggerated the danger to his soul, should he die without doing justice to Henry; they accused him of ingratitude to his best friend, and of indifference to the prosperity of the church. To all their remonstrances he returned the same answer, that he could not refuse to Catherine what the ordinary forms of justice required; that he was devoted to the king, and eager to gratify him in any manner conformably with honour and equity; and that his advice would be for the king to proceed without loss of time to the trial and determination of the cause within his own realm.

But in proportion as the prospect of success grew fainter, the passion of Henry was seen to increase. Within two months after the removal of his mistress from court, he dismissed Catherine to Greenwich, and required Anne Boleyn to return. But she affected to resent the manner in which she had been treated; his letter and invitation were received with contempt; and if she at length yielded, it was not to the command of the king, but to the tears and entreaties of her father. To soothe her pride, Henry gave her a princely establishment; allotted her apartments richly furnished, and contiguous to his own; and exacted of his courtiers that they should attend her daily levees, in the same manner in which they had attended those of the queen. It is

plain from the king's letters, that though she had indulged him in liberties which no modest woman would grant, she had not hitherto gratified his passion; but after her return to court it was rumoured that she occupied the place of the queen in private as well as public, in bed as well as at board, and it was believed that the hope or the fear of her pregnancy would compel Henry to cut short all delay and to proceed immediately with his suit. Gardiner was hastily recalled from Rome to be the leading counsel for the king; a license under the broad seal was issued May 30th, 1529, empowering the legates to execute their commission; and when Wolsey solicited the appointment of ambassador at the congress of Cambray, he was told to remain at home and aid his colleague in the discharge of his judicial functions. On the part of the English cardinal there was no want of industry and expedition; but Campeggio obstinately adhered to established forms, and neither the wishes of the king, nor the entreaties of Wolsey, nor the exhortations of Francis, could accelerate his progress.*i*

THE LEGATINE COURT AND THE QUEEN'S TRIAL (1529 A.D.)

Seven months had elapsed between the arrival of Cardinal Campeggio in London and the opening of the legatine court which he and Wolsey were authorised to hold.

At length, on the 18th of June, 1529, the court of the legates was solemnly opened, by reading the commission of the pope to the judges of the cause. "That done, the crier called the king, by the name of 'King Henry of England, come into the court, etc.' With that the king answered, 'Here, my lords.' Then he called also the queen, by the name of 'Catherine, queen of England, come into the court, etc.' who made no answer to the same." This is the account which Cavendish *o* gives. Burnet *c* denies that the king appeared, except by proxy, and says that the queen withdrew after reading a protest against the competency of the judges. He is clearly in error. There are many collateral proofs that the king was present. Cavendish makes the queen, kneeling, thus address the king, "in broken English":

"Sir, I beseech you for all the loves that hath been between us, and for the love of God, let me have justice and right; take of me some pity and compassion, for I am a poor woman and a stranger born out of your dominions. I have here no assured friend, and much less indifferent counsel; I flee to you as to the head of justice within this realm. Alas! sir, wherein have I offended you, or what occasion of displeasure have I designed against your will and pleasure, intending (as I perceive) to put me from you? I take God and all the world to witness, that I have been to you a true, humble, and obedient wife, ever conformable to your will and pleasure, that never said or did anything to the contrary thereof, being always well pleased and contented with all things wherein you had any delight or dalliance, whether it were in little or much. I never grudged in word or countenance, or showed a visage or spark of discontentation. I loved all those whom ye loved only for your sake, whether I had cause or no, and whether they were my friends or my enemies. This twenty years I have been your true wife or more, and by me ye have had divers children, although it hath pleased God to call them all out of this world, which hath been no default in me."

The remainder of Catherine's speech dwells upon the circumstances of her second marriage—the wisdom of Henry VII and of Ferdinand, who would not have promoted it had it not been good and lawful. The queen then rose,

[1529 A.D.]

and "took her way strait out of the house." Henry commanded the crier to call her again, of which she was informed by her receiver, Master Griffith, who supported her with his arm. "On, on," quoth she, "it maketh no matter; for it is no indifferent court for me, therefore I will not tarry. Go on your ways." Henry, according to the same authority, made a speech, touching his griefs and necessities and Catherine's goodness.[d]

Notwithstanding the queen's appeal, the cause proceeded, and on her refusal to appear in person or by her attorney, she was pronounced contumacious. Several sittings were held, but the evidence and the arguments were all on the same side. The king's counsel laboured to prove three allegations: 1, That the marriage between Arthur and Catherine had been consummated; whence they inferred that her subsequent marriage with Henry was contrary to the divine law; 2, that supposing the case admitted of dispensation, yet the bull of Julius II had been obtained under false pretences; and 3, that the *brève* of dispensation, produced by the queen, which remedied the defects of the bull, was an evident forgery. As Catherine declined the jurisdiction of the court, no answer was returned; but if the reader impartially weigh the proceedings, which are still upon record, he will admit that on the first two points the royal advocates completely failed; and that the third, though appearances were in their favour, was far from being proved. Wolsey had his own reasons to urge his colleague to a speedy decision; but Campeggio, unwilling to pronounce against his conscience, and afraid to irritate the king, solicited the pope by letter to call the cause before himself.

The legates had been careful to prolong the trial by repeated adjournments, till they reached that term when the summer vacation commenced, according to the practice of the Rota. On the 23rd of July they held the last session; the king attended in a neighbouring room, from which he could see and hear the proceedings, and his counsel in lofty terms called for the judgment of the court. But Campeggio replied that judgment must be deferred till the whole of the proceedings had been laid before the pontiff; that he had come there to do justice, and no consideration should divert him from his duty. He was too old and weak and sickly to seek the favour or fear the resentment of any man. The defendant had challenged him and his colleague as judges, because they were the subjects of her opponent. To avoid error, they had therefore determined to consult the Apostolic See, and for that purpose did then adjourn the court to the commencement of the next term, in the beginning of October.

At these words the duke of Suffolk, as had been preconcerted, striking the table, exclaimed with vehemence that the old saw was now verified: "Never did cardinal bring good to England!"[1] Though Wolsey was aware of the danger, his spirit could not brook this insult. Rising with apparent calmness, he said, according to Cavendish:[o] "Sir, of all men living, you have least reason to dispraise cardinals; for if I, a poor cardinal, had not been, you would not at this present have had a head upon your shoulders wherewith to make such a brag in disrepute of us, who have meant you no harm, and have given you no cause of offence." The court was now dissolved, and in less than a fortnight it was known that Clement had revoked the commission of the legates on the fifteenth of the same month.

[1 "The two cardinals gazed at each other in wonderment at this speech. Could they realise that his language was an implied declaration of war on the part of the laity against the state influence of the church and foreign influence?" says Von Ranke,[p] who notes that Henry, who had, in contradiction to English traditions, ruled thus far mainly through ecclesiastics to the disgust of the lay nobility, but now turned to the latter as a defence against the two cardinals."]

WOLSEY IN DISGRACE (1529 A.D.)

Henry seemed to bear the disappointment with a composure of mind which was unusual to him. But Wolsey's good fortune had now abandoned him; it was in vain that the cardinal laboured to recover the royal favour. The proofs of his disgrace became daily more manifest. He was suffered to remain the whole month of August at the Moore without an invitation to court; on matters of state his opinion was seldom asked, and then only by special messengers; even letters addressed to him were intercepted, opened, and perused by Henry. But most he had reason to fear the arts of the woman who, the last year, so solemnly assured him that her gratitude should be commensurate with her life. It was not long since Anne had measured her influence with his, and had proved victorious. For some offence Wolsey had driven Sir Thomas Cheney from court. Cheney appealed to the king's mistress, and Henry reprimanded the cardinal and recalled the exile. Now she openly avowed her hostility, and eagerly seconded the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and her father, the viscount Rochford, in their united attempts to precipitate the downfall of the minister. They insinuated that he had never been in earnest in the prosecution of the divorce, and had uniformly sacrificed the interests of his sovereign to those of the king of France.

Aware of their hostility, the cardinal rested all his hopes on the result of a personal interview and, after many disappointments, was at last gratified. He obtained permission to accompany Campeggio when that prelate took leave of the king at Grafton, September 19th. The Italian was received by the officers of the court with the attention due to his rank; the fallen minister found to his surprise that, though an apartment had been ordered for his companion, none was provided for himself. He was introduced into the "presence." Every tongue foretold his disgrace—every eye watched his reception. To the general surprise, when he knelt, the king graciously raised him up with both hands, led him aside in a friendly manner, and conversed with him familiarly for a considerable time. The cardinal dined with the ministers; Henry with the lady Anne in her chamber; but after dinner he sent for Wolsey again, conducted him by the hand into his closet, and kept him in private conference till it was dark. At his departure—for he slept at a gentleman's house in the neighbourhood—he received a command to return on the following morning. Wolsey's enemies now trembled for their own safety; they were relieved from their apprehensions by the ascendancy of Anne Boleyn, who extorted from her lover a promise that he would never more speak to the cardinal. When Wolsey returned in the morning the king was already on horseback, and having sent a message to him to attend the council, and then depart with Campeggio, rode out in the company of the lady Anne and dined at Hartwell Park. After that day he and Wolsey never met each other.

When the Michaelmas term came, the two cardinals separated. The Italian set out on his return to Rome, but met with an unexpected affront at Dover. The officers of the customs burst into his apartment, October 1st, rifled his trunks, and charged him with being in possession of Wolsey's treasure. The charge was false and it was thought that the real object of the search was to seize certain papers which it might be the king's interest to possess.[1]

[1] These papers may have been the decretal bull, or letters from Wolsey to the pope, or Henry's letters to Anne Boleyn, which had come by some unknown means into the hands of Campeggio. But he had already sent the latter to Rome, where they may still be seen in the

[1529 A.D.]

Nothing, however, was found; and Campeggio, after a strong remonstrance on his part and an unmeaning apology on that of the officers, was suffered to set sail. A worse fate awaited his English colleague. On the very day, October 9th, on which Wolsey opened his court as chancellor, Hales, the attorney-general, filed two bills against him in the King's Bench, charging him with having, as legate, transgressed the statute of the 16th of Richard II, commonly called the Statute of Præmunire.[1] Nothing could be more iniquitous than this prosecution. It was doubtful whether the legatine court could be brought within the operation of the statute; it was certain that the cardinal had previously obtained the royal license, and was therefore authorised to hold it both by immemorial usage and the sanction of parliament. This stroke, though it was not unexpected, plunged him into despair. The reader may form an accurate notion of his present situation by the following extract from a letter written by the bishop of Bayonne,[m] an eye-witness:

"I have been to visit the cardinal in his distress, and have witnessed the most striking change of fortune. He explained to me his hard case in the worst rhetoric that was ever heard. Both his tongue and his heart failed him. He recommended himself to the pity of the king and madame (Francis and his mother) with sighs and tears and at last left me without having said anything near so moving as his appearance. His face is dwindled to one-half its natural size."

He knew the stern and irritable temper of his prosecutor; to have maintained his innocence would have been to exclude the hope of forgiveness; and there was, moreover, a "night-crow," to use his own expression, that possessed the royal ear and misrepresented the most harmless of his actions. On these accounts he submitted without a murmur to every demand. October 17th he resigned the great seal into the hands of the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk; transferred to the king the whole of his personal estate, valued at 500,000 crowns, saying that, as he owed all to the bounty of his sovereign, so he restored all with pleasure to his benefactor; and when he found that Henry insisted on an entire and unconditional submission, granted to him, by indenture, the yearly profits of his benefices, ordered his attorney to plead guilty to the indictment, and threw himself without reserve on the royal mercy. It was now intimated to him that the king meant to reside at York Place during the parliament, and that he might retire to Esher, a seat belonging to his bishopric of Winchester.

When he entered his barge he was surprised to behold the river covered with boats and lined with spectators. Both the courtiers and the citizens had crowded together to behold his arrest and commitment to the Tower; but he disappointed their curiosity, landed at Putney, and, as he ascended the hill, was met by Norris, a groom of the chamber, who brought him a secret but gracious message from Henry, not to despair but to remember that the king could at any time give him more than he had now taken away. The cardinal instantly alighted from his mule, sunk on his knees, and uttered a fervent prayer for the prosperity of his sovereign.[2] This incident, which

Vatican library, seventeen in number, but without dates. [Friedmann[e] states that the decretal had already been destroyed to prevent Henry's seizing it and using it as authority, now that the pope regretted ever signing it].

[1] This statute had been passed in 1353 to prevent the carrying of suits to the papal court, though the pope's name was not mentioned.]

[2] He parted with his poor fool upon Putney Heath—the faithful fool, "who took on and fired so in such a rage when he saw that he must needs depart," even though he was sent to make sport for a jovial king, instead of abiding with a humiliated priest. [It required six men to tear the buffoon away.] Wolsey reached his desolate house of Esher, wholly unprovided with common necessaries—with "beds, sheets, tablecloths, cups, or dishes." It is ten

proved to Wolsey that his case was not yet hopeless, alarmed his opponents. They had gone too far to desist with safety; they must either complete his ruin, or submit to be afterwards the victims of his resentment. Hence they laboured to keep alive the royal displeasure against him.

Still the king's partiality for his former favourite seemed to be proof against all the representations of the council and the arts of his mistress. He continued to send to the cardinal from time to time consoling messages and tokens of affection, though it was generally by stealth, and sometimes during the night. When the court pronounced judgment against him, he took him under the royal protection; and when articles of impeachment, enumerating forty-four real or imaginary offences, and signed by fourteen peers and the law officers of the crown, had been introduced into the house of lords, and passed from it to the house of commons, he procured them to be thrown out by the agency of Cromwell, who from the service of the cardinal had risen to that of the king.[i] The articles exhibited by the lords against Wolsey—such as his writing to Rome, "Ego et Rex meus"—his putting the cardinal's hat on his York groat—his sending large sums to Rome—and similar charges of ecclesiastical assumption, were evidently held insufficient to sustain any accusation of offence "to the prince's person or to the state," as Wolsey himself alleged. It was not Henry's purpose then to crush Wolsey. We may be sure that Cromwell would not have dared to defend him if the king had willed his condemnation. The future was too doubtful to allow the king utterly to destroy a cardinal of the Roman see whilst there was anything to hope in the matter of the divorce from the decision of the pope.[d]

The anguish of Wolsey's mind, however, rapidly consumed the vigour of his constitution. About Christmas he fell into a fever, which obstinately defied the powers of medicine. When Henry heard of his danger, he exclaimed, "God forbid that he should die. I would not lose him for twenty thousand pounds." He immediately ordered three physicians to hasten to Esher; repeatedly assured the cardinal of his unabated attachment, and, no longer concealing his anxiety from Anne Boleyn, compelled her to send to the sick man a tablet of gold for a token of reconciliation. It was ultimately agreed that Wolsey should retain the administration, temporal as well as spiritual, of the archiepiscopal see of York, but make over to the crown, for the term of his natural life, all the profits, all advowsons, and all nominations to offices, spiritual or secular, in his gift, as bishop of Winchester and abbot of St. Albans, and that in return he should receive a general pardon, an annuity of one thousand marks from the bishopric of Winchester, and a release from all moneys due to the king for his maintenance since the day of his conviction.

When he had assented to every demand, his vicinity to the court alarmed the jealousy of his enemies, and a peremptory order to reside within his archbishopric drove him, notwithstanding his entreaties and remonstrances, to a distance of two hundred miles. Henry, to soften the rigour of his exile, had recommended him in the warmest terms to the attention of the northern nobility, and Wolsey by his conduct and generosity quickly won their esteem. His thoughts seemed entirely devoted to the spiritual and temporal concerns of his station. He made it his favourite employment to reconcile families at variance—a tedious and expensive office, as he frequently satisfied the injured

years since he was wont to say to the Venetian ambassador, "I shall do so and so." He now writes to Stephen Gardiner, praying him to extend his benevolence towards him, and begging for pecuniary help from the sovereign who has stripped him of everything. These are his abject words: "Remember, good Mr. Secretary, my poor degree, and what service I have done, and how now, approaching to death, I must begin the world again."[d]

[1530 A.D.]

or discontented party out of his own purse. Every gentleman in the county was welcome to his table, which was plentifully, though not extravagantly, supplied; and, in repairing the houses and buildings belonging to his see, he gave employment to three hundred workmen. The more he was known the more he was beloved; the men to whom in prosperity he had been an object of hatred, applauded his conduct under adversity.

WOLSEY'S ARREST AND DEATH (1530 A.D.)

The cardinal had invited the nobility of the county to assist at his installation on the 7th of November; on the 4th he was unexpectedly arrested at Cawood on a charge of high treason. What was the particular crime alleged against him we know not; but the king asserted that his very servants had accused him of practising against the government both within and without the realm; and it is probable that the suspicion of Henry was awakened by the correspondence of the cardinal with the pope and the king of France. If we may believe Cavendish,[o] he wrote to them to reconcile him with Henry. It is most improbable that the cardinal could have committed any act of treason since his pardon in February; and a man must be credulous indeed to believe it on the mere testimony of the despatches sent by his enemies to ambassadors abroad. Such despatches with general charges were always sent on similar occasions to justify the government in the eyes of foreign princes. Wolsey betrayed no symptoms of guilt; the king had not, he maintained, a more loyal subject than himself; there lived not on earth the man who could look him in the face and charge him with untruth; nor did he seek any other favour than to be confronted with his accusers.



His health (he suffered much from the dropsy) would not allow him to travel with expedition. He said to the abbot of Leicester, as he entered the gate of the monastery, "Father abbot, I am come to lay my bones among you." He was immediately carried to his bed; and the second day, seeing Kingston, the lieutenant of the Tower, in his chamber, he addressed him in these well-known words: "Master Kingston, I pray you have me commended to his majesty; and beseech him on my behalf to call to mind all things that have passed between us, especially respecting good Queen Catherine and himself; and then shall his grace's conscience know whether I have offended him or not. He is a prince of most royal courage; rather than miss any part of his will, he will endanger one-half of his kingdom; and I do assure you, I

have often kneeled before him, sometimes for three hours together, to persuade him from his appetite, and could not prevail. And, Master Kingston, had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, he would not have given me over in my gray hairs. But this is my just reward for my pains and study, not regarding my service to God, but only my duty to my prince." Having received the last consolations of religion, he expired the next morning, 1530, in the sixtieth year of his age.[c]

Cavendish, after the funeral, repaired to London, and was sent for by the king to come to Hampton Court. Henry was shooting at the rounds in the park. The gentleman-usher leaned against a tree, when Henry came suddenly behind him and slapped him on the shoulder, telling him to wait till he had made an end of his game. Cavendish then discoursed with him for more than an hour. One rankling grief was upon the sovereign's mind, with reference to the friend and adviser of twenty years. A sum of fifteen hundred pounds had been entered in Wolsey's accounts, which entry the earl of Northumberland had seen. Kingston had pressed the dying man to account for the money, who said that he had borrowed it to distribute amongst his servants, and for his own burial, and had placed it in the hands of an honest man. The chief business of this magnanimous king with Cavendish was to obtain the knowledge where this treasure was hidden, and Cavendish told him. "Well, then," quoth the king, "let me alone, and keep this gear secret between yourself and me, and let no man be privy thereof; for if I hear any more of it, then I know by whom it is come to knowledge." He had broken the great heart of his too faithful servant; but he thought only of the contents of the money-bags, to be appropriated to jewels for my lady Anne and to wagers with Domingo.[d]

VARYING ESTIMATES OF WOLSEY

Henry Hallam

If we justly regard with detestation the memory of those ministers who have aimed at subverting the liberties of their country, we shall scarcely approve the partiality of some modern historians towards Cardinal Wolsey; a partiality, too, that contradicts the general opinion of his contemporaries. Haughty beyond comparison, negligent of the duties and decorums of his station, profuse as well as rapacious, obnoxious alike to his own order and to the laity, his fall had long been secretly desired by the nation and contrived by his adversaries. His generosity and magnificence seem rather to have dazzled succeeding ages than his own.

But, in fact, his best apology is the disposition of his master. The latter years of Henry's reign were far more tyrannical than those during which he listened to the counsels of Wolsey; and though this was principally owing to the peculiar circumstances of the latter period, it is but equitable to allow some praise to a minister for the mischief which he may be presumed to have averted. Had a nobler spirit animated the parliament which met at the era of Wolsey's fall, it might have prompted his impeachment for gross violations of liberty. But these were not the offences that had forfeited his prince's favour, or that they dared bring to justice. They were not absent, perhaps, from the recollection of some of those who took a part in prosecuting the fallen minister. We can discover no better apology for Sir Thomas More's participation in impeaching Wolsey on articles so frivolous that they have

served to redeem his fame with later times, than his knowledge of weightier offences against the common weal which could not be alleged, and especially the commissions of 1525.q

Edward A. Freeman

For fourteen years, from 1515 to 1529, ecclesiastical statesmanship was in truth at its highest pitch in the person of Thomas Wolsey, archbishop, cardinal, and chancellor. During the administration of this famous man, we are instinctively reminded of the joint rule of an earlier Henry and an earlier Thomas; but the fate of the two great chancellors was widely different. No English minister before Wolsey, and few after him, ever attained to so great an European position. He dreamed of the popedom, while his master dreamed of the empire. In his home administration Wolsey carried out the policy which had become usual since Edward IV, and summoned parliament as seldom as possible. On the other hand, his administration of justice won the highest general confidence, and his hand was far from heavy on the maintainers of the new religious doctrines.

On the whole his position is rather European than English. He is more like the great cardinals who ruled in other lands than anything to which we are used in England. The purely English work of Henry's reign was done by the hands of men of another kind. The era of the lay statesmen now begins in the mightiest and most terrible of their number, Thomas Cromwell. From this time the highest offices are still occasionally held by churchmen, even as late as the middle of the seventeenth century. But the holding of office by churchmen now becomes exceptional; lay administration is the rule.r

J. A. Froude

If there were no longer saints among the clergy, there could still rise among them a remarkable man, and in Cardinal Wolsey the king found an adviser who, holding a middle place between an English statesman and a Catholic of the old order, was essentially a transition minister. Wolsey could not bind himself to the true condition of the church. He was too wise to be deceived by outward prosperity; he knew well that there lay before it, in Europe and at home, the alternative of ruin or amendment; and therefore he familiarised Henry with the sense that a reformation was inevitable, and dreaming that it could be effected from within, by the church itself inspired with a wiser spirit, himself fell the first victim of a convulsion which he had assisted to create, and which he attempted too late to stay. A man who loved England well, but who loved Rome better, Wolsey has received but scanty justice from Catholic writers since he sacrificed himself for a Catholic cause.

Like other men of genius, Wolsey also combined practical sagacity with an unmeasured power of hoping. As difficulties gathered round him, he encountered them with the increasing magnificence of his schemes, and after thirty years' experience of public life he was as sanguine as a boy. Armed with this little lever of the divorce, he saw himself, in imagination, the rebuilder of the Catholic faith and the deliverer of Europe. The king being remarried and the succession settled, he would purge the church of England, and convert the monasteries into intellectual garrisons of pious and learned men, occupying the land from end to end. The feuds with France should cease forever, and, united in a holy cause, the two countries should restore the papacy, put down the German heresies, depose the emperor, and establish in his place some faithful servant of the church. Then Europe once more at peace, the

hordes of the Crescent, which were threatening to settle the quarrels of Christians in the west as they had settled them in the east—by the extinction of Christianity itself—were to be hurled back into their proper barbarism.

These magnificent visions fell from him in conversations with the bishop of Bayonne,[m] and may be gathered from hints and fragments of his correspondence. Extravagant as they seem, the prospect of realising them was, humanly speaking, neither chimerical nor even improbable. He had but made the common mistake of men of the world who are the representatives of an old order of things at the time when that order is doomed and dying.

If we look at the matter, however, from a more earthly point of view, the causes which immediately defeated Wolsey's policy were not such as human foresight could have anticipated. We ourselves, surveying the various parties in Europe with the light of our knowledge of the actual sequel, are perhaps able to understand their real relations; but if in 1527 a political astrologer had foretold that within two years of that time the pope and emperor who had imprisoned him would be cordial allies, that the positions of England and Spain toward the papacy would be diametrically reversed, and that the two countries were on the point of taking their posts, which they would ever afterwards maintain, as the champions respectively of the opposite principles to those which at that time they seemed to represent, the prophecy would have been held scarcely less insane than a prophecy six or even three years before the event, that in the year 1854 England would be united with an emperor Napoleon for the preservation of European order.[s]

Leopold Von Ranke

Henry VIII's resolve to summon parliament was of almost greater importance to progress than the change of ministry. During the fourteen years of his administration Wolsey had summoned parliament but once, and that when he needed an extraordinary grant of funds for the war in alliance with the emperor against France. The parliament and the nation had always complained against Wolsey's oppressive and extravagant management of finances. His fall and the summoning of a parliament seemed a renewal of parliamentary principles in general.

Wolsey cannot be counted among statesmen of the first rank, either mentally or morally; yet his position and ability, his ambition and his political scheme, what he accomplished and what he suffered, his triumph and his tragedy, have gained him an immortal name in English history. His effort to bind the royal power to the papacy by strongest bonds, rent them asunder forever. The moment he was dead the clergy was made subject to the crown, a subjection which could only mean a final breach. Indeed, the whole clerical body was involved in Wolsey's guilt.[p]



CHAPTER IV

THE DIVORCE FROM ROME

[1530–1535 A.D.]

If Henry VIII had died previous to the first agitation of the divorce, his loss would have been deplored as one of the heaviest misfortunes which had ever befallen the country, and he would have left a name which would have taken its place in history by the side of that of the Black Prince or of the conqueror of Agincourt. Left at the most trying age, with his character unformed, with the means at his disposal of gratifying every inclination, and married by his ministers when a boy to an unattractive woman far his senior, he had lived for thirty-six years almost without blame, and bore through England the reputation of an upright and virtuous king. We must allow him, therefore, the benefit of his past career, and be careful to remember it when interpreting his later actions.

Unbroken prosperity and early independence of control had been his most serious misfortune. He had capacity, if his training had been equal to it, to be one of the greatest of men. With all his faults about him, he was still perhaps the greatest of his contemporaries; and the man best able of all living Englishmen to govern England, had been set to do it by the conditions of his birth.—J. A. Froude.[b]

The eventful history of this great minister, Wolsey, has led us into the autumn of the year succeeding his disgrace; it will be necessary to revert to that event, and to notice the changes occasioned by his removal from the royal councils. The duke of Norfolk became president of the cabinet; the duke of Suffolk, earl marshal, and the viscount Rochford, soon afterwards created earl of Wiltshire, retained their former places. To appoint a successor to Wolsey in the chancery was an object of great importance. The office was at length given to Sir Thomas More, the treasurer of the household and chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. Sir William Fitzwilliam succeeded

More and Dr. Stephen Gardiner was made secretary to the king, who believed him to have inherited the abilities of the cardinal, and would have raised him perhaps to equal power could he have been induced to relinquish his profession as a churchman. These six formed the privy council; but, if we may believe the account given by the French ambassador Du Bellai,[d] Anne Boleyn was the real minister, who through her uncle and father ruled in the cabinet, and by the influence of her charms exercised the most despotic sway over the heart and mind of her lover.

SIR THOMAS MORE SUCCEEDS WOLSEY

It may justly excite surprise that More should accept this dangerous office. With a delicate conscience and a strong sense of duty, he was not a fit associate for less timorous colleagues; the difficulties which in the course of two years compelled him to retire from court must even now have stared him in the face; and it was still in his power to avoid, but uncertain if he could weather, the storm. As a scholar he was celebrated in every part of Europe, and as a lawyer he had long practised with applause and success. From the office of under-sheriff or common sergeant Henry had called him to court, had employed him in different embassies, and had rewarded him with the lucrative preferments which have already been mentioned. The merit of More was universally acknowledged; even Wolsey declared that he knew no one more worthy to be his successor; but there were few instances in which the seals had been intrusted to any but dignified churchmen, none in which they had been given to a simple knight.[e]

PARLIAMENT ATTACKS CHURCH ABUSES

There had not been a parliament called since 1523. During the legatine rule of Wolsey the pecuniary exactions of the church had become oppressive to all ranks of the people. The spirituality had grown essentially worldly minded, and any attempt to resist their encroachments was stigmatised with the terrible name of heresy. In the six weeks of their session the commons asserted their determination to set some bounds to a power which was more obnoxious, because more systematic in its pecuniary inflictions, than the illegal subsidies and compulsory loans of the crown. There was a certain point of reform to which More would go, but not a step beyond. The reformers of doctrine were as obnoxious to him as to Wolsey. But, though a rigid Catholic in doctrine and discipline, More was too wise and honest not to see that the rapacity of the officials of the church, and the general laxity as to pluralities and non-residence, were shaking the foundations of ecclesiastical authority even more than the covert hostility of the dreaded Lutherans. We cannot doubt that it was with his sanction that three important statutes were passed in this parliament of the 21st year of Henry.

The statutes themselves furnish a sufficient evidence of their necessity. "An act concerning fines and sums of money to be taken by the ministers of bishops and other ordinaries of the holy church for the probate of testament" declares "that the said unlawful exactions of the said ordinaries and their ministers be nothing reformed nor amended, but greatly augmented and increased." This was a grievance which touched every owner of property.

But there was another species of exaction which fastened upon the dead with the rapacity of the vulture, and reached even the humblest in the land. This was the taking of mortuaries, or corpse presents. The chronicler Hall, reciting this grievance, says, "The children of the defunct should all die for hunger, and go a-begging, rather than they would of charity give to them the sely cow which the dead man ought owned, if he had only one." By these two statutes the fees upon probates and the demand for mortuaries were brought within reasonable limits. There were other causes of complaint against the ecclesiastics. It was objected that spiritual persons occupied farms; bought and sold at profit various kinds of produce; kept tan-houses and breweries—all which practices were declared unlawful.

That the ecclesiastics would stoutly resist such attacks upon long-continued abuses, which in their minds had assumed the shape of rights, was a necessary result of their extensive power. No vital blow had as yet touched the strong fabric of their prosperity, but this assault upon its outworks portended danger close at hand. Their resistance was as unwise as it was useless. During the progress of the discussions in parliament on these bills there was much railing on both sides. In this first great quarrel of the church and the commons there were wounds inflicted which never healed. On every side there were the evidences of the vast endowments of the English church—splendid cathedrals, rich abbeys, shrines of inestimable value, bishops and abbots surrounded with baronial splendour, ample provision for the working clergy. And yet all the wealth of this church, acknowledged to be greater than that of any other church in Christendom, could not protect the people from the irritating demands which were generally made at the season of family affliction, and pressed too often upon the widow and the fatherless. These oppressions were more keenly felt because, however the commons might disavow the accusation, there was a doubt, very widely spread, of the infallibility of the church, which doubt Bishop Fisher denominated "lack of faith." It was not only the dislike of proctors, and summoners, and apparitors—a dislike as old as the days of Chaucer—which influenced many sober and religious persons, but the craving for some higher teaching than that which led to the burning of the English Testament in St. Paul's Churchyard.

Many copies of Tyndale's translation had been brought into the country, "which books the common people used and daily read privily; which the clergy would not admit, for they punished such persons as had read, studied, or taught the same, with great extremity." Wolsey made strenuous efforts to restrain the printing of the Scripture in the people's tongue, as we learn from a most interesting letter of Anne Boleyn to Cromwell after she became queen: "Whereas we be credibly informed that the bearer hereof, Richard Herman, merchant and citizen of Antwerp, in Brabant, was in the time of the late lord cardinal put and expelled from his freedom and fellowship of and in the English house there, for nothing else, as he affirmeth, but only for this—that he did both with his goods and policy, to his great hurt and hindrance in this world, help to the setting forth of the New Testament in English." The queen therefore prays the powerful secretary to restore "this good and honest merchant" to his liberty and fellowship. It is painful to think that whilst this toleration sprang out of the kind heart and clear understanding of "Mistress Anne," the equally kind nature of Sir Thomas More was so crusted over by his rigid habits of submission to the discipline of the church, that for the use and study of Tyndale's and Joy's Testaments "he imprisoned and punished a great number, so that for this cause a great rumour and controversy rose daily amongst the people."

PERSECUTION FOR HERESY

These persecutions against the possessors of the Testament were a part of that system of accusations for heresy which had rendered England a terrible country for earnest men and women to live in, who sought a higher guide to duty than the absolute direction of the priest. Contrary to the statute of Henry IV, which, however to be condemned as sanctioning the persecution of the Lollards, required that they should be openly proceeded against, accused persons were now subjected to secret examination; were detained in custody for unlimited periods; were discharged without amends; or consigned to the stake if condemned of heresy, or to make purgation and bear a fagot to their shame and undoing. Lucky were those who thus escaped upon their submission. Those of the heroic mould, who could look death in the face for conscience sake—as James Bayham did, who refused to accuse his friends in the Temple, or to show where his books were, recanting his former abjuration—such had to abide the fires of Smithfield, and find an honourable place in the Protestant martyrology.

THE KING'S DEBTS REPUDIATED

Wolsey was a bold financier, and his projects, as we have seen, were not always successful when he attempted to raise money without the instrumentality of parliament. But when Wolsey was gone, there appeared less scrupulous managers of the royal revenues than the unhesitating cardinal. The king had obtained very large sums, by way of loan, from public bodies and from individuals, in 1525, when the insurrections of Suffolk compelled him to withdraw the demand for a sixth of every man's substance. Those who had lent the money—and Wolsey had used his rhetoric most unsparingly to swell the number—"reckoned surely of the payment of the same, and therefore some made their wills of the same, and some other did set it over to other for debt." The lords and commons had the audacity to renounce all claims to these loans, not only for themselves but for every man to whom the king was indebted, in consideration of his highness's constant labours to defend his kingdom, to uphold the church, and to establish peace amongst his subjects. It required all the insolent despotism of a Tudor to humiliate the parliament to an assertion that the enormous revenues which the Plantagenets had never hesitated to spend for public objects, were to be deemed as private funds, "which his grace might have kept and reserved to his own use." The parliament which had accomplished such salutary reforms, and also perpetrated such gross injustice, was prorogued on the 17th of December, 1529. Domingo and Palmer were two hangers-on of the court, who made the king thus pay for their powers of amusement—far more ignoble servants than his fools, Somers, Sexton, and Williams.

After the Christmas revelries Henry has serious business on his hand. The disguisings and interludes of Greenwich, with Mistress Anne ever the gayest of the throng, whilst the queen sits in her solitary chamber, make the king more and more impatient on the subject of the divorce. On the 23d of January we find that the sum of £1743. 8s. 0d. is paid "by the king's commandment for the depechement of my lord Wiltshire and others, in their journey towards the emperor." "My lord of Wiltshire" was Anne Boleyn's father. The "others" were Doctor Stokesley, elected bishop of London, and

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Dr. Henry Lee, the king's almoner. With them were also "divers doctors both of law and divinity." Amongst these was Thomas Cranmer, who occupies so prominent a part in the history of the Reformation.

APPEAL TO THE UNIVERSITIES AND THE POPE (1530 A.D.)

The pope was at Bologna, an unwilling agent in the humiliation of Italy. The war with the imperialists had desolated the fairest spots of Lombardy. Clement, the weak and vacillating bishop of Rome, but the patriotic Italian prince, had, amidst this misery, to place the crown on the head of Charles, as king of Lombardy and emperor of the Romans. The ceremony took place at Bologna on the 24th of February. Before the emperor departed from Bologna the earl of Wiltshire had arrived. He had a difficult office to perform—that of moving the pope to a decided course, in the presence of Charles, who had very sufficient reasons for strenuously resisting the demands of Henry. He had to conciliate the emperor, by offering the restitution of Queen Catherine's original dowry. He had to work upon the pope's fears, by intimating that "the defender of the faith" would pursue his own career, if the holy see was inimical, without bending to its authority. To the father of Anne Boleyn the emperor objected that he was an interested party in the case; and although the earl replied with spirit, that he was there only as the subject and servant of his master, and to express the scruples of his conscience and his firm intention no longer to live in sin, Charles maintained a resolute attitude of hostility to the whole proceeding. The unhappy pope was in a fearful perplexity. He said to the bishop of Tarbes,[g] several times, that he cared not how the marriage of Henry should be accomplished, by dispensation of the legate in England, or otherwise. All that he desired was to shift his personal responsibility. The embassy returned home, having effected nothing.

The declarations which were gathered from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and from universities and ecclesiastical bodies in France and Italy, were favourable to the desires of the king of England, as they pronounced against the lawfulness of his marriage with his brother's widow. It has been a subject of historical contention whether these opinions were given with perfect fairness, or whether intimidation and bribery were not resorted to. Into this discussion it is scarcely necessary for us to enter. There are some characteristic letters of Henry which clearly enough show that the younger members of the university of Oxford were frightened into a submission which the seniors readily yielded. When such a sovereign sent to the convocation his command that they should not lean "to wilful and sinister opinions of your own several minds," and desired the heads of houses to conduce and frame the young persons into order and conformity—for "if the youth of the university will play masteries as they begin to do, we doubt not but they shall well perceive that *non est bonum irritare crabrones*" [it is not good to disturb a hornets' nest]—then, we may be sure, it was quite unnecessary surreptitiously to affix to the decision the university seal gotten out "by strange subtil means," as Queen Catherine intimated. Cambridge also admitted the unlawfulness of the marriage, according to the divine law, but gave no answer upon the question whether the pope had power to grant a dispensation.

In March, 1531, these opinions were laid before the house of commons, and More, as chancellor, said: "Now you of this commons house may report in your countries what you have seen and heard, and then all men shall

openly perceive that the king has not attempted this matter of will or pleasure, as some strangers report, but only for the discharge of his conscience and surety of the succession of the realm." More, in his inmost heart, disliked the whole measure, and these official words must have come very hesitatingly from his lips. The religious plea, "for the discharge of his conscience," and the political plea of the "surety of the succession of the realm," were the self-deceptions with which Henry covered the impulses of his own passions, prompting him to the grossest cruelty and injustice.

The able historian Froude,[b] who sets up the state necessity as an excuse for many of the enormities of this reign, considers that this question was one "vitally affecting the interests of a great nation"; and avers that "the laity, with the alternative before them of civil war and the returning miseries of the preceding century, could brook no judgment which did not answer to their wishes." Is it to be believed that the remote possibility of a disputed succession had thus interested the laity—by which term we understand the body of the people—to become enthusiastic supporters of the king's personal desire to put away the companion of more than half his life—the mother of a daughter to whom their allegiance would have been readily transferred on the event of the king's death, without the slightest chance of civil war? The English people were not then, nor have they been at any time, so ready to encounter a great present difficulty for a contingent danger. The general opinion is pretty clearly set forth by the contemporary chronicler, Hall:[f] "When these determinations were published, all wise men in the realm much abhorred this marriage; but women, and such as were more wilful than wise or learned, spake against the determination, and said that the universities were corrupt, and enticed so to do—which is not to be thought." The foreign Protestants were decidedly hostile to what was held, by friend and by foe, not as a religious question or a national question, but was denominated "the king's cause."

We are entering upon a great field of history, in which, amidst the most crooked and uncertain paths, we have to feel our way at every step. The passions and prejudices which belonged to such a mighty change still survive, in a modified shape. They still give a colour to our political feelings and religious life. Let us endeavour to tell this wondrous story with a strict regard to the evidences upon which a true narration must be founded. Henry was in dread of being cited to Rome, and in April, 1531, desires his ambassador, Doctor Bennet, to use every means "to put over the process as long as ye may"; and yet, "as of yourself privily to say to the pope, that ye be advertised from your friends out of England, such as be learned in the laws and of our council, that it were the plainest entry the pope might make to the destruction of his whole authority, to strike upon this point to call us to Rome." The king desired that the cause should be decided in an indifferent place, by indifferent judges. The emperor was wholly opposed to the process being removed from Rome, and urged the pope to make no more delays in the matter.

Yet at this period was the king so far from connecting his impatience of the papal power with any favour to the doctrines of the reformers, that he has instructed Vaughan, his ambassador in the Netherlands, "to advise a young man named Frith to leave his wilful opinions and errors, and to return into his native country"; and, through Cromwell, has also desired that good and wholesome exhortations for his conversion and amendment should be given to Tyndale. Frith did return, and, as Cranmer very unfeelingly wrote in 1533, was "to go unto the fire." Tyndale remained in the Netherlands, to be first imprisoned, and then strangled, by the persecutors of the reformers,

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there, in 1536, after having published his admirable translations of the Scriptures, which the "defender of the faith" proscribed.

Sir Thomas More was a thoroughly conscientious minister, but he was in a false position. He held the great seal only about two years and a half, and then resigned his office, May 16, 1532. Retiring with small provision of fortune, but richly endowed with a contented and happy nature, he wrote to Erasmus that "he had obtained what, from a child, he had continually wished—that, being freed from business and public affairs he might live for a time only to God and himself." During his tenure of high place the persecution of heretics was not violent. Erasmus[c] has said that it was a sufficient proof of his clemency that while he was chancellor no man was put to death "for these pestilent dogmas."[1] But he took part in the examination of heretics before the council, sanctioned their imprisonment, and caused a boy and a bedlamite to be whipped for "ungracious heresy," according to his own statement. That More, at this period, should have manifested a devoted attachment to the doctrines of the church without entertaining some of its persecuting spirit, was scarcely to be expected, even from his beautiful nature.[i]

PROGRESS OF THE DIVORCE

In Germany the king's agents had derived little benefit either from the Catholics or the reformers. Luther and Melanchthon openly condemned his plan of a divorce, but were willing to indulge him with power to contract a second marriage pending the life of his first wife, after the practice of the ancient patriarchs. This novel doctrine some months later found an advocate even in Rome. A grave divine—who he was, or at whose instigation he acted, we know not—advised the pontiff to issue a dispensation empowering the king to marry a second wife. So much Clement communicated to Henry's agents. There was something in his manner so reserved and unusual that it awakened suspicion. But he eluded every attempt to draw from him further explication, and some days later informed them that his council had considered the question, and had determined, that it was not in his power to grant any such dispensation.

Foiled in Germany, the king rested his hopes on France and her fourteen universities; but when he claimed the assistance of his French brother, that prince artfully replied that he dared not provoke the resentment of the emperor till he had paid two millions of crowns, the ransom of his sons, who were detained as hostages in Spain. The impatience of Henry swallowed the bait. He advanced to Francis four hundred thousand crowns as a loan, postponed for an unlimited period the payment of five hundred thousand already due to him from that monarch, and sent to him the "lily of diamonds," which Charles and Maximilian had formerly pawned to Henry VII for the sum of fifty thousand crowns. In due course of time the princes were liberated, and Francis, now his own master, displayed his gratitude to Henry by labouring to procure from the faculty of theology in Paris an answer in favour of the divorce. But the opposition was numerous and obstinate, and the contest between the crown and the faculty lasted for several months, till a spurious

[1 Aubrey,[y] however, says that "there were five holocausts at Smithfield during his chancellorship, besides similar horrors in provincial towns." He quotes More's own epitaph for himself, "*furibus, homicidis, hæretique molestus, i. e.* hard, or troublesome, to thieves, murderers, and heretics. His own words repudiate the suspicion of leniency." Froude[b] also says, "No sooner had the seals changed hands than the Smithfield fires recommenced."]

decree was fabricated by order of Francis, and was afterwards published by Henry as the real decision of the university of Paris.

It had been originally intended to lay before the pontiff a mass of opinions and subscriptions as the united voice of the Christian world pronouncing in favour of the divorce. But Clement knew (and Henry was aware that he knew) the arts by which they had been purchased or extorted, and both were sensible that, independently of other considerations, they did not reach the real merits of the question; for all of them were founded on the supposition that the marriage between Arthur and Catherine had actually been consummated—a disputed point which the king was unable to prove, and which the queen most solemnly denied. In the place of these opinions it was deemed more prudent to substitute a letter to the pope, July 30th, 1530, subscribed by the lords spiritual and temporal, and by a certain number of commoners, in the name of the whole nation. This instrument complains in forcible terms of Clement's partiality and tergiversation. What crime had the king of England committed that he could not obtain what the most learned men and the most celebrated universities declared to be his right? The kingdom was threatened with the calamities of a disputed succession, which could be averted only by a lawful marriage; and yet the celebration of that marriage was prevented by the affected delays and unjust partiality of the pontiff. Nothing remained but to apply the remedy without his interference. It might be an evil, but it would prove a less evil than the precarious and perilous situation in which England was now placed.



CANTERBURY

To this menacing remonstrance Clement had replied, September 27th, 1530, with temper and firmness, that the charge of partiality would have come with more truth and a better grace from the opposite party; that he had pushed his indulgence for the king beyond the bounds of law and equity, and had refused to act on the queen's appeal till the whole college of cardinals unanimously charged him with injustice; that, if he had not since proceeded with his cause, it was because Henry had appointed no attorney to plead for him, and because his ambassadors at Bologna had asked for additional time. Bennet was ordered to follow Clement to Rome, where he was joined by the bishop of Tarbes, now created a cardinal, and empowered to act as envoy from the king of France on the behalf of Henry. They were instructed to propose the following expedients to the pontiff. They requested him to appoint a court of three English bishops, or, if there existed any objection to the bishops, to convert the convocation of the province of Canterbury into a

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court, with full power to hear and determine the cause of the divorce without reserve or appeal. He replied that, in as far as regarded himself, he would readily appoint such a court, but that he could not do it in justice nor according to law without the consent of the queen, who had already commenced proceedings both in the court of the signature and in the consistory.

It was then asked whether, on the supposition that Henry should make use of such remedies as in his conscience he thought lawful, Clement would bind himself to remain passive, and refuse to interfere at the request of Catherine; a question to which he returned an indignant answer, as if he looked upon it as an insult. They insisted on the evils to the church which might ensue from the displeasure of two such powerful monarchs, but he replied, "that if such inconvenience should follow, he had lever it should follow for doing his duty than the like should follow for lack of not doing it." There remained but one resource, to request that he would stay the proceedings in the Roman courts, for the purpose of gaining time for an amicable compromise between the parties. To this he consented, but for three weeks only, and the cardinal and Bennet wrote to Henry, detailing these particulars, and informing him that Clement, though he interposed every obstacle in his power, would soon be compelled, through the urgent solicitations of the imperialists, to issue an inhibitory breve, forbidding all archbishops or bishops, courts or tribunals, to give judgment in the matrimonial cause against Catherine.

THE RISE OF CROMWELL

The mistress and her advocates were rescued from danger by the boldness and ingenuity of Cromwell. The subsequent elevation of Cromwell to the highest honours in the state reflects an interest on the more obscure portion of his private life. His father was a fuller in the neighbourhood of the capital. The son in his early youth served as a trooper in the wars of Italy; from the army he passed to the service of a Venetian merchant; and after some time, returning to England, exchanged the counter for the study of the law. Wolsey had employed him to dissolve the monasteries which had been granted for the establishment of his colleges, a trust which he discharged to the satisfaction of his patron, at the same time that he enriched himself. His principles, however, if we may believe his own assertions, were of the most flagitious description. He followed Wolsey to Esher, but despairing of the fortune of the fallen favourite, hastened to court, purchased with presents the protection of the ministers, and was confirmed in that office under the king which he had before held under the cardinal—the stewardship of the lands of the dissolved monasteries.

The day after the king's intention had transpired, Cromwell, who, to use his own words, was determined to "make or mar," solicited and obtained an audience. He felt, he said, his own inability to give advice, but neither affection nor duty would suffer him to be silent when he beheld the anxiety of his sovereign. It might be presumption in him to judge; but he thought the king's difficulties arose from the timidity of his counsellors, who were led astray by outward appearances and by the opinions of the vulgar. The learned and the universities had pronounced in favour of the divorce. Nothing was wanting but the approbation of the pope. That approbation might indeed be useful to check the resentment of the emperor; but if it could not be obtained, was Henry to forego his right? Let him rather imitate the princes of Germany, who had thrown off the yoke of Rome; let him, with the

authority of parliament, declare himself the head of the church within his own realm. At present England was a monster with two heads. But were the king to take into his own hands the authority now usurped by the pontiff, every anomaly would be rectified, the present difficulties would vanish, and the churchmen, sensible that their lives and fortunes were at his disposal, would become the obsequious ministers of his will.

Henry listened with surprise and pleasure to a discourse which flattered not only his passion for Anne Boleyn, but his thirst of wealth and greediness of power. He thanked Cromwell, and ordered him to be sworn of his privy council.

THE KING BECOMES "SUPREME HEAD OF THE CHURCH" (1531 A.D.)

It was evident that the adoption of this title would experience considerable opposition from the clergy; but the cunning of Cromwell had already organised a plan which promised to secure their submission. When the statutes of præmunire were passed, a power was given to the sovereign to modify or suspend their operation at his discretion; and from that time it had been customary for the king to grant letters of license or protection to particular individuals who meant to act or had already acted against the letter of these statutes. Hence Wolsey had been careful to obtain a patent under the great seal, authorising him to exercise the legatine authority; nor did any person during fifteen years presume to accuse him of violating the law. When, however, he was indicted for the supposed offence, he refused to plead the royal permission, and through motives of prudence suffered judgment to pass against him.

Now, on the ground of his conviction, it was argued that all the clergy were liable to the same penalty, because by admitting his jurisdiction they had become, in the language of the statute, his fautors and abettors; and the attorney-general was instructed to file an information against the whole body in the court of King's Bench. The convocation hastily assembled, February 7th, 1531, and offered a present of one hundred thousand pounds in return for a full pardon. To their grief and astonishment, Henry refused the proposal, unless in the preamble to the grant a clause were introduced acknowledging the king "to be the protector and only supreme head of the church and clergy of England." Three days were consumed in useless consultation. The grant [called the Act of Appeals] was made March 2nd, 1531; but in the enumeration of the motives on which it was grounded was inserted within a parenthesis the following clause: "of which church and clergy we acknowledge his majesty to be the chief protector, the only and supreme lord, and, as far as the law of Christ will allow, the supreme head." The northern convocation adopted the same language, and voted for the same purpose a grant of eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty pounds.

It is plain that the introduction of the words, "as far as the law of Christ will allow," served to invalidate the whole recognition; since those who might reject the king's supremacy could maintain that it was not allowed by the law of Christ. But Henry was yet wavering and irresolute; he sought to intimidate the court of Rome, but had not determined to separate from its communion; it was therefore thought sufficient to have made a beginning; the qualifying clause might be afterwards expunged, whenever the occasion required. In the mean while the inhibitory brief had been signed by Clement, and published with the usual solemnity in Flanders, January 5th, 1531. That it might make the less impression on the minds of the people, the new chan-

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cellor, attended by twelve peers, went to the lower house; the answers of the universities were read; above a hundred papers, said to contain the opinions of theologians and canonists, were exhibited; and the members were exhorted, on their return to their homes, to acquaint their neighbours with the justice of the royal cause.

After the prorogation, May 31st, several lords were deputed to wait on the queen, and to request that, for the quiet of the king's conscience, she would refer the matter to the decision of four temporal and four spiritual peers. "God grant him a quiet conscience," she replied, "but this shall be your answer: I am his wife, lawfully married to him by order of holy church; and so I will abide until the court of Rome, which was privy to the beginning, shall have made thereof an end." A second deputation was sent July 14th, with an order for her to leave the palace at Windsor. "Go where I may," she answered, "I shall still be his lawful wife." In obedience to the king, she repaired to Ampthill, where, if she was no longer treated as queen, she no longer witnessed the ascendancy of her rival.

By this time the imperialists had acquired a decided superiority at Rome; but their progress was checked by the obstacles which Clement's secret partiality for the king of England repeatedly threw in their way. They prayed judgment against him, on the ground that he refused to plead; the pontiff, to elude the demand, requested Henry to appoint an agent with the office of excusator, who might show cause for his absence. Sir Edward Carne was sent, but with verbal instructions, and without powers in writing.[1] If Clement was mortified with this omission, he was still more distressed when he received a letter from Catherine announcing her formal expulsion from court, and praying the pontiff no longer to refuse her justice. In the most forcible but affectionate terms he wrote to the king, January 25, 1532, and painted the infamy which by his late conduct he had stamped on his own character. He had married a princess of distinguished virtue and allied in blood to the first sovereign in Europe; and now, after the lapse of more than twenty years, he had ignominiously driven her from his court, to introduce in her place another woman with whom he lived openly, and to whom he transferred the conjugal affection due to his wife. Let him recall his queen and dismiss her rival. It was what he owed to himself; but Clement would receive it as a favour, the most signal favour which Henry had ever conferred on the apostolic see.

ANNATES OR FIRST-FRUITS ABOLISHED

But the time was past when the king sought to conciliate; his present object was intimidation, and with that purpose he had assembled the parliament. The annatee or first-fruits, which were paid to the Roman see from most nations in Europe, formed the chief fund for the support of the cardinals in attendance on the pontiff. An act was passed for the abolition of this ecclesiastical impost. In the preamble it was stated that the annates had been originally established for the defence of Christendom against the infidels; that they had been insensibly augmented, till they became a constant drain on the wealth of the nation;[2] and that it was necessary to provide an immediate remedy before the decease of the present bishops, of whom many were far

[1 Henry's consent was given only after he had been assured by the university of Orleans and the faculty of law at Paris, that he was not obliged to appear at Rome, and that it was not necessary to furnish the excusator with powers for the performance of his office.]

[2 The amount was estimated at £4,000 per annum, on an average of many years.

advanced in years. It was therefore enacted that, if any prelate hereafter should presume to pay first-fruits to the see of Rome, he should forfeit his personalities to the king, and the profits of his see as long as he held it; that if, in consequence of the omission, the necessary bulls were refused, he should nevertheless be consecrated by the archbishop, or two other bishops, as was usual in ancient times; and that if on such account any censures or interdicts were issued by the pope, they should be utterly disregarded.

It was not, however, that Henry sought to save the money, for he would eagerly have purchased the divorce with more costly sacrifices; nor that he wished to proceed to an open rupture with the court of Rome, for he still held out hopes of a reconciliation. But his real object was to influence the resolves of the pontiff by considerations of interest. Hence the rigour of the act was mitigated by the following provisions: 1. That for the expediting of his bulls, each bishop might lawfully pay fees after the rate of five per cent. on the amount of his yearly income; and 2, that (in order to come to an amicable composition with the pope) it should be at the option of the king to suspend or modify, to annul or enforce, the present statute by his letters patent, which in this instance should have the force of law. At the same time Cromwell ventured to proceed a step further in the prosecution of his plan for annexing to the crown the supreme jurisdiction in ecclesiastical concerns. An address was procured from the house of commons, complaining that the convocations of the clergy, without consulting the other estates, often enacted laws which regarded temporal matters, and which, though contrary to the statutes of the realm, were notwithstanding enforced by spiritual censures and prosecutions for heresy.

This address was sent by Henry to the convocation May 10th, 1532, and was followed by a requisition that the clergy should promise never more to enact, publish, or enforce their constitutions without the royal authority or assent; and that they should submit all those now in force to the consideration of a committee of thirty-two members, half laymen and half clergymen, to be chosen by the king, and to have the power of determining what constitutions ought to be abolished and what ought to be retained. Though Gardiner composed an eloquent answer to the address; though the clergy maintained that they had received from Christ authority to make such laws as were necessary for the government of their flocks in faith and morals, an authority admitted by all Christian princes, founded in Scripture, and "defended with most vehement and expugnable reasons and authorities by his majesty himself in his most excellent book against Luther"; though they consented to promise that in consideration of his zeal and wisdom they would never make any new constitutions during his reign without his assent, and were willing to submit the consideration of the old constitutions to the judgment of his grace alone, the king was inexorable; and after many discussions, a form of submission, which he consented to accept, was carried by large majorities, May 15th, 1532. The clause limiting the promise to the duration of the present reign was rejected, but the king was added to the committee, and the assent of the clergy was said to be grounded on their knowledge of his superior learning and piety.

These proceedings, so hostile to the authority of the clergy and the interests of the pontiff, were immediately communicated to Carne at Rome. He had demanded to be admitted as excusator, and was opposed by the imperialists; the arguments of counsel were heard on both sides; and Clement, having spun out the discussion for some months, pronounced against the claim, and, July 13th, summoned the king to proceed with the cause in November. When the

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day came, Carne protested against the summons; but the pontiff rejected the protest, and requested Henry to appear by his attorney; in which case delegates might be appointed to take informations in England, though the final judgment must be reserved to the Roman see. At the same time he signed a breve, complaining that, in defiance of public decency, the king continued to cohabit with his mistress, declaring both of them excommunicated unless they should separate within a month after the receipt of the present letter; and, in case they should presume to marry, pronouncing such marriage invalid, and confirming his former prohibition against it. It seems, however, that for some reason, which is unknown, the publication of this breve was suspended.

HENRY AND ANNE VISIT FRANCE (1532 A.D.)

During the summer Henry had renewed his former treaties with France, and, in addition, had concluded a defensive alliance against any subsequent aggression on the part of the emperor. He had frequently solicited an interview with Francis; he now repeated his request in so urgent a manner, that the French king, though with considerable reluctance, acquiesced. But Anne Boleyn also sought to be of the party; and the ambassador was secretly employed to procure for her an invitation from Francis, who on his part might be accompanied by the queen of Navarre. Whether he succeeded is very uncertain; at the appointed time the two kings repaired, the one to Calais, the other to Boulogne.[1] As Henry had requested the meeting, he paid the first visit, October 21st; and at the end of four days Francis returned with him to Calais, where he remained the same time. On Sunday evening, November 28th, after supper, the door was suddenly thrown open; twelve persons in masks and female dresses entered the room, and each singled out a gentleman to dance. Henry after some time took off the visors of the maskers, and it appeared that Francis had danced with Anne Boleyn. He conversed with her for some minutes apart, and the next morning sent her as a present a jewel valued at fifteen thousand crowns.

While the royal attendants were amused with reports of a confederacy against the Turks, the two princes communicated to each other in secret the real or imaginary wrongs which they had suffered from the pontiff, and concerted measures to confine within narrower limits the pretensions of the Holy See. But they came to the discussion with far different feelings. The irritation of Henry sought to set at defiance the papal authority. Francis laboured, while he concealed his object, to effect a reconciliation between his friend and the pope. The king of England reluctantly acquiesced in the more temperate advice of the French king, to invite Clement to meet the two monarchs at Marseilles, where they might settle their existing differences in an amicable manner. Henry promised that he would attend in person, or by the first nobleman in his realm, and that in the interval he would abstain from every act which might tend to widen the breach between himself and the pope; and Francis despatched to Rome the cardinals of Grammont and Tournon to arrange the preliminaries of the meeting, and wrote a letter to Clement protesting against the insult which he had offered to all crowned heads by citing the king of England out of his dominions.

[1] Henry wished both monarchs to be on a footing of equality, and desired that, if he brought Anne, Francis should bring the queen of Navarre; for he would not meet the queen of France, the emperor's sister. Francis, however, did not comply with his whim, and was not accompanied by any lady.

THE SECRET MARRIAGE OF THE KING (1533 A.D.)

Five years had now rolled away since Henry first solicited a divorce, three since he began to cohabit with Anne Boleyn, and still he appeared to have made but little progress towards the attainment of his object.[1] The reader, who is acquainted with the impetuosity of his character, will perhaps admire his patience under so many delays and miscarriages; he may discover its true cause in the infecundity of Anne, which had hitherto disappointed the king's most anxious wish to provide for the succession to the throne. Instead of making her his wife, he had in September last granted to her, and to the heirs male of her body forever, the dignity of marchioness of Pembroke, with an annuity to her of one thousand pounds for life out of the bishopric of Durham, and of another thousand out of several manors belonging to the crown; but four months later she proved to be in a condition to promise him an heir; and the necessity of placing beyond cavil the legitimacy of the child induced him to violate the pledge which he had so solemnly given to the king of France.

On the 25th of January, 1533, at an early hour, Dr. Rowland Lee, one of the royal chaplains, received an order to celebrate mass in a room in the west turret of Whitehall. There he found the king attended by Norris and Henneage, two of the grooms of the chamber, and Anne Boleyn, accompanied by her train-bearer Anne Savage, afterwards Lady Berkeley. We are told that Lee, when he discovered the object for which he had been called, made some opposition; but Henry calmed his scruples with the assurance that Clement had pronounced in his favour, and that the papal instrument was safely deposited in his closet.[2] As soon as the marriage ceremony had been performed, the parties separated in silence before it was light; and the father of Anne, now earl of Wiltshire and viscount Rochford, was despatched to announce the event, but in the strictest confidence, to Francis.

At the same time he was instructed to dissuade that king from consenting to the intended marriage of his second son with the niece of Clement; or, if it could not be prevented, to prevail on him to make it a condition of the marriage that the pope should proceed no further in his censures against Henry. Then, if Clement did him justice, the recent proceeding would prove of no detriment; if not, he was determined to set the papal authority at defiance. But, contrary to his hopes, the interview was postponed; the

[1] This charge of cohabitation has given offence.—See Hallam (*i*). Yet, if there were no other authority, the very case itself would justify it. A young woman between twenty and thirty listens to declarations of love from a married man who has already seduced her sister; and on his promise to abstain from his wife and to marry her, she quits her parental home and consents to live with him under the same roof, where for three years she is constantly in his company at meals, in his journeys, on occasions of ceremony, and at parties of pleasure. Can it betray any great want of candour to dispute the innocence of such intimacy between the two lovers? Their contemporaries seem to have had no scruple on that head. "The king," writes Carlo Capello on May 13th, 1532, "loses no opportunity of despatching matters, because, as is reported, my Lady Anne is heavy with child.—Perche, come si dice, Madama Anna e gravida." [Friedmann *k* thinks that the creation of Anne as marchioness of Pembroke marks the date when she became the king's mistress, exacting the title of nobility for herself and her heirs as a guaranty. She had previously purchased a false pedigree tracing to a Norman knight, and for this had been openly ridiculed in court.]

[2] Burnet *m* treats this account as one of the fictions of Sanders *n*; but it is taken from a manuscript history of the divorce presented to Queen Mary, thirty years before the work of Sanders was published, and agrees perfectly with the attempt to keep the marriage secret for two or three months. Lee was made bishop of Chester, was translated to Lichfield and Coventry, and honoured with the presidentship of Wales. [Friedmann *k* believes that the priest was rather George Brown, an Augustinian friar, for whose services on this occasion Chapuis *l* says he was made general of the mendicant friars.]

pregnancy of the bride became visible; and on Easter eve orders were given that she should receive the honours due to the queen consort. The marriage was thus acknowledged April 12th; still the date of its celebration remained involved in mystery, and, to encourage the notion that the child had been conceived in wedlock, a report was artfully circulated that the nuptials had occurred at an earlier period, immediately after the separation of the two kings at Calais.[1]

THE RISE OF CRANMER

Archbishop Warham, who had been driven from court by the ascendancy of Wolsey, was zealously attached to the ancient doctrines and the papal authority; his death, August 23rd, 1532, in the course of the last summer had empowered the king to raise to the first dignity in the English church a prelate of opposite principles, and more devoted to the will of his sovereign. Thomas Cranmer, at the recommendation of Henry, had been taken into the family of the Boleyns, and had assisted the father and the daughter with his services and advice: his book in favour of the divorce, the boldness with which he had advocated the royal cause at Rome, and the industry with which he had solicited signatures in Italy, had raised him in the esteem of the king; and soon after his return he had been appointed orator ad Cæsarem, or ambassador attendant on the emperor. Both Henry and Anne flattered themselves that, by selecting him for the successor of Warham, they would possess an archbishop according to their own hearts. There was, however, one objection which might have proved fatal to his elevation with a prince who till his last breath continued to enforce with the stake and the halter the observance of clerical celibacy. Cranmer after the death of his wife had taken orders; but during one of his agencies abroad he had suffered himself to be captivated with the charms of a young woman, the niece of Osiander or of his wife, had married her in private, and had left her in Germany with her friends.

Whether this marriage had come to the knowledge of Henry, or was considered by him invalid according to the canon law, is uncertain; but, "to the surprise and sorrow of many," he resolved to raise Cranmer to the archbishopric, and appointed Doctor Hawkins to succeed him in the embassy. From Mantua, where the emperor then held his court, Cranmer returned to England; the papal confirmation was asked and obtained; the necessary bulls were expedited in the usual manner, and in a very few days after their arrival the consecration followed, March 30th. But by what casuistry could the archbishop elect, who was well acquainted with the services expected from him, reconcile it with his conscience to swear at his consecration canonical obedience to the pope, when he was already resolved to act in opposition to the papal authority?

With the royal approbation he called four witnesses and a notary into the chapter-house of St. Stephen's at Westminster, and in their presence

[1] Hence the marriage is dated on the 14th of November, 1532, the day when Henry and Anne sailed from Calais, by almost all our historians. But Godwin and Stowe have assigned it to the 25th of January, the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul; and that they are right is incontestably proved from a letter still extant, written by Archbishop Cranmer to his friend Hawkins, the ambassador to the emperor. After an account of the coronation, he proceeds thus: "But, nowe, sir, you may nott ymagyne that this coronacion was before her marriage, for she was married much about Sainte Paule's daye laste, as the condicion thereof dothe well appere by reason she ys nowe somewhat bigge with chylde. Notwithstanding yt hath byn reported thorowte a great parte of the realme that I maried her, which was plainly false: for I myself knewe not therof a fortnyght after yt was donne."

declared that by the oath of obedience to the pope, which for the sake of form he should be obliged to take, he did not intend to bind himself to anything contrary to the law of God or prejudicial to the rights of the king, or prohibitory of such reforms as he might judge useful to the church of England. From the chapter-house, attended by the same persons, he proceeded to the steps of the high altar, declared in their presence that he adhered to the protestation which he had already read in their hearing, and then took the pontifical oath. The consecration followed; after which, having again reminded the same five individuals of his previous protest, he took the oath a second time, and received the pallium from the hands of the papal delegates. This extraordinary transaction gave birth to an animated controversy: the opponents of the archbishop branding him with the guilt of fraud and perjury, his advocates labouring to wipe away the imputation, and justifying his conduct by the extraordinary circumstances in which he was placed. We will only observe that oaths cease to offer any security, if their meaning may be qualified by previous protestations, made without the knowledge of the party who is principally interested.[1]

With an archbishop subservient to his pleasure, Henry determined to proceed with the divorce. The previous arrangements were intrusted to the industry of Cromwell. To prevent Catherine from opposing any obstacle to the proceedings meditated by Cranmer, an act of parliament was passed forbidding, under the penalty of præmunire, appeals from the spiritual judges in England to the courts of the pontiff; and, to furnish grounds for the intended sentence, the members of the convocation were divided into two classes, of theologians and canonists, and each was ordered to pronounce on a question separately submitted to its decision. Of the former it was asked, March 26th, whether a papal dispensation could authorise a brother to marry the relict of his deceased brother in the case where the first marriage had been actually consummated; of the latter, whether the depositions taken before the legates amounted to a canonical proof that the marriage between Arthur and Catherine had been consummated. The two questions were debated for some days in the absence of the new archbishop; he then took his seat; the votes were demanded, and on both questions answers favourable to the king were carried by large majorities.

As soon as the convocation had separated, April 2nd, a hypocritical farce was enacted between Henry and Cranmer. The latter, as if he were ignorant of the object for which he had been made archbishop, wrote a most urgent letter to the king, representing the evils to which the nation was exposed from a disputed succession, and begging to be informed if it were the pleasure of the sovereign that he should hear the cause of the divorce in the archiepiscopal court. This letter, though its language was sufficiently humble, and sufficiently intelligible, did not satisfy the king or his advisers; and Cranmer was compelled, in a second letter of the same date, to take the whole responsibility on himself. It was, he was made to say, a duty which he owed to God and the king to put an end to the doubts respecting the validity of Henry's marriage; wherefore prostrate at the feet of his majesty he begged permission to hear and determine the cause, and called on God to witness that he had no other object in making this petition than the exoneration of

[1] The archbishop himself, in excuse of his duplicity, wrote afterwards to Queen Mary that his chief object was to be at liberty to reform the church. Pole answered: "To what did this serve but to be foresworn before you did swear? Other perjurers be wont to break their oath after they have sworn; you break it before. Men forced to swear *per vim et metum* may have some colour of defence, but you had no such excuse."—STRYPE.

his own conscience and the benefit of the realm. There was no longer any demur. The king graciously assented to his request; but at the same time reminded the primate that he was nothing more than the principal minister of the spiritual jurisdiction belonging to the crown, and that "the sovereign had no superior on earth, and was not subject to the laws of any earthly creature." It was in vain that the French ambassador remonstrated against these proceedings as contrary to the engagements into which Henry had entered at Boulogne and Calais.

CRANMER ANNULS THE MARRIAGE

Catherine was cited to appear before Cranmer at Dunstable, within four miles of Ampthill, where she resided, and a post was established to convey with despatch the particulars of each day's transactions to Cromwell. At the appointed time the archbishop, with the bishop of Lincoln as his assessor, and the bishop of Winchester and seven others as counsel for the king, opened the court, May 8th, and hastened the trial with as much expedition as was permitted by the forms of the ecclesiastical courts. In his letters to Cromwell the primate earnestly entreated that the intention of proceeding to judgment might be kept an impenetrable secret. Were it once to transpire, Catherine might be induced to appear, and, notwithstanding the late statute, to put in an appeal from him to the pontiff—a measure which would defeat all their plans and entirely disconcert both himself and the council. On Saturday, May 10th, the service of the citation was proved, and the queen, as she did not appear, was pronounced "contumacious." On the following Monday, after the testimony of witnesses that she had been served with a second citation, she was pronounced "verily and manifestly contumacious"; and the court proceeded in her absence to read depositions, and to hear arguments in proof of the consummation of the marriage between her and Prince Arthur.

On the Saturday she received a third citation to appear and hear the judgment of the court. Catherine took no notice of these proceedings, for she had been advised to abstain from any act which might be interpreted as an admission of the archbishop's jurisdiction. Cranmer waited for the first open day (it was Ascension week), and on the Friday pronounced his judgment, that the marriage between her and Henry was null and invalid, having been contracted and consummated in defiance of the divine prohibition, and therefore without force or effect from the very beginning.[1] This decision was communicated to the king in a letter from the primate, who with much gravity exhorted him to submit to the law of God, and to avoid those censures which he must incur by persisting in an incestuous intercourse with the widow of his brother.

But what, it was then asked, must be thought of his present union with Anne Boleyn? How could he have lawfully effected a new marriage before the former was lawfully annulled? Was the right of succession less doubtful now than before? To silence these questions Cranmer held another court at Lambeth, May 28th, and having first heard the king's proctor, officially declared that Henry and Anne were and had been joined in lawful matrimony; that their marriage was and had been public and manifest, and that he,

[1] It appears from Bedyl's letter to Cromwell that the whole process had been "devysed affore the kinges grace" and that "my lord of Cauntrebury handled himself very well."

moreover, confirmed it by his judicial and pastoral authority.[1] These proceedings were preparatory to the coronation, June 1st, of the new queen,[2] which was performed with unusual magnificence, attended by all the nobility of England, and celebrated with processions, triumphal arches, and tournaments. The honours paid to his consort gratified the pride of the king; her approaching parturition filled him with the hope of what he so earnestly wished, a male heir to the crown.[e]

We have already had occasion, and shall have further occasion, to state some of the conclusions of Froude, which have been most bitterly controverted by more judicial historians. He has been accused of a constitutional and determined inaccuracy. His literary power, however, has never been denied, and the present moment is especially appropriate for an example of it, for, in the words of William Hunt,[r] "Few more brilliant pieces of historical writing exist than his description of the coronation procession of Anne Boleyn through the streets of London; and to have once read is to remember forever the touching and stately words in which he compares the monks of the London Charterhouse preparing for death with the Spartans at Thermopylæ." For the details of the coronation pageant, Froude [b] drew liberally on Cranmer's letter to the emperor's ambassador, and on Hall [f], who was apparently an eye-witness.[a]

FROUDE'S ACCOUNT OF ANNE BOLEYN'S CORONATION

On the 19th of May Anne was conducted to the Tower in state by the lord mayor and the city companies, with one of those splendid exhibitions upon the water which in the days when the silver Thames deserved its name, and the sun could shine down upon it out of the blue summer sky, were spectacles scarcely rivalled in gorgeousness by the world-famous wedding of the Adriatic. The river was crowded with boats, the banks and the ships in the pool swarmed with people; and fifty great barges formed the procession, all blazing with gold and banners. The queen herself was in her own barge, close to that of the lord mayor, and in keeping with the fantastic genius of the time, she was preceded up the water by "a foyst or wafter full of ordnance, in which was a great dragon continually moving and casting wildfire, and round about the foyst stood terrible monsters and wild men, casting fire and making hideous noise." So, with trumpets blowing, cannon pealing, the Tower guns answering the guns of the ships, in a blaze of fireworks and splendour, Anne Boleyn was borne along to the great archway of the Tower, where the king was waiting on the stairs to receive her.

[1] We conceive that, immediately after judgment pronounced by Cranmer, Henry and Anne were married again. Otherwise Lee, archbishop of York, and Tunstall, bishop of Durham, must have asserted a falsehood when they told Catherine that, "after his highness was discharged of the marriage made with her, he contracted new marriage with his dearest wife Queen Anne." It is plain, from all that precedes and follows this passage, that they mean, after the divorce publicly pronounced by Archbishop Cranmer. Of a private divorce preceding the marriage in January, neither they nor any others, their contemporaries, had any notion. But a second marriage after the judgment of the court was necessary, otherwise the issue of Anne could not have been legitimate.

Henry had indeed been aware of the irregularity of marrying her before a divorce from Catherine; but he justified his conduct by declaring, according to Burnet,[m] that he had examined the cause in "the court of his own conscience, which was enlightened and directed by the spirit of God, who possesseth and directeth the hearts of princes"; and as he was convinced that "he was at liberty to exercise and enjoy the benefit of God for the procreation of children in the lawful use of matrimony, no man ought to inveigh at this his doing."

[2] We may here observe that this was the last coronation during Henry's reign. Of his four following wives not one was crowned.

And now let us suppose eleven days to have elapsed, the welcome news to have arrived at length from Dunstable, and the fair summer morning of life dawning in treacherous beauty after the long night of expectation. No bridal ceremonial had been possible; the marriage had been huddled over like a stolen love-match, and the marriage feast had been eaten in vexation and disappointment. These past mortifications were to be atoned for by a coronation pageant which the art and the wealth of the richest city[1] in Europe should be poured out in the most lavish profusion to adorn.

On the morning of the 31st of May the families of the London citizens were stirring early in all houses. At length the Tower guns opened, the grim gates rolled back, and under the archway in the bright May sunshine the long column began slowly to defile. Two states only permitted their representatives to grace the scene with their presence—Venice and France. It was, perhaps, to make the most of this isolated countenance that the French ambassador's train formed the van of the cavalcade. After them followed a troop of English gentlemen, two and two, and then the knights of the Bath, "in gowns of violet, with hoods purfled with miniver like doctors." Next, perhaps at a little interval, the abbots passed on, mitred, in their robes; the barons followed in crimson velvet, the bishops then, and then the earls and marquises, the dresses of each order increasing in elaborate gorgeousness. All these rode on in pairs. Then came alone Audley, lord chancellor, and behind him the Venetian ambassador and the archbishop of York, the archbishop of Canterbury, and Du Bellay, bishop of Bayonne and of Paris, not now with bugle and hunting-frock, but solemn with stole and crozier. Next, the lord mayor, with the city mace in hand, and Garter in his coat of arms; and then Lord William Howard, the duke of Norfolk's brother, marshal of England. The officers of the queen's household succeeded the marshal in scarlet and gold, and the van of the procession was closed by the duke of Suffolk, as high constable, with his silver wand. It is no easy matter to picture to ourselves the blazing trail of splendour which in such a pageant must have drawn along the London streets—those streets which now we know so black and smoke-grimed, themselves then radiant with masses of colour, gold, and crimson, and violet. Yet there it was, and there the sun could shine



[1 This statement seems to be greatly exaggerated, as London had at this time, according to Friedmann,[k] only about 90,000 inhabitants, while Milan and Ghent were nearly three times as large, and Paris had 400,000 inhabitants. Rome, Bruges, Venice, Genoa, and Naples were all larger than London, which was in the third class in population and distinctly so in wealth.]

upon it, and tens of thousands of eyes were gazing on the scene out of the crowded lattices.

Glorious as the spectacle was, perhaps, however, it passed unheeded. Those eyes were watching all for another object, which now drew near. In an open space behind the constable there was seen approaching "a white chariot," drawn by two palfreys in white damask which swept the ground, a golden canopy borne above it making music with silver bells; and in the chariot sat the observed of all observers, the beautiful occasion of all this glittering homage; fortune's plaything of the hour, the queen of England—queen at last—borne along upon the waves of this sea of glory, breathing the perfumed incense of greatness which she had risked her fair name, her delicacy, her honour, her self-respect, to win; and she had won it. There she sat, dressed in white tissue robes, her fair hair flowing loose over her shoulders, and her temples circled with a light coronet of gold and diamonds —most beautiful, loveliest, most favoured, perhaps, as she seemed at that hour, of all England's daughters. Alas! "within the hollow round" of the coronet,

> Kept death his court, and there the antick sat,
> Scoffing her state and grinning at her pomp.
> Allowing her a little breath, a little scene
> To monarchise, be feared, and kill with looks,
> Infusing her with self and vain conceit,
> As if the flesh which walled about her life
> Were brass impregnable; and humoured thus,
> Bored through her castle walls; and farewell, queen!

Fatal gift of greatness! so dangerous ever! so more than dangerous in those tremendous times when the fountains are broken loose of the great deeps of thought, and nations are in the throes of revolution; when ancient order and law and tradition are splitting in the social earthquake; and as the opposing forces wrestle to and fro, those unhappy ones who stand out above the crowd become the symbols of the struggle and fall the victims of its alternating fortunes. And what if into an unsteady heart and brain, intoxicated with splendour, the outward chaos should find its way, converting the poor silly soul into an image of the same confusion; if conscience should be deposed from her high place, and the Pandora box be broken loose of passions and sensualities and follies; and at length there be nothing left of all which man or woman ought to value, save hope of God's forgiveness. Three short years have yet to pass, and again, on a summer morning, Queen Anne Boleyn will leave the Tower of London—not radiant then with beauty, on a gay errand of coronation, but a poor wandering ghost, on a sad tragic errand, from which she will never more return.

But let us not cloud her short-lived sunshine with the shadow of the future. She went on in her loveliness, the peeresses following in their carriages, with the royal guard in their rear. In Fenchurch Street she was met by the children of the city schools; and at the corner of Gracechurch Street a masterpiece had been prepared of the pseudo-classic art, then so fashionable, by the merchants of the Steelyard. A Mount Parnassus had been constructed, and a Helicon fountain upon it playing into a basin with four jets of Rhenish wine. On the top of the mountain sat Apollo with Calliope at his feet, and on either side the remaining Muses, holding lutes or harps, and singing each of them some "posy" or epigram in praise of the queen, which was presented, after it had been sung, written in letters of gold. From Gracechurch Street the procession passed to Leadenhall, where there was a spectacle in better taste,

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of the old English Catholic kind, quaint perhaps and forced, but truly and even beautifully emblematic. There was again a "little mountain," which was hung with red and white roses; a gold ring was placed on the summit, on which, as the queen appeared, a white falcon was made to "descend as out of the sky"—"and then incontinent came down an angel with great melody, and set a close crown of gold upon the falcon's head; and in the same pageant sat Saint Anne with all her issue beneath her; and Mary Clopas with her four children, of the which children one made a goodly oration to the queen, of the fruitfulness of Saint Anne, trusting that like fruit should come of her."

With such pretty "conceits," at that time the honest tokens of an English welcome, the new queen was received by the citizens of London. These scenes must be multiplied by the number of the streets, where some fresh fancy met her at every turn. To preserve the festivities from flagging, every fountain and conduit within the walls ran all day with wine; the bells of every steeple were ringing; children lay in wait with songs, and ladies with posies, in which all the resources of fantastic extravagance were exhausted; and thus in an unbroken triumph—and to outward appearance received with the warmest affection—she passed under Temple Bar, down the Strand by Charing Cross to Westminster Hall. The king was not with her throughout the day, nor did he intend to be with her in any part of the ceremony. She was to reign without a rival, the undisputed sovereign of the hour.

Saturday being passed in showing herself to the people, she retired for the night to "the king's manor house at Westminster," where she slept. On the following morning, June 1st, between eight and nine o'clock, she returned to the hall, where the lord mayor, the city council, and the peers were again assembled. She was dressed in purple velvet furred with ermine, her hair escaping loose, as she usually wore it, under a wreath of diamonds. She was conducted up to the high altar and anointed queen of England, and she received from the hands of Cranmer, fresh come in haste from Dunstable, with the last words of his sentence upon Catherine scarcely silent upon his lips, the golden sceptre and St. Edward's crown.

Did any twinge of remorse, any pang of painful recollection, pierce at that moment the incense of glory which she was inhaling? Did any vision flit across her of a sad mourning figure which once had stood where she was standing, now desolate, neglected, sinking into the darkening twilight of a life cut short by sorrow? Who can tell? At such a time, that figure would have weighed heavily upon a noble mind, and a wise mind would have been taught by the thought of it, that although life be fleeting as a dream, it is long enough to experience strange vicissitudes of fortune. But Anne Boleyn was not noble and was not wise—too probably she felt nothing but the delicious, all-absorbing, all-intoxicating present; and if that plain, suffering face presented itself to her memory at all, we may fear that it was rather as a foil to her own surpassing loveliness. Two years later she was able to exult over Catherine's death; she is not likely to have thought of her with gentler feelings in the first glow and flush of triumph.

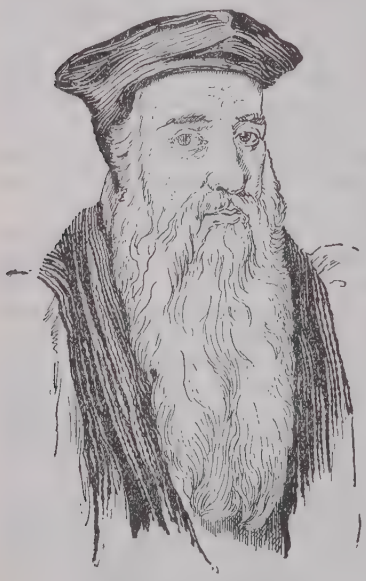
Anne Boleyn had been the subject of public conversation for seven years, and Henry no doubt desired to present his jewel in the rarest and choicest setting. Yet to our eyes, seeing, perhaps, by the light of what followed, a more modest introduction would have appeared more suited to the doubtful nature of her position. At any rate, we escape from this scene of splendour very gladly as from something unseasonable. It would have been well for Henry VIII if he had lived in a world in which women could have been dis-

pensed with, so ill he succeeded, in all his relations with them. With men he could speak the right word, he could do the right thing; with women he seemed to be under a fatal necessity of mistake.[b]

BIRTH OF PRINCESS ELIZABETH

In the eighth month after the performance of the nuptial ceremony Anne bore the king a child, September 7th, 1533; but that child, to his inexpressible disappointment, was a female, the princess Elizabeth, who afterwards ascended the throne.[c]

The birth of Elizabeth was doubly unfortunate for Anne Boleyn, as it seems to have turned the king against her, since he had made such confident preparations for a son. The people rejoiced with bonfires, and, as Friedmann[k] points out, the helpless king could only fume, knowing that they were celebrating "not the fact that Anne had borne him a child, but the fact that the child was but a girl." If a woman must succeed, the public sympathy was all for Mary, Catherine's child.[a]



THOMAS CRANMER
(1489–1556)

As soon as Cranmer had pronounced judgment, Catherine had received an order from the king to be content with the style of dowager princess of Wales; her income was reduced to the settlement made on her by her first husband, Arthur; and those among her dependants who gave her the title of queen were irrevocably dismissed from her service. Still to every message and menace she returned the same answer: that she had come a clean maid to his bed; that she would never be her own slanderer, nor own that she had been a harlot for twenty years; that she valued not the judgment pronounced at Dunstable at a time when the cause was still pending "by the king's license" at Rome—pronounced, too, not by an indifferent judge, but by a mere shadow, a man of the king's own making; that no threats should compel her to affirm a falsehood; and that "she feared not those which have the power of the body, but Him only that hath the power of the soul." Henry had not the heart to proceed to extremities against her. His repudiated wife was the only person who could brave him with impunity.

In foreign nations the lot of Catherine became the object of universal commiseration; even in England the general feeling was in her favour. The men, indeed, had the prudence to be silent, but the women loudly expressed their disapprobation of the divorce; till Henry, to check their boldness by the punishment of their leaders, committed to the Tower the wife of the viscount Rochford and the sister-in-law of the duke of Norfolk. At Rome, Clement was daily importuned by Charles and Ferdinand to do justice to their aunt, by his own ministers to avenge the insult offered to the papal authority; but his irresolution of mind and partiality for the king of Eng-

land induced him to listen to the suggestions of the French ambassadors, who advised more lenient and conciliatory measures. At length, that he might appear to do something, on July 11th he annulled the sentence given by Cranmer, because the cause was at the very time pending before himself, and excommunicated Henry and Anne, unless they should separate before the end of September, or show cause by their attorneys why they claimed to be considered as husband and wife.

When September came he prolonged the term, at the request of the cardinal of Tournon, to the end of October; and embarking on board the French fleet, sailed to meet Francis at Marseilles, where, he was assured, a conciliation between Henry and the church of Rome would be effected.[e] When the meeting took place, Henry regretted his having promoted it, and did what he could to render it of no effect. The duke of Norfolk, who was a zealous Catholic, and seems to have hoped for a reconciliation with the church, was suddenly recalled from France, and the bishop of Winchester and Bryan were left to attend the conference at Marseilles. Francis refused to proceed with any other business until the pope had promised him to stretch his authority to the utmost in order to satisfy the king of England; but the surprise and displeasure of both were great upon learning that the two English ambassadors had no authority from their court to treat or to enter into any definitive arrangement.

Apparently at the suggestion of Francis, they spoke of referring the matter to a consistory, from which all the cardinals holding preferments under the emperor were to be excluded as partial judges; but early in November, before Clement could give an answer to this proposition, Bonner arrived from England, and appealed, in the name of his master, from the pope to a general council of the church. This was rudely putting an end to the solemn conference[1] at Marseilles, and the pope returned into Italy; but, before he went, he arranged a marriage (which afterwards proved a great curse to France) between his niece, Catherine de'Medici, and the duke of Orleans, the second son of the French monarch. The young lady had no money and the unlucky match was otherwise considered very unequal. Francis told Henry that he had consented to it solely on his account, and to make up his quarrel with Rome; but this was not quite true, though such consideration may have had some weight.

Henry was vacillating and impatient, and Cromwell and others of his council had fully made up their minds to prevent any reconciliation with Rome; some of them acting from a sincere conviction of a spiritual kind, and some, it must be admitted, from a mere longing after the property and power of the church.

The persecution of Queen Catherine was carried on more keenly than ever, that unfortunate woman (to use the language of the courtiers) "still persisting in her great stomach and obstinacy." The highest in rank, the most martial and chivalrous in reputation, durst not refuse themselves to the vile office of insulting a helpless woman. It was a very awkward time for absent-minded parsons, and for old men who could not easily get out of the routine of praying for Queen Catherine, which they had been in the habit of doing for twenty-five years. A mere slip of the tongue was considered of sufficient moment to be circumstantially reported by a bishop to a minister of state.

[1] The French king had a project of forming a grand coalition against the emperor. Henry was to be a principal member, and the pope was to give it his sanction, and to co-operate *vi et armis* in Italy.

THE SEPARATION FROM ROME (1534 A.D.)

Soon after the Christmas holidays parliament met for the despatch of very important business; and before it rose (on the 30th of March) it wholly broke the ties which for so many centuries had united England with Rome. Acting on the impulse already received, the parliament prohibited every kind of payment and every kind of appeal to the pope, confirmed Henry's title of supreme head of the English church, and vested in the king alone the right of appointing to all bishopries and of deciding in all ecclesiastical causes. The royal assent to the bills which abolished the papal power in England was given on the 30th of March; and as the definitive sentence of the Roman consistory was not pronounced until the 23rd of March, it seems certain that the bills were not produced by that decision. They had been drawn up by Cromwell some months before; they had been passed through the commons and the lords before the 20th of March (the reader will attend to dates); and when Henry gave the finishing stroke to them it was not possible that the news of the proceedings at Rome could have reached London.

These last proceedings, in a business which had seemed to be interminable, were very simple. Notwithstanding the expectations of the bishop of Paris, the pope, awed by the still growing power of the emperor in Italy, found himself obliged to entertain the appeal of the emperor's aunt, and to refer the whole matter to a consistory; and on the 23rd of March, nineteen out of twenty-two cardinals pronounced Catherine's marriage valid and indissoluble, and hereupon the pope gave sentence. In the same parliament which proclaimed the spiritual independence of England, the marriage between Henry and Anne Boleyn was fully established as lawful; the princess Mary, the daughter of Catherine, was set aside as illegitimate, and the succession was vested in the children of Queen Anne. It was also enacted that anything written, printed, or done, to the slander of the second marriage, or of the children therefrom proceeding, should be high treason, and that all persons of age should swear obedience to this same act of succession.[t]

Of the act 26th Henry VIII, cap. 13 (called the Act of Treasons), whereby, for the better security of the realm, it was enacted "That any person who, by words, writing, or otherwise, deprives the king or queen of any one of their just titles, shall be held guilty of high treason," Froude[b] says: "The terrible powers which were thus committed to the government lie on the surface of this language; but comprehensive as the statute appears, it was still further extended by the lawyers. In order to fall under its penalties, it was held not to be necessary that positive guilt should be proved in any one of the offences specified; it was enough if a man refused to give satisfactory answers when subjected to official examination. At the discretion of the king or his ministers, the active consent to the supremacy might be required of any person on whom they pleased to call, under penalty to the recusant of the dreadful death of a traitor.

"So extreme a measure can only be regarded as a remedy for an evil which was also extreme; and as on the return of quiet times the parliament made haste to repeal a law which was no longer required, so in the enactment of that law we are bound to believe that they were not betraying English liberties in a spirit of careless complacency, but that they believed truly that the security of the state required unusual precautions. The nation was standing with its sword half-drawn in the face of an armed Europe, and it was no time to permit dissensions in the camp. Toleration is good, but even the

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best things must abide their opportunity; and although we may regret that, in this grand struggle for freedom, success could only be won by the aid of measures which bordered upon tyranny, yet here also the even hand of justice was but commending the chalice to the lips of those who had made others drink it to the dregs. They only were likely to fall under the treason act who for centuries had fed the rack and the stake with sufferers for opinions."[a]

STATUTE OF HERESY AND THE HOLY MAID OF KENT

It was little matter now whether the king were excommunicated and England placed under an interdict. There could be no effectual reconciliation with Rome. Practically, the final separation was accomplished. The people were appealed to, and the appeal touched them in one of the most sensitive parts of their nationality. They forgot the origin of the contest, and looked only to its results as their deliverance from a thraldom. The time was come for renouncing the authority of the bishop of Rome; but true religious freedom appeared as distant as in the reign of Henry IV, when the Lollards were regarded as public enemies. The statute of the 25th of Henry VIII, "for punishment of heresy," declares that speaking against the pope or his decrees is not heresy; but that heretics, upon lawful conviction and refusal to abjure, or after abjuration shall relapse, "shall be committed to lay power to be burned in open places, for example of other, as hath been accustomed."

The "act for the establishment of the king's succession" brought within the penalties of treason all the covert hostility of many of the people to the divorce and the second marriage. The attainder and execution of Elizabeth Barton, the nun of Kent, and of some who believed in her, and the charges against Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More in connection with this delusion, furnish a remarkable illustration of the spirit that prevailed in this dangerous crisis.

In the parish of Aldington there dwelt a servant-girl, afterwards a nun of the priory of St. Sepulchre in Canterbury, named Elizabeth Barton. In the words of the statute for her attainder, she "happened to be visited with sickness, and by occasion thereof brought in such debility and weakness of her brain, because she could not eat nor drink by a long space, that in the violence of her infirmity she seemed to be in trances, and spake and uttered many foolish and idle words." In this parish where Elizabeth Barton dwelt there was a chapel dedicated to the Virgin, called Court-a-Street, and it was pretended that there she was miraculously restored to health. At a season of less public excitement, her "foolish and idle words" would have taken some ordinary course. But the feeble mind of this woman was impressed by the talk of those around her, and her fantastic dreams took the perilous shape of revelations about the divorce then impending.

Out of the ravings of this poor servant-girl, who afterwards, at the instance of Warham, became a professed nun, was got up a mighty charge of conspiracy, in which Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More were implicated. The ravings of this woman were of the most extravagant nature. She saw the king, Anne Boleyn, and the earl of Wiltshire walking in a garden, and a little devil whispering in the lady's ear to send her father with a great bribe to the emperor. She saw evil spirits struggling for Wolsey's soul after his decease. She saw persons whom the angel of God had appointed to be at her death, when she should receive the crown of martyrdom. The act of attainder of

Elizabeth Barton, and others, enters into a most minute history of what are deemed their treasonable practices; and Richard Maister, the parson of Aldington, and Edward Bocking, are stated to have written books to persuade the people that she was a holy person, and then to have suggested to her that she should have a revelation that if the king were divorced and married again he should no longer be king, "and that he should die a villain's death."

Of this alleged conspiracy, as principal traitors, the nun, the parson of Aldington, the cellarer of Christ Church, and five other persons, were tried in the Star Chamber, and suffered the penalties of treason on the 21st of April, 1534. One of these, Henry Gould, is declared, in the act of attainder, to have related the pretended revelations "to the lady Catherine, the princess dowager, to animate her to make commotions in this realm against our said sovereign lord." He is accused of saying that she should prosper and do well, and that the lady Mary, the king's daughter, should prosper and reign. Of misprision of treason, others were arraigned; for that, believing in the revelation of the king's death, they had concealed it from him.

Amongst these, the most eminent person was Fisher, bishop of Rochester. He was the only prelate who had the courage to refuse to sign a declaration, in 1527, that the king's marriage was unlawful. He stood alone in the convocation in resisting the denial of the pope's supremacy. That he should have provoked the bitter hostility of Henry and his ministers was an inevitable result of this firmness. If we doubt his judgment we must admire his conscientiousness. By the statute concerning Elizabeth Barton, he was attainted, with five others, "of misprision and concealment of treason." Sir Thomas More narrowly escaped. He had conversed with the nun of Kent in the convent of Sion. He was examined before the council. It is said that his name was originally introduced into the bill of attainder. But if as brave as Fisher, the ex-chancellor was more wary. He was released. When his daughter had obtained information that his name was put out of the bill, he replied to her joyful congratulations, "In faith, Meg, *quod differtur non aufertur*—what is postponed is not abandoned."

THE ACTS OF SUCCESSION AND SUPREMACY

The "act for the establishment of the king's succession" contained a final clause that all the nobles of the realm, spiritual and temporal, and all other subjects of full age, should take an oath to maintain and defend this act, and, upon their refusal so to do, should be held guilty of misprision of treason. The oath, which was taken by some lords and commoners in parliament before its prorogation on the last day of March, 1534, was to be taken by all who were called upon to appear before the commissioners appointed by the king. On the 13th of April Sir Thomas More was summoned to attend before the archbishop of Canterbury and the other commissioners at Lambeth.

As he left his house at Chelsea—that house which Erasmus described as something more noble than the academy of Plato, "a school and exercise of the Christian religion"—he had a presentiment that he should never return to it. He could not trust himself to kiss and bid farewell to those he loved, as he was wont to do when he entered his boat. He passed out of his garden to the river-side, suffering none of his household to follow, "but pulled the wicket after him and shut them all from him." The strength of his love might have triumphed over his resolve to dare the worst rather than to affirm what he did not honestly believe. His soul triumphed in that hour of strug-

gle, and he whispered to his son-in-law, "I thank our Lord, the field is won!" The result of his examinations at Lambeth was his committal to the Tower, after being kept in ward four days.

More and Fisher would not swear to the preamble, although they would swear to defend the succession. They were committed to the Tower, under a despotic authority which was subsequently introduced into a statute, that the certificate of the commissioners setting forth a refusal to take the oath "should be taken as strong and as available in the law as an indictment of twelve men lawfully found of the same refusal." In prison they remained till the summer of 1535, till the time was ripe for that final deliverance which has no terrors for the just. Meanwhile they were attainted by the parliament that assembled on the 3rd of November, 1534, of misprision of treason, and were convicted "to all intents and purposes" as if they had been "lawfully attainted by the order of the common law."

The parliament thus assembled in November, 1534, had some root-and-branch work to perform at the bidding of their imperious master. The first law which they passed was "an act concerning the king's highness to be supreme head of the church of England, and to have authority to reform and redress all errors, heresies, and abuses in the same." This is a short statute, but of high significance. There was no power now to stand between the people of England and the exercise of unbridled despotism. The most arbitrary man that had ever wielded the large prerogatives of sovereignty had now united in his own person the temporal and spiritual supremacy. The ecclesiastical authority which had regulated the English church for eight hundred years was gone. The feudal organisation which had held the sovereign in some submission to ancient laws and usages of freedom was gone. The crown had become all in all. The whole system of human intercourse in England was to be subordinated to one supreme head—king and pope in one.

The most enslaving terror was to uphold this system throughout the land. The sheriff in every county was to be a spy upon the clergy, and to report if they truly spoke of the king as supreme head of the church, without any cloak or colour. No Amurath of the Turks could write more insolently to his provincial slaves than Henry of England wrote to his sheriffs, that if they failed in this service, "Be ye assured that we, like a prince of justice, will so extremely punish you for the same, that all the world beside shall take by you example, and beware, contrary to their allegiance to disobey the lawful commandment of their sovereign lord and prince." The higher clergy were terrified into the most abject prostration before this spiritual lord.

The new dignity of the king was to conduce as much to his profit as his honour. The lords and commons crawl at his feet in this parliament of 1534–35, and humbly request that he will be pleased, as their "most gracious sovereign lord, upon whom and in whom dependeth all their joy and wealth," to receive the first-fruits of all spiritual dignities and promotions, and also an annual pension of one-tenth part of all the possessions of the church. A subsidy granted in the same parliament followed the accustomed precedent. But the dangers of every man's position were multiplied in new definitions of treason. It was now enacted, not only that those who desired or practised any bodily harm to the king or queen should be deemed traitors, but that whoever, by writing or words, published that the king was a heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper of the crown, should be subject to the penalties of high treason. There was one further little sentence in this statute which was far more dangerous than that which made it treason to call the king ill names. Whoever sought to deprive the king, the queen, or their

heirs-apparent "of the dignity, title, or name of their royal estates," was now declared to be a traitor. To deny the king the title of supreme head of the church was, therefore, treason. To refuse to swear to the succession was only misprision of treason. The act for the supremacy had no such terrible penalty.

This one line of the statute of new treasons, thus brought in so gently and covertly, would have brought half England to the block if conscience had prevailed over panic-stricken lip-service. Strong as English convictions may be, at this day, that such rough and cruel handling of long-cherished opinions was to be ultimately productive of inestimable blessings, we cannot shut our eyes to the certainty that these enactments must have produced a temporary misery and political degradation never equalled by any action of the government from the days of the conquest. The act no doubt sealed up the lips of the people, and bitter thoughts were left to smoulder in their bosoms; but the clause which made it treason to deprive the king of any name or dignity was so administered as to render silence itself treasonable. If under examination a satisfactory answer was not given as to the king's title of supreme head of the church, the gibbet or the block was ready for the offender.[i]

Some of the monks—the poorest orders were the boldest—refused either to take the oath or to proclaim in their churches and chapels that the pope was Antichrist. The system pursued in regard to them was very simple and expeditious: they were condemned of high treason and hanged, their fate in the latter respect being sometimes, but not always, milder than that allotted to the Lutherans and other Protestants, who were burned. Cromwell had no bowels for the poor monks, and the gentler and more virtuous Cranmer seems to have done little or nothing to stop these atrocious butcheries. A jury now and then hesitated to return a verdict, but they were always bullied into compliance by Cromwell and his agents, who sometimes threatened to hang them instead of the prisoners. On the 5th of May John Houghton, prior of the Charterhouse in London; Augustine Webster, prior of the Charterhouse of Belval; Thomas Lawrence, prior of the Charterhouse of Exham; Richard Reynolds, a doctor of divinity and a monk of Sion; and John Hailes, vicar of Thistleworth, were drawn, hanged, and quartered at Tyburn, their heads being afterwards set over the city gates. On the 18th of June, Exmew, Middlemore, and Nudigate, three other Carthusian monks, suffered for the same cause. On all these conscientious men, who preferred death to what they considered a breach of their duty as Catholic priests, the horrible sentence of the law was executed in all its particulars. They were cut down alive, had their bowels torn out, and were then beheaded and dismembered.

They suffered on account of the oath of supremacy; but between the executions there was an atrocious interlude of a more doctrinal nature. On the 25th of May there were examined in St. Paul's nineteen men and five women, natives of Holland, who had openly professed the doctrines of the Anabaptists, and denied the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the bread and wine of the sacrament. Fourteen of them were condemned to the flames: two, a man and woman, suffered in Smithfield; the remaining twelve were sent to other towns, there to be burned for example's sake and for the vivid manifestation of the king's orthodoxy.[t]

FROUDE ON THE CATHOLIC MARTYRS

Here we are to enter upon one of the grand scenes of history: a solemn battle fought out to the death, yet fought without ferocity, by the champions of rival principles. Heroic men had fallen, and were still fast falling, for what

was called heresy; and now those who had inflicted death on others were called upon to bear the same witness to their own sincerity. England became the theatre of a war between two armies of martyrs, to be waged, not upon the open field, in open action, but on the stake and on the scaffold, with the nobler weapons of passive endurance. While we exult in that chivalry with which the Smithfield martyrs bought England's freedom with their blood, so we will not refuse our admiration to those other gallant men whose high forms, in the sunset of the old faith, stand transfigured on the horizon, tinged with the light of its dying glory.

Secretary Bedyll complained to Cromwell of the obstinacy of certain friars and monks, who, he thought, would confer a service on the country by dying quietly, lest honest men should incur unmerited obloquy in putting them to death. Among these, the brethren of the London Charterhouse were especially mentioned as recalcitrant, and they were said at the same time to bear a high reputation for holiness. In a narrative written by a member of this body, we are brought face to face, at their time of trial, with one of the few religious establishments in England which continued to deserve the name. The writer was a certain Maurice Channey,[v] probably an Irishman. He went through the same sufferings with the rest of the brethren, and was one of the small fraction who finally gave way under the trial. He was set at liberty, and escaped abroad; and in penance for his weakness, he left on record the touching story of his fall, and of the triumph of his bolder companions.

He commences with his own confession. He had fallen when others stood. He was, as he says, an unworthy brother, a Saul among the prophets, a Judas among the apostles, a child of Ephraim turning himself back in the day of battle; for which his cowardice, while his brother monks were saints in heaven, he was doing penance in sorrow, tossing on the waves of the wide world. The early chapters contain a loving, lingering picture of his cloister life—to him the perfection of earthly happiness. A thousand years of the world's history had rolled by, and these lonely islands of prayer had remained still anchored in the stream; the strands of the ropes which held them, wearing now to a thread, and very near their last parting, but still unbroken. His pages are filled with the old familiar stories of visions and miracles; of strange adventures befalling the chalices and holy wafers; of angels with wax candles—innocent phantoms which flitted round brains and minds fevered by asceticism.

Such was the society of the monks of the Charterhouse, who, in an era too late for their continuance, and guilty of being unable to read the signs of the times, were summoned to wage unequal battle with the world. From the commencement of the divorce cause they had espoused instinctively the queen's side; they had probably, in common with their affiliated house at Sion, believed unwisely in the nun of Kent; and, as pious Catholics, they regarded the reforming measures of the parliament with dismay and consternation. The regular clergy through the kingdom had bent to the storm. The conscience of the London Carthusians was less elastic; they were the first and, with the exception of More and Fisher, the only recusants.

In the opening of the following year (1535) the first uncertainty was at an end; it was publicly understood that persons who had previously given cause for suspicion might be submitted to question. When this bitter news was no longer doubtful, the prior called the convent together and gave them notice to prepare for what was coming. They lay already under the shadow of treason; and he anticipated, among other evil consequences of disobedience, the immediate dissolution of the house. "Then all who were present," says

Channey, "burst into tears, and cried with one voice, 'Let us die together in our integrity, and heaven and earth shall witness for us how unjustly we are cut off.' So then, bidding us prepare for the worst, that the Lord when he knocked might find us ready, he desired us to choose each our confessor, and to confess our sins one to another, giving us power to grant each other absolution.

"Then rising from his place he went direct to the eldest of the brethren, who was sitting nearest to himself, and kneeling before him, begged his forgiveness for any offence which in heart, word, or deed he might have committed against him. Thence he proceeded to the next, and said the same; and so to the next, through us all, we following him and saying as he did, each from each imploring pardon."

Thus, with unobtrusive nobleness, did these poor men prepare themselves for their end; not less beautiful in their resolution, not less deserving the everlasting remembrance of mankind, than those three hundred who in the summer morning sat combing their golden hair in the passes of Thermopylæ. We will not regret their cause; there is no cause for which any man can more nobly suffer than to witness that it is better for him to die than to speak words which he does not mean. Nor, in this their hour of trial, were they left without higher comfort.



Doorway in Charterhouse

"The third day after," the story goes on, "was the mass of the Holy Ghost, and God made known his presence among us. For when the host was lifted up, there came as it were a whisper of air, which breathed upon our faces as we knelt. Some perceived it with the bodily senses; all felt it as it thrilled into their hearts. And then followed a sweet, soft sound of music, at which our venerable father was so moved, God being thus abundantly manifest among us, that he sank down in tears, and for a long time could not continue the service, we all remaining stupefied, hearing the melody, and feeling the marvellous effects of it upon our spirits, but knowing neither whence it came nor whither it went. Only our hearts rejoiced as we perceived that God was with us indeed." Comforted and resolute, the brotherhood awaited patiently the approach of the commissioners.

We are instinctively inclined to censure an interference with persons who at worst were but dreamers of the cloister, and whose innocence of outward offences we imagine might have served them for a shield. Unhappily, behind the screen-work of those poor saints a whole Irish insurrection was blazing in madness and fury, and in the northern English counties were some sixty thousand persons ready to rise in arms. In these great struggles men are formidable in proportion to their virtues. The noblest Protestants were chosen by the Catholics for the stake. The fagots were already growing which were to burn Tyndale, the translator of the Bible. It was the habit of the time, as it is the habit at all times of danger, to spare the multitude but to strike the leaders, to make responsibility the shadow of power, to choose for punishment the most efficacious representatives of the spirit which it was necessary to subdue.

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The influence of the Carthusians, with that of the two great men who were following the same road to the same goal, determined multitudes in the attitude which they would assume and in the duty which they would choose. The Carthusians, therefore, were to be made to bend; or, if they could not be bent, to be made examples in their punishment as they had made themselves examples in their resistance. They were noble and good; but there were others in London good and noble as they, who were not of their fold, and whose virtues, thenceforward more required by England than cloistered asceticisms, had been blighted under the shadow of the papacy. The Catholics had chosen the alternative either to crush the free thought which was bursting from the soil, or else to be crushed by it; and the future of the world could not be sacrificed to preserve the exotic graces of mediæval saints. They fell, gloriously and not unprofitably. They were not allowed to stay the course of the Reformation, but their sufferings, nobly borne, sufficed to recover the sympathy of after-ages for the faith which they professed.

On the 4th of May the execution took place at Tyburn, under circumstances which marked the occasion with peculiar meaning. The punishment in case of high treason was very terrible. The English were a hard, fierce people, and with these poor sufferers the law of the land took its course without alleviation or interference. But another feature distinguished the present execution. For the first time in English history, ecclesiastics were brought out to suffer in their habits, without undergoing the previous ceremony of degradation. Thenceforward the world knew that, as no sanctuary any more should protect traitors, so the sacred office should avail as little; and the hardest blow which it had yet received was thus dealt to superstition, shaking from its place in the minds of all men the key-stone of the whole system. To the last moment escape was left open, if the prisoners would submit. As one by one they went to their death, the council, at each fresh horrible spectacle, urged the survivors to have pity on themselves; but they urged them in vain. The faces of these men did not grow pale; their voices did not shake; they declared themselves liege subjects of the king and obedient children of holy church, "giving God thanks that they were held worthy to suffer for the truth." All died without a murmur. The stern work was ended with quartering the bodies; and the arm of Houghton was hung up as a bloody sign over the archway of the Charterhouse, to awe the remaining brothers into submission.

So fell the monks of the London Charterhouse, splintered to pieces—for so only could their resistance be overcome—by the iron sceptre and the iron hand which held it. They were, however, alone of their kind. There were many, perhaps, who wished to resemble them, who would have imitated their example had they dared. But all bent except these. If it had been otherwise, the Reformation would have been impossible, and perhaps it would not have been needed.

The king was not without feeling. It was no matter of indifference to him that he found himself driven to such stern courses with his subjects; and as the golden splendour of his manhood was thus suddenly clouding, "he commanded all about his court to poll their heads," in public token of mourning; "and to give them example, he caused his own head to be polled, and from thenceforth his beard to be knotted, and to be no more shaven."

The friars of Charterhouse suffered for their Catholic faith, as Protestants had suffered and were still to suffer for theirs. In this same month of May in the same year the English annals contain another entry of no less sad significance.

THE EXECUTION OF FISHER AND MORE

After the execution of the Carthusians it became a question what should be done with Fisher, the bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More. They had remained for a year in the Tower undisturbed. It was a hard case, for the bishop was sinking into the grave with age and sickness, and More had the highest reputation of any living man. But they had chosen to make themselves conspicuous as confessors for Catholic truth; though prisoners in the Tower, they were in fact the most effectual champions of the papal claims, and if their disobedience had been passed over, the statute could have been enforced against no one. The same course was followed as with the Carthusian monks. On the 7th of May a deputation of the council waited on the prisoners in the Tower for an acknowledgment of the supremacy. They refused: Fisher, after a brief hesitation, peremptorily; More declining to answer, but also giving an indirect denial. After repeated efforts had been made to move them, and made in vain, their own language, as in the preceding trials, furnished material for their indictment; and the law officers of the crown who were to conduct the prosecution were the witnesses under whose evidence they were to be tried. It was a strange proceeding, to be excused only, if excused at all, by the pressure of the times.

Yet five weeks elapsed and the government still hesitated. Once more Fisher was called upon to submit, with the intimation that if he refused he must bear the consequences. His reply remained what it had been, and on the 17th of June he was taken down in a boat to Westminster Hall, where the special commission was sitting. The proceedings at his trial are thus briefly summed up in the official record: "Thursday, after the feast of St. Barnabas, John Fisher was brought to the bar by Sir William Kingston, constable of the Tower. Pleads not guilty. Venire awarded. Verdict—guilty. Judgment as usual in cases of treason."

It was a swift sentence, and swiftly to be executed. Five days were allowed him to prepare himself; and the more austere features of the penalty were remitted with some show of pity. He was to die by the axe. Mercy was not to be hoped for. It does not seem to have been sought. He was past eighty. The earth on the edge of the grave was already crumbling under his feet, and death had little to make it fearful. When the last morning dawned, he dressed himself carefully—as he said, for his marriage day. The distance to Tower Hill was short. He was able to walk, and he tottered out of the prison gates, holding in his hand a closed volume of the New Testament. The crowd flocked about him, and he was heard to pray that, as this book had been his best comfort and companion, so in that hour it might give him some special strength and speak to him as from his Lord. Then opening it at a venture, he read: "This is life eternal, to know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom Thou hast sent." It was the answer to his prayer, and he continued to repeat the words as he was led forward.

On the scaffold he chanted the *Te Deum*, and then, after a few prayers, knelt down, and meekly laid his head upon a pillow where neither care nor fear nor sickness would ever vex it more. Many a spectacle of sorrow had been witnessed on that tragic spot, but never one more sad than this, never one more painful to think or speak of. When a nation is in the throes of revolution, wild spirits are abroad in the storm; and poor human nature presses blindly forward with the burden which is laid upon it, tossing aside

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the obstacles in its path with a recklessness which, in calmer hours, it would fear to contemplate.

Sir Thomas More followed, his fortunes linked in death, as in life, to those of his friend. He was left to the last—in the hope, perhaps, that the example would produce an effect which persuasion could not. But the example, if that was the object, worked to far other purpose. From More's high-tempered nature such terrors fell harmless, as from enchanted armour. Death to him was but a passing from one country to another, and he had all along anticipated that his prison was the ante-chamber of the scaffold. He had indeed taken no pains to avoid it. On the 7th of May he was examined by the same persons who examined Fisher, and he was interrogated again and again in subsequent interviews. His humour did not allow him to answer questions directly: he played with his catechists, and did not readily furnish them with materials for a charge. At length sufficient evidence was obtained.



BLOODY GATE IN THE TOWER

On the 26th of June a true bill was found against him by the grand jury of Middlesex; and on the 1st of July the high commission sat again in Westminster Hall, to try the most illustrious prisoner who ever listened to his sentence there.

The sentence was inevitable. It was pronounced in the ordinary form, but the usual punishment for treason was commuted, as it had been with Fisher, to death upon the scaffold; and this last favour was communicated as a special instance of the royal clemency. More's wit was always ready. "God forbid," he answered, "that the king show any more such mercy unto any of my friends; and God bless all my posterity from such pardons." The pageant was over, for such a trial was little more. As the procession formed to lead back the "condemned traitor" to the Tower, the commissioners once more adjured him to have pity on himself, and offered to reopen the court if he would reconsider his resolution. More smiled, and replied only a few words of graceful farewell. He then left the hall, and to spare him the exertion of the walk he was allowed to return by water.

At the Tower steps one of those scenes occurred which have cast so rich a pathos round the closing story of this illustrious man. "When Sir Thomas," writes the grandson, William Roper,[x] "was now come to the Tower wharf, his best beloved child, my aunt Roper, desirous to see her father, whom she feared she should never see in this world after, to have his last blessing, gave there attendance to meet him; whom as soon as she had espied she ran hastily unto him, and without consideration or care for herself, passing through the midst of the throng and guard of men, who with bills and halberts compassed him around, there openly in the sight of them all embraced him, and took him about the neck and kissed him, not able to say any word but 'Oh, my father! oh, my father!' He, liking well her most natural and dear affection towards him, gave her his fatherly blessing; telling her that whatsoever he should suffer, though he were innocent, yet it was not without the will of God; and that He knew well enough all the secrets of her heart, counselling her to accommodate her will to God's blessed pleasure, and to be patient for his loss.

"She was no sooner parted from him and had gone scarce ten steps, when she, not satisfied with the former farewell, like one who had forgot herself, ravished with the entire love of so worthy a father, having neither respect to herself nor to the press of people about him, suddenly turned back and ran hastily to him, and took him about the neck and divers times together kissed him; whereat he spoke not a word, but, carrying still his gravity, tears fell also from his eyes; yea, there were very few in all the troop who could refrain hereat from weeping, no, not the guards themselves. Yet at last with a full heart she was severed from him, at which time another of our women embraced him; and my aunt's maid Dorothy Collis did the like, of whom he said after, it was homely but very lovingly done."

More's relation with his daughter forms the most beautiful feature in his history. His letters to her in early life are of unequalled grace, and she was perhaps the only person whom he very deeply loved. He never saw her again. The four days which remained to him he spent in prayer and in severe bodily discipline. On the night of the 5th of July, although he did not know the time which had been fixed for his execution, yet with an instinctive feeling that it was near, he sent her his hair shirt and whip, as having no more need of them, with a parting blessing of affection.

About nine of the clock, July 6th, he was brought by the lieutenant out of the Tower, his beard being long, which fashion he had never before used, his face pale and lean, carrying in his hands a red cross, casting his eyes often towards heaven. He had been unpopular as a judge, and one or two persons in the crowd were insolent to him; but the distance was short and soon over, as all else was nearly over now. The scaffold had been awkwardly erected, and shook as he placed his foot upon the ladder. "See me safe up," he said to Kingston. "For my coming down I can shift for myself." He began to speak to the people, but the sheriff begged him not to proceed, and he contented himself with asking for their prayers, and desiring them to bear witness for him that he died in the faith of the holy Catholic church, and a faithful servant of God and the king. He then repeated the Miserere psalm on his knees.

When he had ended and risen, the executioner, with an emotion which promised ill for the manner in which his part in the tragedy would be accomplished, begged his forgiveness. More kissed him. "Thou art to do me the greatest benefit that I can receive," he said. "Pluck up thy spirit, man, and be not afraid to do thine office. My neck is very short. Take

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heed, therefore, that thou strike not awry for saving of thine honesty." The executioner offered to tie his eyes. "I will cover them myself," he said; and binding them in a cloth which he had brought with him, he knelt and laid his head on the block. The fatal stroke was about to fall, when he signed for a moment's delay while he moved aside his beard. "Pity that should be cut," he murmured; "that has not committed treason." With which strange words, the strangest perhaps uttered at such a time, the lips most famous through Europe for eloquence and wisdom closed forever.[b]

THE AFTERMATH OF MORE'S DEATH

The love of Margaret Roper continued to display itself in those unavailing tokens of tenderness to her father's remains by which affection seeks to perpetuate itself; ineffectually, indeed, for the object, but effectually for the softening of the heart and for the exalting of the soul. She procured the head to be taken down from London Bridge, where odious passions had struggled in pursuit of an infernal immortality by placing it. She kept it during her life as a sacred relic, and was buried with this object of fondness in her arms nine years after. Erasmus[c] called her the ornament of Britain, and the flower of the learned matrons of England, at a time when education consisted only of the revived study of ancient learning. This great scholar survived More only a few months, but composed a beautiful account of his martyrdom, though, with his wonted timidity, under an imaginary name.

Perhaps the death of no individual ever produced, merely on account of his personal qualities, so much sorrow and horror as that of Sir Thomas More. A general cry sounded over Europe. The just fame of the sufferer, the eloquent pen of his friend Erasmus,[1] the excusable pride of the Roman church in so glorious a martyr, and the atrocious effrontery of the means used to compass his destruction, contributed to spread the utmost indignation. The more considerate portion of men began to pause at the sight of the first illustrious blood spilt in religious divisions already threatening part of the horrors of which they soon after became the occasion. Giovio,[w] an Italian historian, compared the tyranny of Henry to that preternatural wickedness which the Grecian legends had embodied under the appellation of Phalaris. Cardinal Pole lashed the frenzy of his kinsman with vehement eloquence, bewailing the fate of the martyr in the most affecting strains of oratory. Englishmen abroad everywhere found their country the object of execration. Harvey, the resident at Venice, reported the anger of the Italians at the death of men of such honour and virtue. "They openly speak," he says, "of Catherine being put to death, and of the princess Mary speedily following her mother." He declares that all he hears disgusts him with public life, and disposes him to retire from such scenes.

Had Henry VIII died in the twentieth year of his reign, his name might have come down to us as that of a festive and martial prince, with much of the applause which is lavished on gaiety and enterprise, and of which some fragments, preserved in the traditions of the people, too long served to screen the misrule of his later years from historical justice. But the execution of

[1] In the month of August Erasmus wrote to a friend that the English were now living in such a state of terror that they durst not write to foreigners or receive letters from them. In fact, in all foreign countries where civilisation had made progress, the fate of Fisher, and still more of that admirable wit and scholar, the author of the *Utopia*, excited universal execration; and there, at least, men could speak their minds loudly.[t]

More marks the moment of the transition of his government from joviality and parade to a species of atrocity which distinguishes it from any other European tyranny. This singular revolution in his conduct has been ascribed to the death of Wolsey, which unbridled his passions and gave loose rein to his rage. That this was not the opinion formed by Wolsey himself of the king, we know from his dying words, who knew his master enough to foretell that he would prove unmanageable when his passions were roused. Had Wolsey refused to concur in the divorce, he was not likely to have been better treated than More. Had he stepped into blood, he must have waded onward, or he would have been struck down in his first attempt to fly.

The total change of Henry's conduct relates still more to his deeds as a man than to his system as a king. He is the only prince of modern times who carried judicial murder into his bed, imbruing his hands in the blood of those whom he had caressed. Perhaps no other, since the emancipation of women from polygamy, put to death two wives for infidelity, divorced another, whom he owned to be faultless, after twenty-four years of wedded friendship, and rejected a fourth without imputing blame to her, merely from an impulse of personal disgust. The acts of Henry which the order of time now requires to be related must have been much more his own than those of his political counsellors.[s]

At Rome both Fisher and More were considered as martyrs in the cause of the church; and as Henry had shown by many other measures that he was determined to keep no terms with the papacy, on the 30th of August Paul III put his hand to a bull which allowed him ninety days to repent and appear at Rome in person, or by proxy; and in case of default, pronounced him and all his fautors and abettors excommunicated—declared him to have forfeited his crown, and his children by Anne Boleyn and their children to be incapable of inheriting it. Going still further, the pope enjoined all Christian priests and monks whatsoever to quit Henry's dominions; absolved his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and commanded them to take up arms against him. He also dissolved all Henry's treaties and alliances with Christian princes; prohibited all Christian nations from trading with England, and exhorted them to make war upon him until he should cease his schism and rebellion against the church. But it was deemed expedient to keep this thunder in reserve for the present, and so the pope suppressed the bull for a season. It was, however, known in England that the instrument had been drawn up, and this circumstance only exasperated the court and a large portion of the country. Henry was apprehensive of the power of the emperor, and he now opened negotiations with the Protestants of Germany, whose doctrines he had pronounced to be damnable.[t]



CHAPTER V

THE LAST YEARS OF HENRY VIII

[1535–1547 A.D.]

THE separation from Rome was effected in a way in which such a man was likely to effect it. It sprang from a purely personal and even a sensual motive. Henry threw off the authority of the pope simply because he was tired of a staid and elderly wife, and had fallen in love with a flighty young woman. But the moment the thing was done, he justified his acts to himself in reforming the church according to the ideas of the better men around him. Many of the great houses of modern England, the Russells, the Herberts, the Wriothesleys, owe their origin to that splendid court. Over them all towered the king's stately form, "the majestic lord that broke the bonds of Rome," and whose course through life was accompanied by the frequent thud of the executioner's axe. The spirit of the Renaissance of the new learning, as it was called in England, was not a spirit of liberty.—S. R. GARDINER.[b]

HENRY had now obtained the great object of his ambition. His supremacy in religious matters had been established by act of parliament; it had been admitted by the nation at large—the members of every clerical and monastic body had confirmed it by their subscriptions, and its known opponents had atoned for their obstinacy by suffering the penalties of treason. Still the extent of his ecclesiastical pretensions remained subject to doubt and discussion. That he meant to exclude the authority hitherto exercised by the pontiffs was sufficiently evident; but most of the clergy, while they acknowledged the new title assumed by the king, still maintained that the church had inherited from her founder the power of preaching, of administering the sacraments, and of enforcing spiritual discipline by spiritual censures—a power which, as it was not derived from, so neither could it be dependent on, the will of the civil magistrate. Henry himself did not clearly explain, perhaps knew not how to explain, his own sentiments. If on the one hand he was willing to push his ecclesiastical prerogative to its utmost

limits, on the other he was checked by the contrary tendency of those principles which he had published and maintained in his treatise against Luther. In his answer to the objections proposed to him by the convocation at York, he clothed his meaning in ambiguous language, and carefully eluded the real point in discussion.

Another question arose respecting the manner in which the supremacy was to be exercised. As the king had neither law nor precedent to guide him, it became necessary to determine the duties which belonged to him in his new capacity, and to establish an additional office for the conduct of ecclesiastical affairs. At its head was placed the man whose counsels had first suggested the attempt, and whose industry had brought it to a successful termination.

CROMWELL MADE VICAR-GENERAL (1535 A.D.)

Cromwell[1] already held the offices of chancellor of the exchequer and of first secretary to the king. He was, after some delay, appointed "the royal vicegerent, vicar-general, and principal commissary, with all the spiritual authority belonging to the king as head of the church, for the due administration of justice in all cases touching the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the godly reformation and redress of all errors, heresies, and abuses in the said church." As a proof of the high estimation in which Henry held the supremacy, he allotted to his vicar the precedence of all the lords spiritual and temporal, and even of the great officers of the crown. In parliament Cromwell sat before the archbishop of Canterbury; he superseded that prelate in the presidency of the convocation. It was with difficulty that the clergy suppressed their murmurs when they saw at their head a man who had never taken orders nor graduated in any university; but their indignation increased when they found that the same pre-eminence was claimed by any of his clerks, whom he might commission to attend as his deputy at their meetings.

Their degradation, however, was not yet consummated. It was resolved to probe the sincerity of their submission, and to extort from them a practical acknowledgment that they derived no authority from Christ, but were merely the occasional delegates of the crown. We have on this subject a singular letter from Leigh and Ap Rice, two of the creatures of Cromwell, to their master. On the ground that the plenitude of ecclesiastical jurisdiction was vested in him as vicar-general, they advised that the powers of all the dignitaries of the church should be suspended for an indefinite period. If the prelates claimed authority by divine right, they would then be compelled to produce their proofs; if they did not, they must petition the king for the restoration of their powers, and thus acknowledge the crown to be the real fountain of spiritual jurisdiction. This suggestion was eagerly adopted; the archbishop, by a circular letter, informed the other prelates that the king, intending to make a general visitation, had suspended the powers of all the ordinaries within the realm; and these, having submitted with due humility during a month, presented a petition to be restored to the exercise of their usual authority.

In consequence a commission was issued to each bishop separately, authorising him, during the king's pleasure, and as the king's deputy, to do

[1 "Cromwell, after the fall of his master Wolsey, gained on the affections of Henry VIII till he acquired as great an ascendancy, and nearly as much power, as the cardinal had possessed during the preceding part of the reign; and whatever office he happened to hold, he was looked up to as the mover of the entire machine of the state."—BREWER.c]

[1535 A.D.]

whatever belonged to the office of a bishop besides those things which, according to the sacred writings, were committed to his charge. But for this indulgence a most singular reason was assigned: not that the government of bishops is necessary for the church, but that the king's vicar-general, on account of the multiplicity of business with which he was loaded, could not be everywhere present, and that many inconveniences might arise if delays and interruptions were admitted in the exercise of his authority.

VISITATION AND DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES (1535–1536 A.D.)

Some years had elapsed since the bishop of Paris had ventured to predict that whenever the cardinal of York should forfeit the royal favour, the spoliation of the clergy would be the consequence of his disgrace. That prediction was now verified. The example of Germany had proved that the church might be plundered with impunity; and Cromwell had long ago promised that the assumption of the supremacy should place the wealth of the clerical and monastic bodies at the mercy of the crown. Hence that minister, encouraged by the success of his former counsels, ventured to propose the dissolution of the monasteries; and the motion was received with welcome by the king, whose thirst for money was not exceeded by his love of power; by the lords of the council, who already promised themselves a considerable share in the spoils; and by Archbishop Cranmer. The conduct of the business was intrusted to the superior cunning and experience of the favourite, who undertook to throw the mask of religious zeal over the proceedings.

With this view a general visitation of the monasteries was enjoined by the head of the church; commissioners of inquiry by his lay vicar were selected; and to these in pairs were allotted particular districts for the exercise of their talents and industry. The instructions which they received breathed a spirit of piety and reformation, and were formed on the model of those formerly used in episcopal and legatine visitation; so that, to men not intrusted with the secret, the object of Henry appeared, not the abolition, but the support and improvement of the monastic institute. But the visitors themselves were not men of high standing or reputation in the church. They were clerical adventurers of very equivocal character, who had solicited the appointment, and had pledged themselves to effect, as far as it might be possible, the object of that appointment, that is, the extinction of the establishments which they should visit.[d]

In the height of summer in 1535, three learned doctors set forth upon excursions into various parts of England, each having in his pocket a commission from the "vicegerent of the king in all his ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the realm." Doctor Layton is a most amusing correspondent of the vicegerent, and has capital stories to tell of the prior of Maiden Bradley, in Wilts, about his relics, and of his less ancient realities, namely, six children, of whom his sons "be tall men waiting upon him." The worthy commissioner sent some of the curiosities to Cromwell, such as "Mary Magdalen's girdle." Articles of more intrinsic value were in his keeping: "I have crosses of silver and gold, some which I send you not now, because I have more that shall be delivered me this night by the prior of Maiden Bradley himself." The visitors anticipated that clause of the act for the Suppression, which gave the king "all the ornaments, jewels, goods, and chattels" of the heads of the monastic houses, from the 1st of March, 1535. This was a large power to be intrusted to the visitors, and they never neglected to exercise it. They

had rougher work to perform, which Doctor Layton, at any rate, appears to have set about with hearty goodwill, however odious that work may seem to our more fastidious notions of the office of a gentleman. But we have one painful feeling in reading them—even more painful than the exposure of hypocrisy and licentiousness—the tone in which these matters are spoken of.

Froude[f] says that "tourists, who in their day-dreams among these fair ruins are inclined to complain of the sacrilege which wasted the houses of prayer," may study with advantage the account of the "moral ruin," of which "the outward beautiful ruin was but a symbol and a consequence." May we not add that the historian, who presents this account of the low morality of the ancient clergy, might have also given us the following glimpse of the noble aims of the new statesmen? To Cromwell the learned commissioners wrote, in the same letter which describes the frauds of the abbot, these significant words: "There is a monk of the house, called Marmaduke, to whom Mr. Timms left a prebend in Ripon church, now abiding upon the same prebend, the wisest monk within England of that coat, and well learned —twenty years officer and ruler of all that house—a wealthy fellow, which will give you six hundred marks to make him abbot there, and pay you immediately after the election."

That this mode of propitiating favour was perfectly understood before the final destruction of the monastic houses was resolved upon, may be inferred from a letter of Latimer, of all men; who does not hesitate to write to Cromwell to avert the suppression of the priory of Great Malvern, by saying, "If five hundred marks to the king's highness, with two hundred marks to yourself for your goodwill, might occasion the promotion of his intent, at least way for the time of his life, he doubteth not to make his friends for the same."

Let us not in charity believe that all these men were of lying tongues and evil lives. Let us not imagine that all nuns were sensual and ignorant. The very commissioners themselves speak of many nunneries as above all suspicion.[g]

A bill was introduced, March 4th, 1536, and hurried, though not without opposition, through the two houses,[1] giving to the king and his heirs all monastic establishments the clear yearly value of which did not exceed two hundred pounds, with the property belonging to them both real and personal, vesting the possession of the buildings and lands in those persons to whom the king should assign them by letters patent. It was calculated that by this act about three hundred and eighty communities would be dissolved, and that an addition of thirty-two thousand pounds would be made to the yearly revenue of the crown, besides the present receipt of one hundred thousand in money, plate, and jewels. This parliament, by its obsequious compliance with every intimation of the royal will, had deserved, if any parliament could deserve, the gratitude of the king. To please him it had altered the succession, had new-modelled the whole frame of ecclesiastical government, and had multiplied the prerogatives and added to the revenue of the crown. Commissioners were now named to execute the last act for the suppression of the smaller monasteries.

Their instructions ordered them to proceed to each house within a particular district, to announce its dissolution to the superior and the brotherhood, to make an inventory of the effects, to secure the convent seal and the title-deeds, and to dispose of the inhabitants according to certain rules. But the statute which vested these establishments in the king left it to his

[1] Spelman *mm* tells us that it stuck long in the house of commons, and would not pass till the king sent for the commons, and told them he would have the bill pass, or take off some of their heads.

[1536 A.D.]

discretion to found them anew—a provision which, while it left a gleam of hope to the sufferers, drew considerable sums of money into the pockets of Cromwell and his deputies. The monks of each community flattered themselves with the expectation of escaping from the general shipwreck, and sought by presents and annuities to secure the protection of the minister and the visitors. On the other hand, the favourites, to whom Henry had already engaged to give or sell the larger portion of these establishments, were not less liberal in their offers, nor less active in their endeavours to hasten the dissolution.

The result of the contest was, that more than a hundred monasteries obtained a respite from immediate destruction; and of these the larger number were founded again by the king's letters patent, though each of them paid the price of that favour by the surrender of a valuable portion of its possessions. With respect to the suppressed houses, the superior received a pension for life; of the monks, those who had not reached the age of twenty-four were absolved from their vows and sent adrift into the world without any provision; the others were divided into two classes. Such as wished to continue in the profession, were dispersed among the larger monasteries; those who did not, were told to apply to Cranmer or Cromwell, who would find them employments suited to their capacities. The lot of the nuns was more distressing. Each received a single gown from the king, and was left to support herself by her own industry, or to seek relief from the charity and commiseration of others.[d]



Brigantine Jacket and Arquebus
(Sixteenth century.)

If we may form an opinion from the preamble of the statute of 1536, by which religious houses not above the yearly value of two hundred pounds were given to the king, the framers of the act, and the parliament which assented to it, intended the suppression of the monasteries there to stop. The statute proposes that the members of the smaller houses shall be removed to "divers great and solemn monasteries of this realm, wherein, thanks be to God, religion is right well kept and observed." This was deliberately asserted, after the visitation had been proceeding for more than six months.

The statute of 1539, simply entitled "An act for dissolution of abbeys," swept the whole monastic system away, without assigning any reason beyond the flagrant untruth, that the abbots, abbesses, and other governors of the houses, "of their own free and voluntary minds, goodwills, and assents, without constraint, coaction, or compulsion," had since the 4th of February, 1536, assigned their possessions to the king, and renounced all title to the same. We merely notice this final act of confiscation here, and pass on to the general course of our narrative.

PARLIAMENT AND POLITICAL ECONOMY

The act for the dissolution of the smaller religious houses was passed in March. The parliament had existed for seven years, during which it had assisted in some of the greatest changes of internal policy which England had ever witnessed. It had laboured, too, as previous parliaments had laboured, in devising remedies for social evils, after the prescriptive fashion of believing that laws could regulate prices, and that industry was to be benefited by enacting how manufacturers should tan leather or dye cloth, and what trades should be carried on in particular towns. It is held to be evidence of the calmness with which the statesmen of this parliament proceeded in their great work of ecclesiastical reform, that they passed "acts to protect the public against the frauds of money-making tradesmen; to provide that shoes and boots should be made of honest leather; that food should be sold at fair prices; that merchants should part with their goods at fair profits." Such battles against "those besetting basenesses of human nature, now held to be so invincible that the influences of them are assumed as the fundamental axioms of economic science," are declared by Froude [f] to be more glorious "than even the English constitution or the English liturgy."

Without looking farther than the records of this parliament, we may venture to suggest that these victories had no permanent influence in making any product cheaper or better, but were the greatest obstacles to improvement, and therefore prevented a wider diffusion of things convenient for man. Was the manufacture of cloth likely to be improved, when the use of various dyeing woods that were brought to Europe after the discovery of America—"Brazil, and such other like subtleties"—was forbidden? Could the yeoman and the labourer obtain a better or a cheaper coat, when graziers and husbandmen were prohibited from weaving, fulling, or shearing cloth in their houses? The statutes for regulating the prices of land confess the utter fruitlessness of such enactments.

One more glimpse at these notable expedients "to compel all classes of persons to be true men" in spite of "the fundamental axioms of economic science." The regulating parliament decrees that flesh is to be sold by weight; that beef and pork are to be sold at a halfpenny a pound, and mutton and veal at three farthings. But there are some others to be consulted in this matter besides the butchers. What if the graziers will not sell fat cattle to the butchers at a proportionate rate? The next session an act is passed to compel them. But one inevitable consequence ensues—it is not remunerative to the graziers to breed and fatten cattle; so in two years more a scarcity ensues, the direct result of the legislation. And then, "the king's highness, well considering the great dearth of all manner of victuals which be now, and since the making of the said statutes," suspends their operations for four years, and leaves graziers and butchers to settle the prices of meat "without pain, imprisonment, forfeiture, or penalty."[g]

During the last three years Catherine with a small establishment had resided on one of the royal manors. In most points she submitted without a murmur to the royal pleasure; but no promise, no intimidation could induce her to forego the title of queen, or to acknowledge the invalidity of her marriage, or to accept the offer made to her by her nephew of a safe and honourable asylum either in Spain or Flanders. It was not that she sought to gratify her pride, or to secure her personal interests; but she still cherished a persuasion that her daughter Mary might at some future period be called to

[1536 A.D.]

the throne, and on that account refused to stoop to any concession which might endanger or weaken the right of the princess. In her retirement she was harassed with angry messages from the king: sometimes her servants were discharged for obeying her orders; sometimes were sworn to follow the instructions which they should receive from the court. Forest, her confessor, was imprisoned and condemned for high treason; the act of succession was passed to defeat her claim; and she believed that Fisher and More had lost their lives merely on account of their attachment to her cause.

Her bodily constitution was gradually enfeebled by mental suffering; and feeling her health decline, she repeated a request, which had often been refused, that she might see her daughter once at least before her death; for Mary, from the time of the divorce, had been separated from the company that she might not imbibe the principles of her mother. But at the age of twenty she could not be ignorant of the injuries which both had suffered, and her resentment was daily strengthened by the jealousy of a hostile queen and the caprice of a despotic father.[1] Henry had the cruelty to refuse this last consolation to the unfortunate Catherine, who from her death-bed dictated a short letter to "her most dear lord, king, and husband." She conjured him to think of his salvation; forgave him all the wrongs which he had done her; recommended their daughter Mary to his paternal protection; requested that her three maids might be provided with suitable marriages, and that her other servants might receive a year's wages. As he perused the letter, the stern heart of Henry was softened; he even shed a tear, and desired the ambassador to bear to her a kind and consoling message. But she died before his arrival, January 8th, 1536; and was buried by the king's direction with becoming pomp in the abbey church of Peterborough. The reputation which she had acquired on the throne did not suffer from her disgrace. Her affability and meekness, her piety and charity, had been the theme of universal praise; the fortitude with which she bore her wrongs raised her still higher in the estimation of the public.

ANNE BOLEYN IN DISGRACE

Four months did not elapse before Catherine was followed to the grave by Anne Boleyn. But their end was very different. The divorced queen died peaceably in her bed; her successful rival died by the sword of the headsman on the scaffold. The obstinacy of Henry had secured, as long as the divorce was in agitation, the ascendancy of Anne; but when that obstacle was removed, his caprice sought to throw off the shackles which he had forged for himself. His passion for her gradually subsided into coldness and neglect.[d] The emperor's ambassador, Chapuys,[h] wrote to his master in strong terms of Anne's despotic will even over the king. His public humiliations at her hand must have rankled in his breast. Besides, he had found another sweetheart—someone not now known. She was not, however, the Margaret Shelton who supplanted her, and was later supplanted by Jane Seymour. Henry had tired of Anne before Catherine's death, and would have divorced her but for the decision of his counsellors that if he divorced Anne, he must take back Catherine. This so enraged Henry that he exclaimed his wish that Catherine and Mary were out of the way. The death of Catherine under suspicious circumstances followed. Chapuys does not hesitate to accuse Henry of having

[1] One great cause of offence was that she persisted in giving to herself the title of princess, and refused it to the infant Elizabeth, whom she called nothing but sister. On this account she was banished from court, and confined to different houses in the country.

her poisoned, and Friedmann[i] finds this contemporary theory in many respects plausible. He inclines to believe that there was some truth in the later charge that Anne Boleyn procured the death of Catherine, but that Henry was implicated. It is necessary to add that Chapuys is not accepted as gospel by all historians. Thus he says that Henry rejoiced at the news of Catherine's death, and wore a white plume and yellow, as did Anne. Others say that the king wept.

But whether Catherine's death had been natural or not, Anne soon realised that it did not improve her status as she had expected. She made overtures of reconciliation with Princess Mary, who repulsed them with scorn. She felt that her only hope was now in pregnancy; the birth of a son alone could win back the smile of the king.[a] The indulgent lover became at last a suspicious and unfeeling master. Thus in the beginning of 1535 we accidentally discover her deeply in disgrace with him, and pitifully imploring the aid of the king of France to reconcile her with her husband. For that purpose she had employed Gontier, a gentleman belonging to the French embassy. We have no clue to the misunderstanding; but it is plain from the graphic description in the despatch of Gontier, that Anne did not always enjoy amidst the splendours of royalty those halcyon days which she had anticipated. But whatever were her griefs at that time, they passed away and were forgotten. She thought no more of becoming a lost woman, and at the death of Catherine made no secret of her joy.[1] Out of respect for the Spanish princess, the king had ordered his servants to wear mourning on the day of her burial; but Anne dressed herself in robes of yellow silk, and openly declared that she was now indeed a queen, since she had no longer a competitor. In this, however, she was fatally deceived.



COSTUME OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Among her maids was one named Jane Seymour, the daughter of a knight of Wiltshire, who, to equal her superior elegance of person, added a gentle and playful disposition, as far removed from the Spanish gravity of Catherine as from that levity of manner which Anne had acquired in the French court.[d]

The season was now at hand when Anne was, in her turn, to experience some of the bitter pangs she had inflicted on her royal mistress. Her agonies were not the less poignant, because conscience must have told her that it was retributive justice which returned the poisoned chalice to her own lips, when she, in like manner, found herself rivalled and supplanted by one of her female

[1 Chapuys[h] states that Anne had often upbraided Henry for cowardice in his mild treatment of Catherine, and had even threatened to put Mary to death herself, if the king went to France and left her regent.]

[1536 A.D.]

attendants. Jane must have been a person of consummate art; for she was on terms of great familiarity with the king before Anne entertained the slightest suspicion of their proceedings. Entering the room unexpectedly one day, the queen surprised Jane, seated on Henry's knee, receiving his caresses with every appearance of complacency. Struck as with a mortal blow at this sight, Anne gave way to a transport of mingled grief and indignation. Henry, dreading his consort's agitation might prove fatal to his hopes of an heir, endeavoured to soothe and reassure her, saying, "Be at peace, sweetheart, and all shall go well for thee." But the cruel shock Anne had sustained brought on the pangs of premature travail; and after some hours of protracted agony, during which her life was in imminent peril, she brought forth a dead son, January 29th.

When the king was informed of this misfortune, instead of expressing the slightest sympathy for the sufferings of his luckless consort, he burst into her apartment and furiously upbraided her "with the loss of his boy." Anne, with more spirit than prudence, passionately retorted "that he had no one to blame but himself for this disappointment, which had been caused by her distress of mind about that wench, Jane Seymour." Henry sullenly turned away, muttering, as he quitted her apartment, that "she should have no more boys by him."

These scenes, which occurred in January, 1536, may surely be regarded as the first act of the royal matrimonial tragedy which four months later was consummated on Tower Hill. Anne slowly regained her health, but not her spirits. She knew the king's temper too well not to be aware that her influence was at an end forever, and that she must prepare to resign not only her place in his affections, but also in his state, to the new star by whom she had been eclipsed. When she found that she had no power to obtain the dismissal of her rival from the royal household, she became very melancholy, and withdrew herself from all the gaieties of the court, passing all her time in the most secluded spots of Greenwich Park.

It is also related that she would sit for hours in the quadrangle court of Greenwich Palace in silence and abstraction, or seeking a joyless pastime in playing with her little dogs and setting them to fight with each other. The king had entirely withdrawn himself from her company ever since her rash retort to his unfeeling reproach, and now they never met in private. She had not the consolation of her infant daughter's innocent smiles and endearments to beguile her lonely sorrow, for the princess Elizabeth was nursed in a separate establishment, and the sweet tie of maternity had been sacrificed to the heartless parade of stately ceremonials. She had alienated the regard and acquired the enmity of her uncle Norfolk. Her royal sister-in-law and early patroness, Mary, queen of France, was no more, and Suffolk, Henry's principal favourite, was one of her greatest foes.*i*

QUEEN ANNE UNDER ARREST (1536 A.D.)

Unfortunately, if Henry had been unfaithful, Anne herself, by her levity and indiscretion, had furnished employment to the authors and retailers of scandal. Reports injurious to her honour had been circulated at court; they had reached the ear of Henry, and some notice of them had been whispered to Anne herself. The king, eager to rid himself of a woman whom he no longer loved, referred these reports to the council, and a committee was appointed to inquire into the charges against the queen. It consisted of the

lord chancellor, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, her own father, and several earls and judges; who reported that sufficient proof had been discovered to convict her of incontinence, not only with Brereton, Norris, and Weston, of the privy chamber, and Smeton, the king's musician, but even with her own brother, Lord Rochford. They began with Brereton, whom they summoned on the Thursday before May-day and committed immediately to the Tower. The examination of Smeton followed on the Sunday, and the next morning, May 1st, he was lodged in the same prison.

On that day the lord Rochford appeared as principal challenger in a tilting match at Greenwich, and was opposed by Sir Henry Norris as principal defendant. The king and Anne were both present; and it is said that, in one of the intervals between the courses, the queen, through accident or design, dropped her handkerchief from the balcony; that Norris, at whose feet it fell, took it up and wiped his face with it; and that Henry instantly changed colour, started from his seat, and retired. This tale was probably invented to explain what followed; but the match was suddenly interrupted, and the king rode back to Whitehall with only six persons in his train, one of whom was Norris, hitherto an acknowledged favourite both with him and the queen. On the way Henry rode with Norris apart, and earnestly solicited him to deserve pardon by the confession of his guilt. He refused, strongly maintaining his innocence, and on his arrival at Westminster was conducted to the Tower.

Anne had been left under custody at Greenwich. The next morning she received an order to return by water; but was met on the river by the lord chancellor, the duke of Norfolk, and Cromwell, who informed her that she had been charged with infidelity to the king's bed. Falling on her knees, she prayed aloud that if she were guilty, God might never grant her pardon. They delivered her to Kingston, the lieutenant of the Tower. Her brother Rochford had already been sent there; Weston and Smeton followed; and preparations were made to bring all the prisoners to immediate trial.[1] From the moment of her confinement at Greenwich Anne had foreseen her fate, and abandoned herself to despair. Her affliction seemed to produce occasional aberrations of intellect. Sometimes she would sit absorbed in melancholy and drowned in tears, and then suddenly assume an air of unnatural gaiety and indulge in immoderate bursts of laughter. To those who waited on her she said that she should be a saint in heaven; that no rain would fall on the earth till she were delivered from prison; and that the most grievous calamities would oppress the nation in punishment of her death. But at times her mind was more composed, and then she gave her attention to devotional exercises, and for that purpose requested that a consecrated host might be placed in her closet.

The apartment allotted for her prison was the same in which she had slept on the night before her coronation. She immediately recollected it, saying that it was too good for her; then falling on her knees, exclaimed, "Jesus, have mercy on me!" This exclamation was succeeded by a flood of tears, and that by a fit of laughter. To Kingston, the lieutenant of the Tower, she protested: "I am as clear from the company of man, as for sin, as I am clear from you. I am told that I shall be accused by three men; and I can say no more but nay, though you should open my body." Soon afterwards she

[1] Rochford, Weston, and Norris had stood high in the king's favour. The first two often played with him for large sums at shovel-board, dice, and other games, and also with the lady Anne. Norris was the only person whom he allowed to follow him into his bed-chamber. Smeton, though of mean origin, was in high favour with Henry. He is mentioned innumerable times in the Privy Purse Expenses.

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exclaimed in great anguish: "O Norris, hast thou accused me? Thou art in the Tower with me; and thou and I shall die together. And thou, Mark (Smeton), thou art here too. Mr. Kingston" (turning to the lieutenant), "I shall die without justice." He assured her that, if she were the poorest subject in the realm, she would still have justice; to which she replied with a loud burst of laughter.

Under the mild administration of justice at the present day, the accused is never required to condemn himself; but in former times every artifice was employed to draw matter of proof from the mouth of the prisoner by promises and threats, by private examinations in the presence of commissioners, and ensnaring questions put by the warders and attendants. Whatever was done or uttered within the walls of the Tower was carefully recorded, and transmitted to the council. Of the five male prisoners, four persisted in maintaining their innocence before the council. Smeton, on his first examination, would admit only some suspicious circumstances, but on the second he made a full disclosure of guilt; and even Norris, yielding to the strong solicitation of Sir William Fitzwilliam, followed his example. Anne had been interrogated at Greenwich. With her answers we are not acquainted; but she afterwards complained of the conduct of her uncle Norfolk, who, while she was speaking, shook his head and said, "Tut, tut." At times she was cheerful, laughed heartily, and ate her meals with a good appetite.[1]

From particulars extracted from the letters of the lieutenant, it is indeed plain that her conduct had been imprudent; that she had descended from her high station to make companions of her men-servants; and that she had even been so weak as to listen to their declarations of love. But whether she rested here, or abandoned herself to the impulse of licentious desire, is a question which probably can never be determined. The records of her trial and conviction have mostly perished, perhaps by the hands of those who respected her memory; and our judgment is held in suspense between the contradictory and unauthenticated statements of her friends and enemies. By some we are told that the first disclosure was made by a female in her service, who, being detected in an unlawful amour, sought to excuse herself by alleging the example of her mistress; by others, that the suspicion of the king was awakened by the jealousy of Lady Rochford,[2] whose husband had been discovered either lying on, or leaning over, the bed of his sister.

But that which wrought conviction in the royal mind was a deposition made upon oath by the lady Wingfield on her death-bed; of which the first lines only remain, the remainder having been accidentally or designedly destroyed. This, however, with the depositions of the other witnesses, was embodied in the bill of indictment and submitted to the grand juries of Kent and Middlesex, because the crimes laid to the charge of the prisoners were alleged to have been committed in both counties. The four commoners were arraigned in the court of King's Bench. Smeton pleaded guilty; Norris recalled his previous confession; all were convicted, May 12th, and received sentence of death.[3]

[1] We have not noticed Anne's letter to the king, supposed to be written by her in the Tower, because there is no reason for believing it authentic. It is said to have been found among Cromwell's papers, but bears no resemblance to the queen's genuine letters in language or spelling, or writing or signature.

[2] "Lady Rochford outraged all decency by appearing as a witness against her husband."—MISS STRICKLAND.] She herself perished for her share in the amours of a later wife of Henry.]

[3] The records of these trials have perished; but if the reader consider with what promptitude and on what slight presumptions (see the subsequent trials of Dereham and Culpeper) juries in this reign were accustomed to return verdicts for the crown, he will hesitate to con-

ANNE TRIED AND CONDEMNED

But the case of the queen was without precedent in English history and it was determined to arraign her before a commission of lords similar to that which had condemned the late duke of Buckingham. The duke of Norfolk was appointed high steward, with twenty-six peers as assessors, and opened the court in the hall of the Tower. To the bar of this tribunal the unhappy queen was led, May 15th, by the constable and lieutenant, and was followed by her female attendants. The indulgence of a chair was granted to her dignity or weakness. The indictment stated that, inflamed with pride and carnal desires of the body, she had confederated with her brother, Lord Rochford, and with Norris, Brereton, Weston, and Smeton, to perpetrate divers abominable treasons; that she had permitted each of the five to lie with her several times; that she had said that the king did not possess her heart; and had told each of them in private that she loved him better than any other man, to the slander of the issue begotten between her and the king; and that she had, in union with her confederates, imagined and devised several plots for the destruction of the king's life.

According to her friends, she repelled each charge with so much modesty and temper, such persuasive eloquence and convincing argument, that every spectator anticipated a verdict of acquittal; but the lords, satisfied perhaps with the legal proofs furnished by the confession of Smeton and the conviction of the other prisoners, pronounced her guilty on their honour; and the lord high steward, whose eyes streamed with tears whilst he performed the unwelcome office, condemned her to be burned or beheaded at the king's pleasure. Anne, according to the testimony or the fiction of a foreign poet, instantly burst into the following exclamation: "O Father! O Creator! thou knowest I do not deserve this death." Then addressing herself to the court: "My lords, I do not arraign your judgment. You may have sufficient reason for your suspicions, but I have always been a true and faithful wife to the king."[1] As soon as she was removed, her brother occupied her place, was convicted on the same evidence, and condemned to lose his head and to be quartered as a traitor.[2]

CRANMER DIVORCES ANNE (1536 A.D.)

By the result of this trial the life of Anne was forfeited to the law; but the vengeance of Henry had prepared for her an additional punishment in the degradation of herself and her daughter. On the day after the arrest of the

demn these unfortunate men on the sole ground of their having been convicted. The case of Smeton was indeed different. He confessed the adultery; but we know not by what arts or the commissioners, under what influence of hope or terror, that confession was obtained from him. It should be remembered that the rack was then in use for prisoners of Smeton's rank in life.

[1] It is extraordinary that we have no credible account of the behaviour of this unfortunate queen on her trial. There can be no doubt that she would maintain her innocence, and therefore we have admitted into the text that exclamation which is generally attributed to her. It comes to us, however, on very questionable authority, that of Meteren,[k] the historian of the Netherlands, who says that he transcribed it from some verses in the Plattdeutsch language, by Crispin, lord of Milherve, a Dutch gentleman present at the trial; so that Burnet[l] himself has some doubt of its truth. "I leave it thus," says he, "without any other reflection upon it but that it seems all over credible."

[2] It is supposed that the charge of conspiracy against the king's life was introduced into the indictment merely for form; yet the lord chancellor takes it as proved in his speech

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accused, he had ordered Cranmer to repair to the archiepiscopal palace at Lambeth, but with an express injunction that he should not venture into the royal presence. That such a message at such a time should excite alarm in the breast of the archbishop, will not create surprise; and the next morning he composed a most eloquent and ingenious epistle to the king.

But Henry had no other object than to intimidate, and by intimidating to render him more ductile to the royal pleasure. He was summoned to meet certain commissioners in the Star Chamber, who laid before him the proofs of the queen's offence, and acquainted him with the duty which was expected from him. He had formerly dissolved the marriage between Henry and Catherine; he was now required to dissolve that between Henry and Anne.

It must have been a most unwelcome and painful task. He had examined that marriage judicially; had pronounced it good and valid; and had confirmed it by his authority as metropolitan and judge. But to hesitate would have cost him his head. He acceded to the proposal with all the zeal of a proselyte; and, adopting as his own the objections to its validity with which he had been furnished, sent copies of them to both the king and queen, "for the salvation of their souls," and the due effect of law; with a summons to each to appear in his court, and to show cause why a sentence of divorce should not be pronounced. Never, perhaps, was there a more solemn mockery of the forms of justice than in the pretended trial of this extraordinary cause. May 17th, two days after the condemnation of the queen by the peers, Cranmer, "having previously invoked the name of Christ, and having God alone before his eyes," pronounced definitely that the marriage formerly contracted, solemnised, and consummated between Henry and Anne Boleyn was, and always had been, null and void.[1] The whole process was afterwards laid before the members of the convocation and the houses of parliament. By both the divorce was approved and confirmed. To Elizabeth, the infant daughter of Anne, the necessary consequence was, that she, like her sister, the daughter of Catherine, was reputed illegitimate.

Burnet,[l] unacquainted with this instrument, which, he asserts, was burned, informs us that the divorce was pronounced in consequence of an alleged precontract of marriage between Anne and Percy, afterwards earl of Northumberland; that the latter had twice solemnly denied the existence of such contract on the sacrament; but that Anne, through hope of favour, was induced to confess it. That Percy denied it, is certain from his letter of the 13th of May; that Anne confessed it, is the mere assertion of the historian, supported by no authority. It is most singular that the real nature of the objection on which the divorce was founded is not mentioned in the decree itself, nor in the acts of the convocation, nor in the act of parliament, though it was certainly communicated both to the convocation and the parliament.

to the two houses of parliament in presence of Henry. He reminds them twice of the great danger to which the king had been exposed, during his late marriage, from the plots laid for his life by Anne and her accomplices.

[1] Several questions rose out of this judgment. 1. If it were good in law, Anne had never been married to the king. She could not, therefore, have been guilty of adultery, and consequently ought not to be put to death for that crime. 2. If the same judgment were good, the act of settlement became null, because it was based on the supposition of a valid marriage, and all the treasons created by that act were at once done away. 3. If the act of settlement were still in force, the judgment itself, inasmuch as it "slandered and impugned the marriage," was an act of treason. But Anne derived no benefit from these doubts. She was executed, and the next parliament put an end to all controversy on the subject by enacting that offences made treason by the act should be so deemed if committed before the 8th of June; but that the king's loving subjects concerned in the prosecution of the queen in the archbishop's court, or before the lords, should have a full pardon for all treasons by them in such prosecution committed.

The king had formerly cohabited with Mary, the sister of Anne Boleyn; which cohabitation, according to the canon law, opposed the same impediment to his marriage with Anne as had before existed to his marriage with Catherine. On this account he had procured a dispensation from Pope Clement; but that dispensation, according to the doctrine which prevailed after his separation from the communion of Rome, was of no force; and hence we are inclined to believe that the real ground of the divorce pronounced by Cranmer was Henry's previous cohabitation with Mary Boleyn; that this was admitted on both sides, and that in consequence the marriage with Anne, the sister of Mary, was judged invalid.

EXECUTION OF ANNE AND HER "PARAMOURS" (1536 A.D.)

On the day on which Cranmer pronounced judgment the companions of the queen were led to execution. Smeton was hanged; the other four, on account of their superior rank, were beheaded. The last words of Smeton, though susceptible of a different meaning, were taken by his hearers for a confession of guilt. "Masters," said he, "I pray you all, pray for me, for I have deserved the death." Norris was obstinately silent; Rochford exhorted the spectators to live according to the gospel; Weston lamented his past folly in purposing to give his youth to sin and his old age to repentance; Brereton, who, says an eye-witness, was innocent if any of them were, used these enigmatical words: "I have deserved to die, if it were a thousand deaths; but the cause wherefore I die, judge ye not. If ye judge, judge the best."

It may be observed that in none of these declarations, not even in that of Smeton, is there any express admission, or express denial, of the crime for which these unfortunate men suffered. If they were guilty, is it not strange that not one out of five would acknowledge it? If they were not, is it not still more strange that not one of them should proclaim his innocence, if not for his own sake, at least for the sake of that guiltless woman who was still alive, but destined to suffer for the same cause in a few days? The best solution is to suppose that no person was allowed to speak at his execution without a solemn promise to say nothing in disparagement of the judgment under which he suffered. We know that, if the king brought a man to trial, it was thought necessary for the king's honour that he should be convicted; probably, when he suffered, it was thought equally for the king's honour that he should not deny the justice of his punishment.

To Anne herself two days more were allotted, which she spent for the most part in the company of her confessor. On the evening before her death, falling on her knees before the wife of the lieutenant, she asked her for a last favour; which was, that Lady Kingston would throw herself in like manner at the feet of the lady Mary, and would in Anne's name beseech her to forgive the many wrongs which the pride of a thoughtless, unfortunate woman had brought upon her. We learn from Kingston himself that she displayed an air of greater cheerfulness than he had ever witnessed in any person in similar circumstances; that she had required him to be present when she should receive "the good lord," to the intent that he might hear her declare her innocence; and that he had no doubt she would at her execution proclaim herself "a good woman for all but the king." If, however, such were her intention, she afterwards receded from it.[d]

Soon after we find an order issued for the expulsion of strangers from the Tower; a small fact, but characteristic of tyranny, which dreads pity as a

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natural enemy. In spite of this exclusion of those who might commiserate the fate of the victim, the reports of the lieutenant to his master Cromwell throw some light on the last morning of her life. When he came to her, after repeating her solemn protestations of innocence, she said to him, "'Mr. Kingston, I hear that I am not to die before noon, and I am very sorry for it, for I thought to be dead and past my pain.' I told her it should be no pain. She answered, 'I heard say, that the executioner of Calais who was brought over is more expert than any in England: that is very good, I have a little neck,' putting her hand about it and laughing heartily"—a transient and playful recurrence to the delicacy of her form, which places in a stronger light the blackness of the man who had often caressed and now commanded that it should be mangled. "I have seen men," says Kingston, "and also women, executed, and they have been in great sorrowing. This lady has much joy and pleasure in death."[m]



On the morning of May 9th, the dukes of Suffolk and Richmond, the lord mayor and aldermen, with a deputation of citizens from each company, assembled by order of the king on the green within the Tower. About noon the gate opened, and Anne was led to the scaffold, dressed in a robe of black damask, and attended by her four maids. With the permission of the lieutenant, she thus addressed the spectators: "Good Christian people, I am not come here to excuse or justify myself, forasmuch as I know full well that aught which I could say in my defence doth not appertain to you, and that I could derive no hope of life for the same. I come here only to die, and thus to yield myself humbly to the will of my lord the king. And if in life I did ever offend the king's grace, surely with my death do I now atone for the same. I blame not my judges, nor any other manner of person, nor anything save the cruel law of the land by which I die. But be this, and be my faults as they may, I beseech you all, good friends, to pray for the life of the king, my sovereign lord and yours, who is one of the best princes on the face of the earth, and who has always treated me so well that better cannot be; wherefore I submit to death with a good will, humbly asking pardon of all the world."

She then took her coifs from her head, and covered her hair with a linen cap, saying to her maids, "I cannot reward you for your service, but pray you to take comfort for my loss. Howbeit, forget me not. Be faithful to the king's grace, and to her whom with happier fortune you may have for your queen and mistress. Value your honour before your lives; and in your prayers to the Lord Jesus, forget not to pray for my soul." She now knelt down; one of her attendants tied a bandage over her eyes, and, as she

exclaimed, "O Lord God, have mercy upon my soul!" the executioner, with one blow of his sword, severed her head from the body. Her remains, covered with a sheet, were placed by her maids in an elm chest brought from the armoury, and immediately afterwards buried within the chapel of the Tower. Thus fell this unfortunate queen within four months after the death of Catherine. To have expressed a doubt of her guilt during the reign of Henry, or of her innocence during that of Elizabeth, would have been deemed a proof of disaffection. The question soon became one of religious feeling rather than of historical disquisition. Though she had departed no further than her husband from the ancient doctrine, yet, as her marriage with Henry led to the separation from the communion of Rome, the Catholic writers were eager to condemn, the Protestant to exculpate her memory.

In the absence of those documents which alone could enable us to decide with truth, we will only observe that the king must have been impelled by some most powerful motive to exercise against her such extraordinary, and, in one supposition, such superfluous rigour. Had his object been (we are sometimes told that it was) to place Jane Seymour by his side on the throne, the divorce of Anne without her execution, or the execution without the divorce, would have effected his purpose. But he seems to have pursued her with insatiable hatred. Not content with taking her life, he made her feel in every way in which a wife and a mother could feel. He stamped on her character the infamy of adultery and incest; he deprived her of the name and the right of wife and queen; and he even bastardised her daughter, though he acknowledged that daughter to be his own. If, then, he were not assured of her guilt, he must have discovered in her conduct some most heinous cause of provocation, which he never disclosed. As if he sought to display his contempt for the memory of Anne, he dressed himself in white on the day of her execution, and was married to Jane Seymour the next morning.[d]

WAS ANNE BOLEYN GUILTY?

The innocence of the queen has been the subject of endless argument. It seems to have been accepted by the public at the time that she was a bad woman, but that her trial was tyrannous and her guilt badly proved. At the period of her daughter Elizabeth's accession the belief in Anne's innocence began to spread, though Elizabeth, who resembled her mother in so many ways, particularly in her hardness and her passion for male admiration, was little interested in beautifying her mother's fame.

The proceedings of the court were destroyed—in itself a suspicious circumstance—and this has given a foundation for most eloquent defences of Anne's good fame. But there have been recent discoveries of various documents of collateral value; the letters of Charles V's ambassador Chapuys[h] have been studied, and much light has been thrown on the subject by a manuscript found in 1873 at Madrid. On further search eleven manuscript copies of it were found. This work, called a *Chronica del Rey Enrico Otavo de Inglaterra*,[n] was published by the Academy of History of Madrid, and has been translated by M. A. S. Hume into English.

The author is unknown. Hume judges from internal evidence that he could not have been a diplomat, courtier, a lawyer, or priest, but was probably a resident merchant or interpreter, or a mercenary Spanish soldier. He is of strong Catholic sympathies, as some of his chapter headings show,

e. g.: "How the cardinal was the cause of all the evil and damage that exist in England," "How the blessed queen Catherine died," "How Anne Boleyn committed adultery, and how it was found out."

While the author evidently writes mainly from hearsay and in many details contradicts known facts, there is no doubt that he reflects the common opinion of London. His account of Mark Smeton's intrigue with the queen and its discovery is so detailed and plausible as to check one's enthusiasm for Anne's innocence. He tells also the charges against the other men, and the activity of "the old woman" who served as go-between. Hume says, "Her dying confession, of which a part only now remains, has always been considered the strongest proof of Anne's guilt." The Spaniard says that this lady Wingfield after her confession was ordered to be burned that night in the Tower. Of this there is no record, though the Spaniard says that Anne was made to watch the burning, and exclaimed, "I wish they would burn me with her."

The Spaniard vividly describes the torture of Mark, around whose head was placed a knotted rope which was twisted with a cudgel till Mark "confessed all, and told everything as we have related it, and how it came to pass." It is stated that Mark reaffirmed his guilt on the way to death, while Norris and Brereton practically admitted guilt, though Anne's brother ardently denied the incredible charge against him. The Spaniard quotes Anne as going gaily to the block, and as saying, "I say to you all that everything they have accused me of is false, and the principal reason I am to die is Jane Seymour, as I was the cause of the ill that befell my mistress."

That Anne should have maintained her innocence is not proof of it, as numberless criminals of indubitably established guilt have done this with the utmost fervour. It must also be remembered that the absolute proof of adultery is generally impossible, and the law even of to-day requires only a reasonable certainty of its commission. None the less it is only fair to say that Anne's trial, Henry's record, and the supineness of his retainers could well have compassed the destruction of a character far more unsullied than that of Anne. And it is only fair to quote some of the eminent authorities in her favour.

Among these is David Hume.[o] Even more ardent is Hallam,[p] who is very indignant at Lingard's[d] disbelief, and exclaims: "Among the victims of this monarch's ferocity, as we bestow most of our admiration on Sir Thomas More, so we reserve our greatest pity for Anne Boleyn. Few, very few, have in any age hesitated to admit her innocence. Burnet[l] has taken much pains with the subject, and set her innocence in a very clear light: see also Strype.[q] I regret very much to be compelled to add the name of Sharon Turner[r] to those who have countenanced the supposition of Anne Boleyn's guilt. But Turner has gone upon the strange principle of exalting the tyrant's reputation at the expense of every one of his victims, to whatever party they may have belonged. *Odit damnatos*. Perhaps he is the first, and will be the last, who has defended the attainder of Sir Thomas More. Nothing in this detestable reign is worse than her trial."

Von Raumer[jj] says: "The doubts expressed by Lingard respecting Anne's innocence have not convinced me. I say with Bishop Godwin,[kk] without casting too much doubt on the credibility of public documents, even a resolution of the parliament against her would not convince me. Soame[ll] judges in the same manner, saying, 'According to the best decision which impartial posterity can come to, Anne's death is as scandalous a legal murder as ever disgraced a Christian country.' "

Miss Strickland[j] is an ardent believer in Anne's innocence, and quotes Lord Bacon[t] as authority: "That great historian, Lord Bacon, assures us that Queen Anne protested her innocence with undaunted greatness of mind at the time of her death. He tells us 'that by a messenger, faithful and generous as she supposed, who was one of the king's privy chamber, she, just before she went to execution, sent this message to the king: "Commend me to his majesty, and tell him he hath been ever constant in his career of advancing me; from a private gentlewoman he made me a marchioness, from a marchioness a queen, and now he hath left no higher degree of honour, he gives my innocency the crown of martyrdom." But the messenger durst not carry this to the king, then absorbed in a new passion, yet tradition has truly transmitted it to posterity.' Lord Bacon's account of these celebrated words of Anne Boleyn is well worthy the attention of the reader; considering how intimately connected his grandfather, Sir Anthony Cooke, was with the court of England, being tutor to Edward VI; his aunt was Lady Cecil, and his mother Lady Bacon, both in the service of Queen Mary; he therefore knew when they were uttered, as all these persons must have heard these facts from witness."

Macfarlane[s] and Keightley[u] firmly believed in her innocence. One of the most eloquent defences is that of Sir James Mackintosh.[m] He relies largely on Wyatt,[v] the English poet, a former lover of Anne's, one who barely escaped execution with her other favourites, and who later wrote an account of the trial. Among other arguments Mackintosh advances the following:[a] Is there any example in history of so much satisfaction, and so much calmness in any dying person who is ascertained to have been guilty of acts owned by them to be great offences, and perseveringly denied to have been perpetrated by them? Anne was required to come to the bar, where she appeared immediately without an adviser, and attended only by the ignorant and treacherous women of her household. 'It was everywhere muttered abroad that the queen in her defence had cleared herself in a most noble speech,' says Wyatt.[v] All writers who lived near the time confirm this account of her defence. 'For the evidence,' says Wyatt, 'as I never could hear of any, small I believe it was. The accusers must have doubted whether their proofs would prove their reproofs, when they durst not bring them to the proof of the light in an open place.'"

The infliction of death upon a wife for infidelity might be a consistent part of the criminal code of Judea, which permitted polygamy on account of the barbarous manners of the Jewish people, and, by consequence, allowed all females to remain in a state of slavery and perpetual imprisonment. Henry alone, it may be hoped, was capable of commanding his slaves to murder, on the scaffold, her whom he had lately cherished and adored, for whom he had braved the opinion of Europe, and in maintenance of whose honour he had spilled the purest blood of England, after she had produced one child which could lisp his name with tenderness, and when she was recovering from the languor and paleness of the unrequited pangs of a more fruitless childbirth. The last circumstance, which would have melted most of human form, is said to have peculiarly heightened his aversion. Such a deed is hardly capable of being aggravated by the consideration that, if she was seduced before marriage, it was he who had corrupted her; and that if she was unfaithful at last, the edge of the sword that smote her was sharpened by his impatience to make her bed empty for another. In a word, it may be truly said that Henry, as if he had intended to levy war against every sort of natural virtue, proclaimed, by the executions of More and of Anne, that he

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henceforward bade defiance to compassion, affection, and veneration. A man without a good quality would perhaps be in the condition of a monster in the physical world, where distortion and deformity in every organ seem to be incompatible with life. But in these two direful deeds Henry perhaps approached as nearly to the ideal standard of perfect wickedness as our moral nature will allow.[m]

S. R. Gardiner,[w] like Guizot,[x] is unwilling to commit himself to a positive opinion on Anne's innocence. Gardiner says that she was tried "on charges so monstrous as to be hardly credible. Her unpardonable crime was probably that her only living child was a daughter, not a son." Of those who incline to believe Anne guilty may be mentioned Lingard,[d] Sharon Turner,[r] Freeman,[y] Kirkup,[z] Froude,[f] and Friedmann.[i] Von Ranke[bb] wavers between the belief in the charges and the belief in the beautiful but apocryphal letter which Anne is said to have written protesting her innocence, though this letter is admittedly not in her hand and is generally counted spurious. Friedmann[i] feels that the charges as made are incredible, in their entirety, and that the jury was packed, but that there must have been some guilt, and that furthermore there must have been some extraordinary and unpublished reason for putting Anne to death. He has made full use of the Spanish chronicle and the letters of Chapuys[h] at Vienna, and thinks that before an ordinary tribunal Anne would hardly have been convicted. He notes that the accused men neither affirmed nor denied their guilt, but finds reason enough for this in the custom of threatening the families of the condemned with cruelty if indiscreet words were uttered on the way to execution.

Anne both before and after receiving communion "declared on the salvation of her soul that she had never been unfaithful to the king." Friedmann notes the hysterical condition of her last hours, and quotes Chapuys' statement that she laughingly said that they would hereafter call her "Queen Lackhead." Friedmann believes that Chapuys' letters show the true motive for putting Anne out of the way, as she alone stood in the path of a reconciliation with Catherine's nephew, the emperor. This being the reason of state, the plausible enough charge of adultery was devised as the public excuse. Many historians, we see, believed Anne to have deserved divorce, but it has remained for Froude[f] not only to argue that she was guilty, but to justify Henry's murder of the woman in whose name he had upset all Europe. For this justification, Knight,[g] who seems to believe in Anne's innocence, takes him bitterly to task.[a]

CHARLES KNIGHT'S ESTIMATE OF "STATE NECESSITY"

There is a beautiful passage in the *Memoir of Anne Boleyn*, by George Wyatt, written at the close of the sixteenth century, but unpublished till our own times, in which, speaking of the February of 1536, he says of the queen: "Being thus a woman full of sorrow, it was reported that the king came to her, and bewailing and complaining unto her of the loss of his boy, some words were heard break out of the inward feeling of her heart's dolours, laying the fault upon unkindness." He adds: "Wise men in those days judged that her virtues were here her defaults; and that if her too much love could as well as the other queen have borne with his defect of love, she might have fallen into less danger."

There is nothing which the drama could add to move terror and pity, when the curtain should drop upon the closing scene of this tragedy. But history has one fact to add, still more awful. It is the one fact which shows

us how more terrible is the condition of a man utterly heartless and shameless, who, having moved all the instruments of so-called justice to accomplish the death of the wife of his most ardent devotion—and having in this accomplishment also procured her child to be held illegitimate, as he had willed as to the child of a former wife—at length is joyous and triumphant. Queen Anne was beheaded on the 19th of May. On the 20th, as we have seen, Henry was married to Jane Seymour. The council exhorted him, we are told, to marry immediately, for a state necessity. Nature cries out against the outrage upon all the decencies of life; but the political philosopher Froude says, "He looked upon matrimony as an indifferent official act which his duty required at the moment." We can find no reasonable cause to doubt that, from the first step to the last, the charge was got up, the indictments prepared, the juries selected, the peers upon the trial nominated, the marriage with Jane



Ightham Mote House, Kent
(Built in the time of Henry VIII)

Seymour settled, and last, but not least significant fact, a new parliament called, for the sole purpose of making a new law of succession, before the cannon of the Tower had announced that Anne had perished.

The recent historian of this period, as we venture to think, has carried his admiration of the self-asserting force of character in Henry VIII to an extent which blinds him to the hideousness of the acts in which that force is too often exhibited. Froude has given us this alternative—to receive his history, in its endeavours to prove a "human being sinful whom the world has ruled to be innocent," as "a reassertion of the truth, or the shame of noble names which have not deserved it at our hands." We are told that "if the Catholics could have fastened the stain of murder on the king and the statesmen of England, they would have struck the faith of the establishment a harder blow than by a poor tale of scandal against a weak, erring, suffering woman," and that "the Protestants, in mistaken generosity, have courted an infamy for the names of those to whom they owe their being, which, staining the fountain, must stain forever the stream which flows from it."

Are we forever to read history under the fear that if we trust to the everlasting principles of justice—to our hatred of oppression—to our contempt

[1536 A.D.]

for sycophancy and worldly mindedness—we may be "staining the fountain" which we regard as a well of life? Is there no firmer resting-place for true thought than is to be found in the debatable ground between Catholics and Protestants? Is there no common platform of historical evidence upon which both can meet to examine such questions honestly and temperately? What, in truth, have the personal motives which led to the rejection of papal supremacy—what the seizure of first-fruits and tenths by the crown—what the avarice that prompted the destruction of the monasteries—what the burnings for heresy—what the "six articles" of 1539, by which all men were to be "regimented" into belief—what have these to do with the Protestant "fountain," or the "stream which flows from it?" Still less ought the verdict of him who thoughtfully weighs the almost total absence of satisfactory evidence against Anne Boleyn in the one scale, and the undeniable wilfulness, cruelty, revenge, and lust of Henry in the other, to be considered as an imputation against the strength of the principles on which the worship of Protestant England rests.

Let us not compromise our moral sense by having what is called "a state necessity" proposed to us as the rule of wisdom and virtue. History may be so written as to make some believe that despotism is the only safeguard for a nation's prosperity and happiness. It has been so written in by-gone times, and the sophistry is struggling for revival. But let this pass. Anne Boleyn sleeps in the chapel in the Tower, where so many other victims of tyranny sleep; and in spite of every laborious detraction, her fate will not be remembered without honest tears.*g*

MARY RECONCILED TO HER FATHER

For two years Mary, Henry's daughter by Catherine, had lived at Hunsdon, a royal manor, in a state of absolute seclusion from society. Now she solicited the good offices of Cromwell.

> "I perceived that nobody durst speak for me as long as that woman lived, who is now gone, whom I pray our Lord of his great mercy to forgive. Wherefore now she is gone, I desire you for the love of God to be a suitor for me to the king's grace. . . . Accept mine evil writing, for I have not done so much this two year or more; nor could not have found the means to do it at this time but by my Lady Kingston's being here."

She received a favourable answer. It was not that the heartless politician felt any pity for the daughter of Catherine; but he had persuaded himself that both Mary and Elizabeth, though bastards by law, might, if they were treated as princesses in fact, be married, to the king's profit, into the families of some of the continental sovereigns.

Through his intercession she was permitted to write to her father; her letters, the most humble and submissive that she could devise, were never noticed. She again consulted Cromwell, followed his advice, and adopted his suggestions and corrections. But Henry was resolved to probe her sincerity, and instead of an answer, sent to her a deputation with certain articles in writing to which he required her signature. From these her conscience recoiled; but Cromwell subdued her scruples by a most unfeeling and imperious letter. He called her "an obstinate and obdurate woman, deserving the reward of malice in the extremity of mischief"; if she did not submit, he would take his leave of her forever. Intimidated and confounded, she at last consented to acknowledge that it was her duty to observe all the king's laws, that Henry was the head of the church; and that the marriage between her father and mother had been incestuous and unlawful. It was then required

that she should reveal the names of the persons who had advised her former obstinacy and her present submission; but the princess indignantly replied that she was ready to suffer death rather than expose any confidential friend to the royal displeasure. Henry relented; he permitted her to write to him, and granted her an establishment more suitable to her rank.

From one of her letters she appears to have been intrusted with the care of Elizabeth. "My sister Elizabeth is in good health, thanks be to our Lord, and such a child toward, as I doubt not, but your highness will have cause to rejoice of in time coming, as knoweth Almighty God." The privy purse expenses of Mary at this period, for which we are indebted to Sir Frederick Madden, exhibit proofs of a cheerful and charitable disposition, very different from the character given of her by several writers.

Though she was received into favour June 8th, she was not restored in blood. The king had called a parliament to repeal the last, and to pass a new act of succession, entailing his crown on his issue by his queen Jane Seymour. But he did not rest here: in violation of every constitutional principle, he obtained a power, in failure of children by his present or any future wife, to limit the crown in possession and remainder by letters patent under the great seal or by his last will, signed with his own hand, to any such person or persons whom he might think proper. It was believed that he had chiefly in view his natural son, the duke of Richmond, then in his eighteenth year, and the idol of his affection. But before the act could receive the royal assent the duke died, July 24th; Henry remained without a male child, legitimate or illegitimate, to succeed him; and a project was seriously entertained, but afterwards abandoned, of marrying the lady Mary to the duke of Orleans, the second son of the French monarch, and of declaring them presumptive heirs to the crown.

THE NORTHERN INSURRECTION AND "PILGRIMAGE OF GRACE" (1536 A.D.)

During the summer the king sought to dissipate his grief for the death of his son in the company of his young queen; in autumn he was suddenly alarmed by an insurrection in the northern counties, where the people retained a strong attachment to the ancient doctrines; and the clergy, further removed from the influence of the court, were less disposed to abjure their opinions at the nod of the sovereign. Each succeeding innovation had irritated their discontent; but when they saw the ruin of the establishments which they had revered from their childhood; the monks driven from their homes, and in many instances compelled to beg their bread; and the poor, who had formerly been fed at the doors of the convents, now abandoned without relief, they readily listened to the declamations of demagogues, unfurled the standard of revolt, and with arms in their hands, and under the guidance of Makerel, abbot of Barlings, who had assumed the name of Captain Cobbler, demanded the redress of their grievances. Nor was the insurrection long confined to the common people. The archbishop of York, the lords Nevil, Darcy, Lumley, and Latimer, and most of the knights and gentlemen in the north, joined the insurgents, either through compulsion, as they afterwards pretended, or through inclination, as was generally believed.

The first who appeared in arms were the men of Lincolnshire; and so formidable was their force, that the duke of Suffolk, the royal commander, deemed it more prudent to negotiate than to fight. As soon as the more obstinate had departed to join their brethren in Yorkshire, the rest accepted a full pardon, October 13th, on the acknowledgment of their offence, the

surrender of their arms, and the promise to maintain all the acts of parliament passed during the king's reign. In the five other counties the insurrection had assumed a more formidable appearance. From the borders of Scotland to the Lune and the Humber, the inhabitants had generally bound themselves by oath to stand by each other, "for the love which they bore to Almighty God, his faith, the holy church, and the maintenance thereof; to the preservation of the king's person and his issue; to the purifying of the nobility; and to expulse all villein blood and evil counsellors from his grace and privy council; not for any private profit, nor to do displeasure to any private person, nor to slay or murder through envy, but for the restitution of the church and the suppression of heretics and their opinions." Their enterprise was quaintly termed the "pilgrimage of grace"; on their banners were painted the image of Christ crucified, and the chalice and host, the emblems of their belief; and wherever the pilgrims appeared, the ejected monks were replaced in the monasteries, and the inhabitants were compelled to take the oath and to join the army.

Hull, York, and Pontefract admitted the insurgents; and thirty thousand men, under the nominal command (the real leaders seem not to have been known) of a gentleman named Robert Aske, hastened to obtain possession of Doncaster. The earl of Shrewsbury, though without any commission, ventured to arm his tenantry and throw himself into the town; he was soon joined by the duke of Norfolk, the king's lieutenant, with five thousand men. The insurgents consented to an armistice November, 7th, and appointed delegates to lay their demands before Henry, who had already summoned his nobility to meet him in arms at Northampton, but was persuaded by the duke to revoke the order, and trust to the influence of terror and dissension. At length Henry offered, and the insurgents accepted, an unlimited pardon, with an understanding that their grievances should be shortly and patiently discussed in the parliament to be assembled at York in February, 1537. But the king, freed from his apprehensions, neglected to redeem his promise, and within two months the pilgrims were again under arms. Now, however, the duke, who lay with a more numerous force in the heart of the country, was able to intercept their communications and to defeat all their measures. They failed in two successive attempts to surprise Hull and Carlisle; the lord Darcy, Robert Aske, and most of the leaders were taken, sent to London and executed, the others were hanged by scores at York, Hull, and Carlisle; and at length, when resistance had ceased and the royal resentment had been satisfied, tranquillity was restored by the proclamation of a general pardon.[d]

BIRTH OF EDWARD AND DEATH OF JANE

On the 12th of October, 1537, the same form of circular letter went forth as when the princess Elizabeth was born, to announce that Queen Jane had given birth to a son. The event seems to have caused great gladness. But the queen was not destined to partake of the nation's joy. She died on the 24th of October. On that day Cromwell wrote to Lord William Howard who was in France. A passage in the letter may scarcely appear credible, but there it stands in its undoubted authenticity: "Though his majesty is not anything disposed to marry again—albeit his highness, God be thanked, taketh this chance as a man that, by reason, with force overcometh his affection, may take such an extreme adventure"—at the earnest entreaty of his council "that his grace will again couple himself," the king desires that Lord William Howard will report of "the conditions and qualities" of the French

king's daughter, and of those of the widow of the duke de Longueville. Similar instructions, to inquire into the conditions and qualities of particular ladies, were immediately sent to ambassadors at other courts.

Cranmer, with his quiet and temporising habits, was under the control of Cromwell; but they each had a course of policy to be worked out with the greatest caution. In the suppression of the monasteries they would have the thorough support of the king, for his revenues would thence receive an enormous increase. In every form of resistance to the papal supremacy they would have the same countenance. But in the disputed matters of doctrine, their individual desires, if such they truly held, for an enlarged liberty of conscience, would be of no avail against an absolute ruler, who felt his inordinate vanity flattered in prescribing what his subjects should believe and what not believe. "Henry was a king with a pope in his belly," truly says Fuller,[cc] an old and plain-spoken writer. They went forward in a course of inconsistency, hanging disobedient abbots, and racking and burning Lutheran reformers. There is nothing absolutely to hate in either of these men, but there is little to love. Cranmer was a servile tool. Cromwell was a bold and unscrupulous minister. They accomplished one good work, of which their intolerant master did not see the final result. They gave us the English Bible.

The circulation of Tyndale's English Testament, printed at Antwerp in 1526, had been prohibited by Henry, in his zeal against Luther and the reformed doctrines. Ten years later he was moved to consent to the publication of an English Bible. In August, 1537, Cranmer wrote to Cromwell to exhibit a Bible in English to the king, which was of "a new translation and a new print." This was Coverdale's Bible, printed anew under the name of Matthews. In 1538 another Bible was printing in Paris by Coverdale and Grafton; and they write to Cromwell, sending specimens of the same, desiring "to be defended from the papists by your lordship's favourable letters." Another edition of the Bible was printed in 1538, known as "Cranmer's, or the Great Bible." These Cranmer appointed to be sold at 13s. 4d. each. In 1538 injunctions were given to the clergy to set up the Bible in parish churches, and to encourage the people to peruse it. In a few years that liberty was partially withdrawn.

There appear to us to have been no secure resting-places for honest opinion. Those who held, as many earnestly did, to the principles and forms of the old religion, based as it was upon obedience to one spiritual head of the church, were traitors. Those who, in rejecting the papal supremacy, rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation, were heretics. The shrine of Thomas à Becket is plundered and destroyed, and a royal proclamation forbids him to be any longer received as a saint. Instead of the pilgrims to Canterbury wearing the steps of the high altar, there is a great crowd in Westminster Hall to hear a king confute a "sacramentarian." John Nicholson (known commonly as Lambert) has been accused of denying the corporal presence in the eucharist. Henry has renewed the old excitement of his polemical studies and he causes it to be solemnly proclaimed that he will publicly examine and judge the heretic. He sits upon his throne dressed in white satin, with his guards all in white. He calls upon the unhappy man to declare his opinion, which, according to Burnet,[l] did not differ from that then held by Cranmer and Latimer, being the Lutheran doctrine of consubstantiation. The king, the bishops, and the accused entered upon scholastic disputations, which lasted five hours. The poor unaided disputant, with ten opponents one after another engaging with him, and the king frowning in his most awful manner, was at last silenced; and the people in the hall shouted their applause at the royal victory. Lambert

was then asked by Henry whether he would live or die; and he answered, "that he committed his soul to God, and submitted his body to the king's clemency." He was condemned to be burned, and Cromwell read the sentence; and burned he was in Smithfield, crying aloud in his agony, "None but Christ."

It is fearful to see those whose memories we must regard with some respect mixed up with these horrors. The superstitions of the ignorant are pitiable. The zealotry of the wise and learned is revolting. There was an image in Wales called Darvell Gathern, to which the people resorted by hundreds, believing that the wooden block had power to save. Darvell Gathern was brought to London, and was burned in Smithfield. But the "huge and great image" was brought under the gallows where an Observant friar, Forest, was hung in chains alive; and the idol being set on fire under the wretched man who was accused of heresy[1] and treason, they were consumed together. Worst of all, "there was also prepared a pulpit, where a right reverend father



SANDOWN CASTLE
(A fortress erected by Henry VIII when threatened with an invasion by allies of the pope)

in God, and a renowned and pious clerk, the bishop of Worcester, called Hugh Latimer, declared to him (Forest) his errors, and openly and manifestly by the Scripture of God confuted them; and with many and godly exhortations moved him to repentance. But such was his frowardness that he neither would hear nor speak."

After the great insurrections of 1536–37 had been effectually repressed, it became evident that the destruction of the larger religious houses would soon follow that of the smaller. It was not necessary for a parliament to be sitting to pass a second law of suppression. The government adopted the principle of terrifying or cajoling the abbots and priors into a surrender of their possessions. The ecclesiastical commissioners continued their work with larger powers. Their reports exhibit a dreary catalogue of abuses, which, however coloured by the prejudices and interests of the reporters, would afford some justification for the sweeping spoliation, if particular examples could be received as types of a general depravity.

[1 Forest had declared that the pope should be obeyed in spiritual matters, and Gardiner *w* points out that this was the first and only time when the denial of the king's supremacy was held to be heresy.]

The act of 1539, for dissolution of abbeys, recites that since the 4th of February, in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of Henry, divers heads of religious houses had voluntarily surrendered their possessions to the king. We may judge what powerful influences were set in action, after the chances of a successful popular resistance were at an end.

The impostures connected with images and relics are amongst the most curious manifestations of human credulity; and it was a necessary step in the establishment of a pure worship that the system of deceit, which was of no modern origin, should be thoroughly exposed. The commissioners went to the abbey of Hales, in Gloucestershire, and reported of their finding "jewels, plate, ornaments, and money, besides the garnishing of a small shrine, wherein was reposed the counterfeit relic in times past." This counterfeit relic was the "blood of Hales," which Latimer made famous by preaching at Paul's Cross that it was "no blood, but honey clarified, and coloured with saffron." Henry himself believed that in the crystal vessel, opaque on one side and transparent on the other, was held the blood that flowed in the agony in the garden.

Walsingham, famous for these curiosities, contributed a more than common proportion to the bonfire which Cromwell made at Chelsea of these memorials of a perishing belief. At Paul's Cross some of the images were exhibited and broken in pieces. At Glastonbury, the commissioners write to Cromwell, "We have daily found and tried out both money and plate, hid and muried up in walls, vaults, and other secret places," and that "the abbot and the monks have embezzled and stolen as much plate and adornments as would have sufficed to have begun a new abbey." The abbot and the monks felt as the people of an invaded country feel when they conceal their treasures from the foreign marauders; and the commissioners felt as a rapacious soldiery feel when their hopes of booty are disappointed. The abbot of Glastonbury had little chance against his persecutors. He was tried at Wells on the 14th of November, 1539, "and the next day put to execution with two other of his monks, for the robbing of Glastonbury church, on the Tor hill next unto the town of Glaston; the said abbot's body being divided into four parts, and head stricken off." Richard Whiting's head was fixed on the abbey gate, to crumble into dust with the perishing fabric, once so glorious.

In the smaller monasteries the ejected monks had pensions varying, according to their ages, from £4 to 53s. 4d. But some monasteries were in a state of miserable poverty, with only a few acres of arable land and the ruinous house that sheltered the half-starved inmates. Many of the convents were deeply in debt. But, whether the houses were rich or poor, resistance was useless. With the king's highness eager for the silver shrines, the parcel-gilt cups, the embroidered copes, the very lead and timber of the conventual buildings, to be turned into money; with grasping courtiers ready to bribe the king's vicegerent for grants of land and leases—there was no difficulty in converting the monastic possessions to immediate advantage. It is lamentable to trace the degradation of a period when to bribe and be bribed was no disgrace.

THE TRACTABLE PARLIAMENT

The parliament which was summoned to assemble at Westminster on the 28th of April, 1539, met for the sole purpose of accomplishing a despotic revolution, with all the forms of representative government. Never had a parliament of England assembled under circumstances so full of strange

[1539 A.D.]

anxiety. In the parliament of 1536 there were present fifteen abbots, and thirteen other abbots voted by proxy. In the parliament of 1539 there were seventeen abbots present, and three sent their proxies. Unwillingly the abbots must have come. There could be no doubt that they were about to pass away from their high position in the state. No more would the mitred lords of Tewkesbury and St. Albans, of St. Edmundsbury and Tavistock, of Colchester and Malmesbury, ride to Westminster with their armed and liveried servants, with crowds on the highways kneeling for their blessing. A "tractable parliament" was the machinery by which tyranny sought to do its work in England, after the old spirit of freedom had been crushed under the Tudor heel. It was necessary to put the drapery of representation over the naked form of despotism.

"ACT FOR THE KING TO MAKE BISHOPS"

The "act for dissolution of abbeys" (1539) was a formal statute, to make perfect the work that was practically accomplished. It vested the remaining monastic possessions in the king, of which the greater number had been surrendered; and it confirmed all future surrenders. It annulled leases granted a year previous to each surrender. Other business had preceded this enactment, but all other matters were of secondary importance, or depended upon the accomplishment of this measure.

Even Henry did not dare to appropriate these vast possessions without a pretence that he was about to devote some portion of them to great public uses. The act for the dissolution of the abbeys was followed by "an act for the king to make bishops." The preamble to the draft of this statute is written in King Henry's own hand: "Forasmuch as it is not unknown the slothful and ungodly life which hath been used amongst all those sort which have borne the name of religious folk; and to the intent that from henceforth many of them might be turned to better use as hereafter shall follow, whereby God's word might be the better set forth; children brought up in learning; clerks nourished in the universities; old servants decayed to have livings; almshouses for poor folks to be sustained in; readers of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin to have good stipend; daily alms to be ministered; mending of highways; exhibition for ministers of the church: it is thought unto the king's highness most expedient and necessary that more bishoprics and colleges shall be established."

Here is, indeed, a goodly catalogue of noble intentions. Here is a large project of civilisation, to be accomplished by the absorption of one-fifth of the lands of the kingdom into the possessions of the crown! What a noble title of the honest reformer would King Henry have attained by the realisation of these projects! The abbey walls were pulled down; the lead melted; the timber sold; the painted windows destroyed. But the far greater part of these waste-paper projects remained wholly undone till the next reign, and then most grudgingly and imperfectly. "The king's majesty's goodness" remained satisfied that he should have a convenient fund to draw upon for the maintenance of his extravagant household and his absurd wars; for "the upholding of dice-playing, masking, and banqueting," with other recreations that are not suited to delicate ears.

The king grew bolder in a short time, and when he went to parliament to sanction another spoliation, the abolition of the chantries—ancient endowments for almsgiving connected with obits, or praying for souls—he honestly

said, speaking by the voice of the slavish parliament, that the revenues of the same should be devoted to the expenses of the wars against France and Scotland. Schools, alms-gifts, were attached to the smallest as well as the largest religious houses. These were all destroyed when the funds for their support were swept into the king's exchequer. Henry's "goodness" was chiefly confined to the establishment of six new bishoprics, by his letters patent. This was a small performance of a large promise.

THE SIX ARTICLES

The act for dissolution of abbeys is immediately followed in the statute-book by "an act abolishing diversity in opinions." The very title of this statute is sufficient evidence of its vain presumption. The statute then sets forth that the desired unity was to be "charitably established" by the observance, under the most tremendous penalties, of six articles.[1] Foxe *dd* calls this statute "The whip with six strings." It was something more terrible than a whip. It breathed the amplest threats of the stake in Smithfield and the gallows at Tyburn. The first article sets forth the doctrine that "in the most blessed sacrament of the altar, by the strength and efficacy of Christ's mighty word, it being spoken by the priest, is present really, under the form of bread and wine, the natural body and blood of our Saviour," and that "after the consecration there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, nor any other substance but the substance of Christ." This article regarding the real presence thus involves a condemnation of the minuter difference from the orthodox doctrine which the Lutherans called consubstantiation, as distinguished from the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation. The defender of the faith, in his character of supreme head of the church of England, has utterly rejected the papal authority; he has declared against pilgrimages, images, and relics; he has destroyed the monastic institutions; he has even permitted the translation of the scriptures in the vulgar tongue — but not one tittle will he relax from the enforcement of this doctrine. The other five articles are directed against those who preached the necessity of administering the eucharist, in both kinds,



HUGH LATIMER
(1490-1558)

[1 In 1536 there had been drawn up by convocation and published a series of ten articles aiming at unifying belief. Of these Gardiner *w* says that "they showed a distinct advance toward Lutheranism, though there was also to be discerned in them an equally distinct effort to explain rather than reject the creed of the mediæval church."]

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to the laity; who advocated the marriage of priests, or the non-observance of female vows of chastity or widowhood; who maintained that private masses were not lawful or laudable; who asserted that auricular confession was not expedient. The jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts upon such subjects was removed; and commissioners were appointed to examine accused persons, to commit to prison, to try before a jury of twelve men, and to pass sentence.

Those who were convicted under the first article, "shall be deemed and adjudged heretics"; and "every such offender shall therefore have and suffer judgment, execution, pain, and pains of death by way of burning, without any abjuration, clergy, or sanctuary to be therefore permitted." For any violation of the five other articles, by preaching or teaching in any school to the contrary, "every offender, on the same being therefore duly convicted or attainted," shall be adjudged a felon; "and shall therefore suffer pains of death, as in cases of felony." Any man or woman who had advisedly professed chastity or widowhood, and should afterwards marry, was to suffer the same penalty of death. Those who maintained doctrines against the articles where preaching was felony, were to lose lands and goods, and to be imprisoned; and for a second offence to suffer death.

This, then, from the 12th of July, 1539, when the act of the six articles was to take effect, to the end of the reign of Henry, was the England of the Reformation. It would be difficult to understand how such a statute could have passed, if the great body of the people had been inclined to a higher species of reformation than consisted in the destructive principle which assailed the externals of the church.

Cranmer spoke against the bill; but he finally sent away his wife, to evade its penalties, and locked up for a more convenient season the secret of his heart as to the real presence. Latimer, on the 11th of July, resigned his bishopric of Worcester. He was subsequently arrested, on a charge of having spoken against some of the six articles; and he wore out six years of his life in a close imprisonment in the Tower. Shaxton, the bishop of Salisbury, also resigned. But he had to endure something far more terrible than the close cell in which Latimer fortified his heart against all fear of man's power to harm.

Maitland,[e] somewhat startled into another extreme by the exaggerated statements of bloody persecutions under the six articles, has given a list of all the martyrs whom Foxe[dd] mentions as having been put to death during the time that the act was in force—that is, during the last seven years of Henry VIII's reign. These amount to twenty-eight. But, says this writer, speaking of the statute against diversity in opinions, "it was meant to frighten rather than to hurt, to intimidate and quiet the people rather than to destroy and slaughter them by wholesale. In the first place it caused many of the more violent partisans of the Reformation to quit the country; and, secondly, it made those who stayed at home more quiet and peaceable."

He who had stalled his horses in monasteries, even before the dissolution, looked quietly on whilst painted windows were smashed, and consecrated bells were melted; saw noble libraries sold to grocers and soap-boilers; heard the cries of the unfed poor at the desolated abbey-gate, and consigned them to the beadle's whip; turned out ten thousand nuns into the wide world, to find resting-places where they might—forbidden to marry under the pains of felony, with no strict or tender mother-abbess to watch over their ways—he to oppose "a torrent of what he considered infidelity and blasphemy"! The profane songs—the plays and interludes, "tending any way against the

six articles"—the disturbances of congregations during the service of the mass—these things were evils.

But it was a far greater evil to render England a land uninhabitable "by the more violent partisans of the Reformation"; by which "violent partisans" we understand that consistent body of earnest thinkers who have since been honoured with the name of Puritans. These were the men who did not rest satisfied that the king had "destroyed the pope, but not popery." Whether twenty-eight persons were executed under the statute of the six articles, or twenty-eight hundred; whether ten reformers fled from England or ten thousand; whether the great mass of the people rejoiced in this persecuting law—we cannot, at this day, look upon such a law without horror, nor hesitate to entertain the most unmeasured disgust for its royal author and supporter.

Our history tells of other tyrants, crafty and cruel as this Henry, who had slight regard for the life of man, and scrupled not to sacrifice friend and foe to their personal ambition. But this tyrant stands alone in his preposterous claim to unlimited obedience. He would absorb into himself all the inordinate powers of popes and councils, to prescribe what should be truth and what untruth. He would pretend to govern by parliament, according to the ancient laws of the realm, and yet procure his parliament to enact that his proclamations should have the force of statutes. To the very last he looked upon the five millions of the people of England as his property; and the council that by his will were to govern during his son's minority were called his executors, "to keep up," says Mackintosh,[m] "the language of the doctrine of ownership."

EXECUTION OF THE COUNTESS OF SALISBURY

The general proceedings of the English government—not halting between two opinions, but punishing and threatening whoever differed from the fluctuating and inconsistent dogmas of the supreme head of the English church—outraged the earnest partisans of "the new learning," and propitiated none of the vast body that cleaved to the old religion. The papal bull against Henry had been published, after a long delay; and the cardinal Pole, nearly allied in blood to Henry, had conducted negotiations to induce the emperor and the king of France to unite in hostilities against England. Neither of these powerful monarchs dared singly to brave the resentment of Henry; and they were too jealous of each other to join in any measures, such as those suggested for the conquest of England, or for removing its contumacious sovereign. But enough was done to provoke the revenge of Henry upon those who were within his reach.

Reginald Pole was the grandson of George, duke of Clarence; and although educated by Henry, he published a book reflecting with bitterness upon the subject of the divorce of Catherine.[1] The Tudor king and the descendant of the house of York thus became mortal enemies. Lord Montague the elder brother of Reginald, with other relatives and friends of their family, were arrested in 1538, on a charge of treason. It is asserted that Geoffrey Pole, who was arrested at the same time, was a witness against his brother. Montague and Exeter were convicted by their peers, and executed, with Sir Edward Nevil and other commoners, accused of treasonable and seditious

[1 Henry had insisted on his writing his opinion, which he did with reluctant frankness. The charge that he tried to stir up war against England is, according to Lingard,[d] "satisfactorily refuted by his official and confidential correspondence." Indeed, he implored the pope to withhold the bull of excommunication.]

[1539 A.D]

offences. The life of Geoffrey Pole was spared, for the remorse of a life-long imprisonment.

The aged mother of the Poles, the countess of Salisbury, was arrested at her house at Warblington, near Havant, by the earl of Southampton and the bishop of Ely. They wrote to Cromwell, "We assure your lordship we have dealed with such a one as men have not dealed withal before us. We may call her rather a strong and constant man than a woman. For in all behaviour howsoever we have used her, she hath showed herself so earnest, vehement, and precise, that more could not be." She maintained her innocence with such consistency, and the materials for an arraignment were so utterly wanting, that Cromwell resorted to an expedient which has brought as much disgrace upon his memory as any of his acts of spoliation. He put a question to the judges whether parliament might condemn a person accused of treason without a hearing—without trial or confession. A nice and dangerous question, said the obsequious ministers of justice; but parliament is supreme, and an attainder in parliament is good in law. The bill of attainder was passed against the countess of Salisbury; her grandson, the eldest son of lord Montague; and the marchioness of Exeter. The marchioness obtained a pardon. The grandson's fate is unknown. Let us finish this hateful story.

After more than two years' imprisonment, on the 27th of May, 1541, Margaret Plantagenet—the last in the direct line of that illustrious race—was brought out to suffer death on Tower Hill. If anything could add to the terror of this murder, the scene at the execution would have made a people too much familiarised to exhibitions of blood start and wonder how England endured such atrocities. The unyielding countess refused to lay her head upon the block. It was for traitors so to die, and she was not guilty of any treason. She struggled against the force which held her down; and her gray hairs were covered with gore before the head parted from the body. Ten months before this terrible event took place, the chief instrument in the attainder of the countess of Salisbury had fallen by the same mockery of justice—and few pitied him.

THE KING MARRIES ANNE OF CLEVES (1539 A.D.)

It has been considered as a proof of King Henry's undissembled grief at the loss of Jane Seymour, that he continued two years a widower. We have seen that on the very day of her death his ambassadors were instructed to look out for a new consort. The real motive or the pretence was anxiety for the succession, which Mackintosh[m] has called "the ruling frenzy of Henry's mind." Hutton had disparaged the personal charms of Anne, the daughter of the duke of Cleves, upon the first intimation of the king's desire again to wed. But Cromwell—who felt the importance of a Protestant connection at a period when the Romanists were using every effort to regain their ascendancy—was not to be diverted from his determination to marry his master to this daughter of one of the princes of the German confederacy, by vague statements that there was no great praise of her person. In March, 1539, Cromwell wrote to the king: "Every man praiseth the beauty of the same lady, as well for the face as for the whole body, above all other ladies excellent. One amongst other purposes, said unto them of late, that she excelleth as far the duchess as the golden sun excelleth the silvery moon."

The "silvery moon" was the duchess of Milan, who is reported to have met Henry's advances by saying that she had but one head; if she had pos-

sessed two, one should have been at his majesty's service. In this affair the politic Cromwell was too eager. Nicholas Wotton and Richard Berde were sent to negotiate the marriage with Anne of Cleves. She was not bound, they wrote, by any covenants between the old duke of Cleves and the duke of Lorraine; she was at liberty to marry wherever she would. She had been very straitly brought up, they said, by the lady duchess, her mother. She occupied her time mostly with the needle. She knew not French nor Latin, neither could she sing nor play upon any instrument.

On the 12th of December, the lady Anne was at Calais, about to embark for England. She came from Düsseldorf, with a train of two hundred and sixty-three persons; and was received with the greatest state by Fitzwilliam, then the earl of Southampton, and four hundred noblemen and gentlemen, in coats of satin damask and velvet. Henry was perhaps not in the best humour when he first met her, and was "marvellously astonished and abashed." The king embraced her, but scarcely spoke twenty words, and did not offer the present he had prepared for her.[1]

In the last month of his life Cromwell was commanded by his master, on the peril of his soul, to write truly what he knew concerning the marriage with the princess of Cleves. What is fit to be repeated of this document is of curious interest. Anne was to be at Rochester on New Year's eve; and Henry declared to Cromwell that he would visit her privily, "to nourish love." After Anne's public entry at Greenwich, the king called a council; and the agents of the duke of Cleves were questioned about covenants, and touching a pre-contract of marriage with the duke of Lorraine's son and the princess. The deputies offered to remain prisoners till ample satisfaction was given upon both points. But when Cromwell informed the king of all the circumstances, "your grace," he says, "was very much displeased, saying, 'I am not well handled'—adding, 'If it were not that she is come so far into my realm, and the great preparations that my states and people have made for her; and for fear of making a ruffle in the world—that is to mean, to drive her brother into the hands of the emperor and the French king's hands—being now together, I would never have married her.' " Anne was called upon to make a protestation that there was no pre-contract; which she readily made; and which Cromwell reported to Henry: "Whereunto your grace answered in effect these words, or much like, 'Is there none other remedy, but that I must needs, against my will, put my neck in the yoke?' " There was no instant remedy; and the marriage ceremony was gone through. In this temper Henry sulked and lamented: he "should surely never have any more children for the comfort of this realm" if this marriage should continue. A second experiment of the Calais executioner's sword might have been dangerous with a foreign princess.

There was a "remedy" of a less serious nature. Anne of Cleves made no resistance to a separation, with an adequate provision. She was a woman of judgment, and no doubt heartily despised the fastidious sensualist. A convocation was called, exactly six months after the marriage, which was empowered to determine its validity. On the 10th of July, 1540, the marriage was declared invalid; the chief pretence being a doubtful pre-contract; and the unblushing argument, "that the king having married her against his

[1] Modern history has its parallel scene. When George, prince of Wales, first met Caroline of Brunswick, Lord Malmesbury *ee* says, "he embraced her, said barely one word, turned round, retired to a distant part of the apartment, and calling me to him said, 'Harris, I am not well; pray get me a glass of brandy.' " [Henry is reported to have called Anne of Cleves "a great Flanders mare."]

[1540 A.D.]

will, he had not given a pure inward and complete consent."[1] Cromwell had gone to the block; "Cranmer, whether overcome with these arguments, or rather with fear, for he knew it was contrived to send him quickly after Cromwell, consented with the rest."

THE END OF CROMWELL (1540 A.D.)

On the 17th of April, 1540, the fortune of Cromwell seemed at its culminating point, for he was created earl of Essex. On the 12th of April a parliament had been assembled, which Cromwell had addressed as the king's vicegerent. He carried a bill for a great subsidy to be raised upon the laity and the clergy. The promises that the necessities of the state should be provided for out of the spoil of the church, were violated without the slightest apology. The odium of this taxation was solely laid upon Cromwell. The exorbitant demand, says Lord Herbert,*ff* "gained him an universal hatred amongst the people, and was one reason of his sudden fall after it." The minister's work was done. He had carried through a great revolution with comparative success. He had impartially racked, beheaded, and gibbeted papist and heretic. His loose papers of "Remembrances" show that he kept as careful memoranda of business to be done as the most careful scrivener. Take a few specimens—

"Item, to remember all the jewels of all the monasteries in England, and specially for the cross at Paul's, of emeralds.

"Item, the Abbot of Reading to be sent down to be tried and executed at Reading with his complices.

"Item, the Abbot of Glaston to be tried at Glaston, and also to be executed there, with his complices."

"Item, to see that the evidence be well sorted, and the evidence well drawn, against the said abbots and their complices.

"Item, to remember specially the Lady of Sar (Salisbury).

"Item, what the king will have done with the Lady of Sarum.

"Item, to send Gendon to the Tower to be racked.

"Item, to appoint preachers to go throughout this realm to preach the gospel and true word of God."

The sky began to grow dark for Cromwell at the very instant when parliament was to be prorogued, after the subsidy had been carried. On the 10th of June he was arrested by the duke of Norfolk while at the council table. The divorce of Anne of Cleves had not yet been mooted. Had Cromwell imprudently pressed upon Henry to cleave to a Protestant queen? Had Norfolk as resolutely urged upon his master, who now hated heretics more than papists, to consider the charms of his niece, Catherine Howard, who would support him in resisting the "rashness and licentiousness" that had come upon the land? There is no solution of these questions[2] beyond the fact that Cromwell was attainted for treason and heresy, by act of parliament, on the 29th of June. He was charged to have been "the most corrupt traitor

[1] They cohabited for some months; but Anne had none of those arts or qualifications which might have subdued the antipathy of her husband. He spoke only English or French; she knew no other language than German. He was passionately fond of music; she could neither play nor sing. He wished his consort to excel in the different amusements of his court; she possessed no other acquirements than to read, and write, and sew with her needle. His aversion increased; he found fault with her person, and persuaded himself that she was of a perverse and sullen disposition.—LINGARD.

[2] It is believed by Aubrey *g g* and Gardiner *w* that his unpopularity with the nobility was the true reason of his fall.]

and deceiver of the king and the crown that had ever been known in his whole reign." It was alleged that "he, being also a heretic, had dispersed many erroneous books among the king's subjects, particularly some that were contrary to the belief of the sacrament"; and that when some complained to him of the new preachers—such as Barnes and others—he said that their preaching was good; and "that if the king would turn from it, yet he would not turn. And if the king did turn, and all his people with him, he would fight in the field in his own person, with his sword in his hand against him, and all others."



COSTUME OF THE TIME OF ANNE OF CLEVES

Whatever crimes may be laid to the charge of Cromwell, no one can believe that he was the foolish braggart which these words imply. That he was an oppressor; that he received bribes; that he had made a great estate for himself by extortion, were, no doubt, true. Some of the public plunder stuck to his fingers. He made as free with the lands and moneys of the king's subjects as he did with the wooden house in Throgmorton street, belonging to old Stow's father, which house he wanted out of the way when he built his own mansion; and so moved it upon rollers twenty-two feet, and seized the land upon which it stood. The principle of attainder, without hearing or confession, was not law. He perished by attainder, having in vain written to his remorseless master—who, however, sent him a little money while in prison—"Most gracious prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy." The cry moved the heart of Henry for a moment; he dropped one tear. But the servant of twelve years was executed on the 28th of July.

HENRY DIVORCES HIS FOURTH AND MARRIES HIS FIFTH WIFE

The divorce of Anne of Cleves had been completed four days before; and on the day when Cromwell was beheaded, King Henry married his fifth wife, Catherine Howard. The public executioners had ample work in the dog-days of 1540. The record of Cromwell's fate by the chronicler of the Grey Friars is followed by this entry: "And the 30th of the same month was Dr. Barnes, Jerome, and Garrard drawn from the Tower into Smithfield, and there burned for their heresies." The heretics were clergymen. The record then continues: "And that same day also was drawn from the Tower, with them,

[1540–1541 A.D.]

Doctor Powell, with two other priests; and there was a gallows set up at Saint Bartholomew's gate, and there were hanged, headed, and quartered." The traitors were condemned for affirming the legality of the marriage with Catherine of Aragon, one of them named Abel having been her chaplain. It may be doubted whether the people exactly comprehended the nice distinctions of these punishments. These sufferers of the 30th of July—three reformers, the steadfast opponents of the pope; and three devoted adherents to the supremacy of the pope—rode out of the Tower in sorrowful companionship, one of each being placed upon the same hurdle, by express desire of the king, that his impartiality might be duly exhibited. Arrived in Smithfield, they each went their several way, three to the gibbet, and three to the stake.

It was a merry time at court, whatever tears might fall in Smithfield. Queen Catherine Howard appeared in public on the 8th of August—a beautiful girl, the very opposite of "the Flanders mare," whom Henry had rejected. Catherine, the "parvissima puella," as she was called, had fifteen months of what, in the language of romance, is termed uninterrupted felicity. When the little queen was travelling with her somewhat unwieldy lord in the north, in 1541, he then solemnly offered thanksgiving for the happiness he found in her society. On their return to London, Cranmer had a private audience of the king; and he exhibited a paper, which purported to be the examination of a servant of the duchess of Norfolk, setting forth the profligacy of the queen before her marriage, and alleging that her paramour formed one of her regal establishment.[9]

The events to which Catherine owed her elevation had rendered the reformers her enemies, and a discovery, which they made during her absence with the king in his progress as far as York, enabled them to recover their former ascendancy, and deprived the young queen of her influence and her life. A female, who had been one of her companions under her grandmother's roof, but was now married in Essex, had stated to Lascelles, her brother, that, to her knowledge, Catherine had admitted to her bed, "on an hundred nights," a gentleman of the name of Derham, at that time page to the duchess. Lascelles—at whose instigation, or through what motive is unknown—carried this most extraordinary tale to Archbishop Cranmer. Cranmer consulted his friends, the chancellor and the lord Hertford; and all three determined to secure the person of Lascelles, and to keep the matter secret till the return of the royal party. Henry and Catherine reached Hampton Court against the feast of All Saints; on that day, November 1st, "the king received his maker, and gave him most hearty thanks for the good life he led and trusted to lead with his wife;" on the next, whilst he was at mass, the archbishop delivered into his hands a paper containing the information obtained in his absence. He read it with feelings of pain and distrust; an inquiry into its truth or falsehood was immediately ordered; first Lascelles was examined; then his sister in the country; next Derham himself; and afterwards several other persons.

All this while Catherine was kept in ignorance of the danger which threatened her; but on November 10th the king left the court, and the council, waiting on her in a body, informed her of the charge which had been made against her. She denied it in their presence with loud protestations of innocence; but on their departure fell into fits, and appeared frantic through grief and terror. To soothe her mind, the archbishop brought her an assurance of mercy from Henry; and, repeating his visit in the evening, when she was more tranquil, artfully drew from her a promise to reply to his questions "faithfully and truly, as she would answer at the day of judgment, and by the promise which she

made at her baptism, and by the sacrament which she received on All-hallows day last past." Under this solemn adjuration she admitted that, notwithstanding the precautions taken by the duchess, Derham had been in the habit of coming at night or early in the morning to the apartment allotted to the females; that he brought with him wine and fruit for their entertainment; and he often behaved with great freedom and rudeness, and that on three occasions he had offered some violence to her person. This was the result of two examinations, in which Cranmer laboured to procure evidence of a pre-contract between Catherine and Derham. Had he succeeded, she might have saved her life by submitting to a divorce; but the unfortunate queen deprived herself of this benefit by constantly maintaining that no promise had been made, and that "al that Derame dyd unto her, was of his importune forcement and in a maner violence, rather than of her fre consent and wil."[1]

IMPRISONMENT AND EXECUTION OF CATHERINE HOWARD (1540–1541 A.D.)

The following day the judges and counsellors assembled in the Star Chamber, where the chancellor announced to them the presumed guilt of the queen, read in support of the charge select passages from the evidence already procured, and intimated, in addition, that more important disclosures were daily expected. He suppressed all the passages which might be construed in favour of pre-contract, and that because "they might serve for her defence." It was now the king's intention to proceed against her for adultery, which was incompatible with a pre-contract. At Hampton Court the same course was followed in the presence of all persons of "gentle birth," male and female, who had been retained in her service. Catherine herself was removed to Sion House, November 13th, where two apartments were reserved exclusively for her accommodation, and orders were given that she should be treated with the respect due to her rank. In anticipation of her attainder, the king had already taken possession of all her personal property; but he was graciously pleased to allow her six changes of apparel, and six French hoods with edgings of goldsmiths' work, but without pearl or diamond.

If there was no pre-contract between Catherine and Derham, nothing but her death could dissolve the marriage between her and the king. Hence it became necessary to prove her guilty of some capital offence; and with this view a rigorous inquiry was set on foot respecting her whole conduct since she became queen. It was now discovered that not only had she admitted Derham to her presence, but had employed him to perform for her the office of secretary; and that at Lincoln, during the progress, she had allowed Culpepper, a maternal relation and gentleman of the privy chamber, to remain in company with her and Lady Rochford from eleven at night till two in the morning. The judges were consulted, who replied, that considering the persons implicated, these facts, if proved, formed a satisfactory presumption that adultery had been committed. On this and no better proof, the two unfortunate gentlemen were tried, and found guilty of high treason, November 30th. Their lives were spared for ten days, with the hope of extorting from them additional information respecting the guilt of the queen. But they

[1 There is no inherent improbability in her statement. We shall later find Elizabeth proved by witnesses to have endured similar treatment from Lord Seymour often in the presence of his wife. Unless we are to credit the rumour that Elizabeth was with child by Lord Seymour when she was eighteen years old, we might also grant this poor woman some credence.]

gave none, probably had none to give. On December 10th Derham was hanged and quartered; Culpepper, out of regard to his family, was beheaded.

It has been sometimes said that both confessed the adultery. But of that there is no proof; and it cannot be doubted that, if it were so, their confession would have been distinctly stated in the bill of attainder, as the best evidence of their crime.

But these were not the only victims. The king's resentment was extended to all those individuals who had been, or might have been, privy to the intimacy between Catherine and Derham in the house of the duchess. On this charge the duchess herself, with her daughter the countess of Bridgewater, the lord William Howard and his wife, and nine other persons of inferior rank, in the service of the duchess, were committed to the Tower; where the royal commissioners laboured by frequent and separate examinations, by menaces and persuasion, and, in one instance at least, by the application of torture, to draw from them the admission that they had been privy to Catherine's incontinence themselves, and the charge of such privity in their companions. All were condemned to forfeiture and perpetual imprisonment.

For some time we have lost sight of Catherine; at the beginning of the year, January 1st, 1541, we meet with her again at Sion House, with a parliament sitting, and a sweeping bill of attainder before it, including both the queen and all her companions in misfortune. The duke of Suffolk with some others reported that they had waited on the queen, who "acknowledged her offence against God, the king, and the nation," expressed a hope that her faults might not be visited on her brothers and family, and begged as a last favour that she might divide a part of her clothes among her maids. The act attainted of treason the queen, Derham and Culpepper as her paramours, and Lady Rochford[1] as aider and abettor; and of misprision of treason both all those who had been convicted of concealment in court, and also the duchess of Norfolk and the countess of Bridgewater, though no legal proceedings whatsoever had been taken against them.

The tragedy was now drawing to a close. Catherine had already been sent to the Tower; two days after the passing of the act, and fifteen months after her marriage, she was led to execution, together with her companion, the lady Rochford. They appeared on the scaffold calm and resigned, bidding the spectators take notice that they suffered justly for "their offences against God from their youth upward, and also against the king's royal majesty very dangerously." The meekness and piety of their demeanour seem to have deeply interested the only person present who has transmitted to us any account of their last moments. "Theyer sowles," he writes, "I doubt not, be with God; for they made the moost godly and Christyan's end that ever was hard tell of, I thinke, since the world's creation."[2]

[1 This is the very Lady Rochford whose testimony against her husband had led to his execution for adultery with his own sister, Anne Boleyn.]

[2 Otwell Johnson's letter to his brother, in Ellis.[h h] In this confession on the scaffold the queen evades a second time all mention of the alleged adultery. She employs the very same ambiguous and unsatisfactory language which Suffolk had employed in the house of lords. Could this be accidental? or was not that particular form enjoined by authority that she might not seem to impeach "the king's justice"? On a review of the original letters in the state papers, of the act of attainder, and of the proceedings in parliament, Lingard[d] sees no sufficient reason to think her guilty; and, if she was innocent, so also must have been the lady Rochford. Like her predecessor, Anne Boleyn, she fell a victim to the jealousy or resentment of a despotic husband; but in one respect she has been more fortunate. The preservation of documents respecting her fate enables us to estimate the value of the proofs brought against her; our ignorance of those brought against Anne renders the question of her guilt or innocence more problematical.]

To attaint without trial had of late become customary; but to prosecute and punish for that which had not been made a criminal offence by any law was hitherto unprecedented. To give, therefore, some countenance to these severities, it was enacted in the very bill of attainder that every woman about to be married to the king or any of his successors, not being a maid, should disclose her disgrace to him under the penalty of treason; that all other persons knowing the fact and not disclosing it, should be subject to the lesser penalty of misprision of treason; and that the queen, or wife of the prince, who should move another person to commit adultery with her, or the person who should move her to commit adultery with him, should suffer as a traitor.[d]

"To make the concealment of vices a capital offence," says Mackintosh,[m] "was worthy of such a reign." Lord Herbert[ii] says that there were no more youthful candidates for the honour of Henry's hand after this enactment. There was no Scheherazade again to be found ready to trust the safety of her head to her power of amusing king Schariar.

Henry wisely rejected the chance of a fatal termination of another union, under this new law of treason, by obtaining the hand of a discreet widow, who had been twice before married. The maiden name of this lady was Catherine Parr. She became the queen of Henry in July, 1543. Before we enter upon her personal history, as connected with the two great religious parties into which England was now divided, we purpose to take a rapid view of the foreign relations of the kingdom to the end of Henry's reign, involving as they did a war with Scotland and with France.

WAR WITH SCOTLAND AND FRANCE (1541–1546 A.D.)

The minority of James V of Scotland was a disastrous period for his country. The regency was a constant object of contention between the factious nobles. A new element of discord was introduced by the progress of the new opinions in religion. The fatal day of Flodden had cut off the most influential of the nobles; and those who remained were inferior in wealth, and therefore in authority, to a body which possessed half the land of the kingdom. The spiritual and temporal dominion appeared consolidated when David Beaton was appointed lord privy seal. Patrick Hamilton, the first Scottish reformer, was burned by this persecuting prelate at St. Andrews, in 1528.

Beaton, now a cardinal, had been to Rome in 1541, on a secret embassy. Henry determined to try the effect of a personal interview with his nephew, James; and it was agreed that they should meet at York in the autumn. Thither the king of England went, accompanied by Catherine Howard. But the king of Scotland was induced by the wily cardinal not to hold to the appointment. Henry was furious, and determined upon war. He resolved upon renewing the old claim of the English kings to the crown of Scotland. The duke of Norfolk entered Scotland with a large army in 1542; after the English warden of the east marches had sustained a defeat in Teviotdale. Having accomplished the usual destruction, Norfolk retreated to Berwick, for James was assembling an army in his front. The feudal chiefs gathered round the royal standard on the Boroughmuir, as they had gathered under the standard of James IV. Onward they marched for the invasion of England. There was division amongst the host. The rebellious Douglases were on the side of England. Many of the nobles were favourable to the principles of the Reformation, which their king opposed. The catastrophe came, without any real contest between the two armies. James was deserted by his nobles. In

grief and indignation he returned to Edinburgh. An army of ten thousand men was, however, got together, under lord Maxwell. The clans mutinied. A body of English horse came up, who were believed to be the vanguard of a great army; and in a panic the Scots fled, with the loss of a large number of prisoners—some willing prisoners, as it has been asserted. The king gave himself up to despair. He immured himself in his palace of Falkland; would speak to no one; sickened; and sank under a slow fever, heart-broken, on the 14th of December. A week before, his queen had borne him a daughter—that Mary, whose long struggles with adversity form a striking contrast to the hopelessness of her father.

The lords who were taken at Solway Moss were first harshly treated by Henry, and then propitiated by indulgences. His first object was to negotiate a marriage between his son, Edward, and the daughter of James V, and thus to effect a natural union between the two countries. His second design was to demand the government of Scotland, as the guardian of the infant queen. The imprisoned nobles concluded a treaty with him, that they would deliver up Mary, and acknowledge him as their sovereign lord. They were released, and returned to Scotland to carry out their plan. But the earl of Arran was presumptive heir to the throne; and he possessed sufficient power to obtain the regency. In December, 1543, Beaton became chancellor, and in the following January was constituted the pope's legate *a latere* in Scotland. He was now supreme in church and state; the friendship and alliance of the excommunicated king of England was renounced; and a treaty with England, which gave Henry some of his demands, was set aside. There was patriotism as well as intolerance in the policy of the papist faction.

Scotland was again invaded in May, 1544. The earl of Hertford arrived in the Firth with a powerful fleet, carrying a force of ten thousand men. He demanded that the infant queen should be immediately surrendered. The regent refused; and Hertford, with an additional force from Berwick, marched upon Edinburgh. One of the gates was battered down, and the city was entered and given up to conflagration and plunder. Hertford, after burning Leith, retired to Berwick. For two years the war was continued with the usual terrible inflictions upon the peaceful cultivators of the soil. The letters of Hertford, in 1545, present a fearful picture of the ravages of his troops in border towns and fertile districts, which poetry and romance have made famous through every land.

Whilst the earl of Hertford was carrying forward this ignoble work in Scotland, King Henry and his council were busy in negotiations far more disgraceful than the most barbarous open warfare. Beaton was murdered in 1546; and if the king of England was not an accessory, it was not for the want of inclination. The guilt of the king of England and his government in giving encouragement to the proposal to assassinate Cardinal Beaton is a sufficient proof of the low morality of that age.

To complete our rapid view of the foreign affairs of the kingdom we pass from Scotland to France.[1] In 1544 Henry went to his parliament with a long tale of his griefs. Out of his inestimable goodness, and like a most charitable, loving, and virtuous prince, he had for a long time loved and favoured Francis, the French king. He had freed his children from thraldom; he had relieved his poverty by loans of money. But now the ungrateful Francis had with-

[1 In 1541 a parliament at Dublin had acknowledged Henry as "King of Ireland," in place of his previous title of "lord," which had been granted to Henry II by Pope Adrian IV. Henry was, however, unable to maintain peace in Ireland, the revenue of which was only £5,000 a year.]

drawn the pension which he had been accustomed to pay; he had confederated with the Great Turk, common enemy of all Christendom; and he had stirred the Scots to resist his majesty, contrary to their duty and allegiance. The king, therefore, declares his intention to go to war with France as well as with Scotland—"to put his own royal person, with the power of his realm and subjects, in armour." But inestimable sums will be required for the maintenance of these wars. The faithful parliament, by this statute, again sanction the same species of robbery that the parliament of 1529 sanctioned; and for the alleviation of such charges, declare all loans made to the king in the two previous years of his reign to be entirely remitted and released, and all securities for the same to be utterly void.

Thus, with the proceeds of this swindle in his pocket, King Henry goes to the wars. He had previously propitiated the emperor Charles V by a compromise as to the succession to the crown, which recognised some claims in the person of the princess Mary, the emperor's niece.

This was the third act for regulating the succession to the throne, which all persons were to accept and swear to, under the penalties of treason. The princess Mary had been declared illegitimate under the act of 1534. The princess Elizabeth had been declared illegitimate under the act of 1536. By this act of 1544 they were restored to their place in the succession, in default of issue of the king and Prince Edward, but without any declaration of their legitimacy, which would have been to declare the divorces of their mothers unlawful.

The emperor and the king of England were now joined in a treaty for the invasion and partition of France. Charles was to claim Burgundy; Henry the ancient possessions of the Plantagenets, unless Francis would agree to certain conditions. The chivalrous French king spurned their pretensions; and so, in July, 1544, Henry put on his armour, and with thirty thousand men crossed the channel. The emperor was to enter France by Champagne, and the king by Picardy; and their united armies were to march to Paris. But no plan of mutual operations could detach the vainglorious Henry from the pomp and circumstance of some gorgeous personal exhibition. He crossed the seas in a ship whose sails were of cloth of gold. He advanced at the head of the English and Imperial forces, to assist in the siege of Boulogne, which the duke of Suffolk was investing. "Armed at all points upon a great courser"—as he is now exhibited in the armoury at the Tower—he paraded his huge body before the besiegers, for two months. In vain the envoys of the emperor urged him to move forward, according to their compact. The emperor, said Henry, had taken some frontier forts, and he, the king, would have Boulogne. At length the great day of triumph arrived, for which he had broken faith with his ally. On the 18th of September he made his triumphant entry into Boulogne,[1] which pageant Hall describes with a corresponding magniloquence.

But whilst the "noble and valiant conqueror" was listening to the trumpeters on the walls, Francis and Charles, with great wisdom, had concluded a separate peace. Henry had constituted Queen Catherine regent during his absence; and her letters to him show that she attended to his affairs with diligence, by sending fresh supplies of money and men. He returned to England on the last day of September.

[1 During this siege Cranmer asked the people to pray for Henry's success and composed the prayers in English. At the same time he composed for the priests an English litany which was issued with a primer of private prayer. The litany was the foundation of the late Book of Common Prayer.]

But if Henry was slow in his projected march to Paris, Francis was the more ready to contemplate a march to London. Such a scheme was not utterly hopeless; for the English government was sorely straitened for money, and the means of defence were of the weakest kind.

But the true defence of England was not wanting in this season of peril. According to a return of this date, there was a fleet in the channel of a hundred and four vessels, carrying more than twelve thousand men. But of these hundred and four vessels, only twenty-eight were above two hundred tons. The fleet was in three divisions, the Vanward, the Battle, and the Wing. The watchword and countersign point to the traditionary origin of the national song: "The watchword in the night shall be thus, 'God save King Harry'; the other shall answer, 'And long to reign over us.'" There was an indecisive action off Portsmouth in July, 1545; and a serious misfortune in the accidental sinking of a large ship, with four hundred men, in the harbour of Portsmouth. The Mary Rose went down like the Royal George. The king was on shore, and saw his noble ship laid on her side and overset. The danger of invasion was soon overpast. The French sent assistance to the Scots, devastated the neighbourhood of Calais, and made the most strenuous efforts to retake Boulogne. At length a peace was concluded in June, 1546; one of the articles of which was that Boulogne should be restored to France, at the expiration of eight years, upon the payment of two millions of crowns, and another that Scotland should be included in the pacification. The remainder of Henry's reign was not disturbed by foreign warfare.

FURTHER PERSECUTIONS

In 1543 an act was passed which limited the reading of the Bible and the New Testament in the English tongue to noblemen and gentlemen; and forbade the reading of the same to "the lower sort"—to artificers, prentices, journeymen, servingmen, husbandmen, and labourers, and to women, under pain of imprisonment.[g]

In the year 1543 a new exposition of faith and morals was put forth, under the title of "A Necessary Doctrine and Erudicion for any Christian Man," but it was commonly called "The King's Book." Like the "Institution" on which it was founded, it was of a motley character, with too much of popery to content the reformers, with too much of scriptural truth to please the Romanists. In the next parliament (1544) Cranmer succeeded in obtaining a mitigation of the provisions of the "Act of Six Articles."

CRANMER'S NARROW ESCAPE

The cause of the reformers lost in 1545 two of its most powerful supporters in the persons of the duke of Suffolk, the king's brother-in-law, and the lord chancellor Audley, who both died in this year; and Audley's successor, Wriothesley (now ennobled), sided strongly with the opposite party. It was not long till an attempt was made to ruin Cranmer. The king was informed "that the primate, with his learned men, had so infected the whole realm with unsavoury doctrine as to fill all places with abominable heretics," and that the throne was in danger. Henry asked how it were best to proceed, and he was advised to commit him at once to the Tower. He objected to this as a harsh measure; he was assured that the primate was so unpopular

that charges in abundance would be brought against him when he was in confinement. He at length consented that the prelate should be summoned next day before the council, and be committed if they deemed it advisable.

Before midnight the king sent Sir Anthony Denny to Lambeth to summon the primate to his presence. Cranmer, who was in bed, rose, and came to Whitehall. Henry told him what he had done. Cranmer declared himself indifferent about the committal, as he could easily clear himself. "O Lord God!" cried the king, "what fond simplicity have you so to permit yourself to be imprisoned that every enemy of yours may take advantage against you! Do you not know that when they have you once in prison, three or four false knaves will soon be procured to witness against you and condemn you?" He then went on to tell him that he had taken better measures for his safety; he desired him to claim his right as a privy councillor of being confronted with his accusers, and, if that was refused, to produce the ring which he then gave him, and appeal to the king.[u]

It was not the practice in state-trials to bring the "false knaves" face to face with the prisoner. No one could have a more complete knowledge than Henry had of the mode in which convictions were procured during his reign. It was held "too dangerous to the prince" to produce witnesses who might be questioned by the accused. The evidence consisted almost entirely of written depositions and examinations, taken before the privy council or before commissioners. Interrogatories were previously prepared by the crown lawyers. These were submitted to the witnesses individually. If they were conformable in their answers, it was well. If they were not so, the rack was introduced. The fear of torture was present to the mind of every witness. When the depositions had been shaped after the most approved fashion, the prisoner was subjected to the like tender interrogatories. The trial, so called, having come on, the counsel for the crown carefully noted what in the depositions was to be read and what omitted; and the officer of the court as carefully obeyed his directions. What chance a prisoner had of an acquittal may be readily conceived. When King Henry interfered with the insane resolution of the archbishop to seek a trial, he truly said, "You will run headlong to your undoing if I would suffer you."[g]

Cranmer returned home, and the next morning at eight o'clock he was summoned to appear before the council. When he came he was obliged to remain sitting in the anteroom among the servants. At length he was brought before the board and informed of the charges against him. His demand to be confronted with his accusers was at once refused. "I am sorry, my lords," said he, "that you drive me to such a step, but seeing myself likely to obtain no fair usage from you, I must appeal to his majesty." He produced the ring; they gazed on it and each other for some time in silence. They then took the ring and papers to the king, who rated them well for their treatment of the primate. The duke of Norfolk replied that their only object had been to give the primate an opportunity of refuting the charges against him. At the royal command they all then shook hands with the placable primate and a few days after were entertained by him at Lambeth.

Shortly after, at Cranmer's desire, the king suppressed some popular superstitions, such as ringing bells and keeping watch the whole night before All-hallows day; veiling the cross and the images in churches all through Lent, and unveiling them on Palm Sunday, and kneeling before the cross on that day. But the king himself went still further, and he forbade the practice of creeping to the cross and adoring it.

THE KING'S LAST TYRANNIES

The king's last parliament met on the 23rd of November: its chief business was to relieve his pecuniary difficulties. It granted large subsidies, and suppressed all the hospitals and other charitable foundations, transferring their revenues to the king. It even went so far as to empower him to seize those of the universities, he making a solemn promise "that all shall be done to the glory of God and common profit to the realm." It further legalised all the transfers of property which the church dignitaries had been forced to make to the crown. The king then dissolved the parliament (December 24th, 1545). He made on this occasion a speech, which he concluded by complaining of the religious dissensions which prevailed. Of the clergy he said, "Some were so stiff in their old *mumpsimus*, and others so busy with their new *sumpsimus*,"[1] that they did nothing but rail at each other; while the laity censured the conduct of the clergy and debated Scripture in ale-houses and taverns. He exhorted both parties to give over calling one another ill names, and to live in peace and charity.

The next year (1546) showed how well the king's advice was attended to, for the flames of Smithfield blazed once more. The principal victim was a lady named Anne Askew, daughter of a knight of Lincolnshire. She had been married to a gentleman named Kyme, to whom she bore two children; but having adopted scriptural sentiments, her husband, a furious papist, turned her out of doors. She resumed her maiden name, and came to London, in hopes of obtaining a divorce. Here she transgressed the six articles, and she was also suspected of conveying religious books to the queen and some ladies at court. She was taken before Bonner, bishop of London; a recantation was proffered to her to sign, and she wrote that she believed "all manner of things contained in the faith of the catholic church"; and, though this was ambiguous, Bonner was obliged to let her go on bail. This year she was again arrested; she was examined before the council by Gardiner and Wriothesley; they could not move or refute her; she was sent to Newgate, tried before a jury for heresy, and sentenced to die. It was hoped by means of the rack to get her to implicate some persons of rank. She was taken to the Tower, and placed on that horrid instrument. She bore the torture with the utmost firmness, not uttering even a cry. The lieutenant refusing to allow his man to torment her any further, Wriothesley and Rich threw off their gowns and worked the instrument themselves.[2] When taken off she fainted, but on her recovering she maintained a conversation with them for two hours, sitting on the bare ground. She was carried in a chair to the stake (July 16th). With her were John Lascelles, a gentleman of the royal household, Nicholas Belenian, a Shropshire clergyman, and John Adams, a poor tailor—all, like Anne Askew, deniers of transubstantiation. Wriothesley sent to offer them a pardon if they would recant. "I came not hither," said Anne, "to deny my Lord and Master." The others were equally firm, and all were burned.

It was commonly said at this time of the bishop of Winchester that "he had bent his bow in order to shoot some of the head deer." He had covertly

[1] The origin of this phrase is as follows: A priest had long read in his breviary *mumpsimus* for *sumpsimus*; his error was at length pointed out to him, but he angrily declared he would not change his old *mumpsimus* for their new *sumpsimus*.

[2] The fact of her being racked is denied by Burnet[l] and Lingard,[d] though asserted by Foxe.[d d]

shot at Cranmer; he now openly aimed at the queen. Henry, who was grown peevish and irritable from disease, was annoyed at her urging him on the subject of religion; and one day as she left the room he fretfully noticed it to Gardiner, who was present. The artful prelate saw his opportunity, and he succeeded in prevailing on the king to let articles of accusation be drawn up against her. When prepared they received the royal approbation; but, luckily for the queen, the paper was dropped (probably by design) by the person who was carrying it, and was picked up by one of her friends. Her alarm at her danger brought on an attack of illness; the king came to visit her; she expressed her regret at seeing so little of him, and her fear of having given him offence. They parted on good terms. Next evening she visited the king; he asked her opinion on some points of religion; she modestly replied, that the man was the woman's natural superior, and her judgment should be directed by his. "Not so, by St. Mary," said the king; "you are become a doctor, Kate, to instruct us, as we take it, and not to be instructed by us." She assured him that in arguing with him her only object had been to divert his mind and to derive information. "And is it even so, sweetheart?" cried he, "then perfect friends are we now again. It doth me more good to hear these words of thine own mouth than it would have done had I heard the news of a hundred thousand pounds fallen unto me." He embraced and dismissed her, and when she was gone highly extolled her to those who were present; and yet the capricious tyrant had been on the point of sending her to the Tower, perhaps even to the stake!

Next day he sent for her to the garden. While they were there, the chancellor came with forty men to arrest her. The king frowned; the queen retired; the chancellor knelt; the words "Knave, fool, beast, avaunt from my presence!" reached the ears of the queen, and she came forward to interpose. "Ah, poor soul," said Henry, "thou little knowest how evil he hath deserved this grace at thy hands. Of my word, sweetheart, he hath been toward thee an arrant knave, and so let him go."[1] Orders were now given that Gardiner should appear no more in the royal presence; the king also struck his name out of the list of executors named in his will.

The days of the monarch were now fast drawing to their close. He was become so corpulent and unwieldy that he could only be moved about in a chair, and an ulcer in one of his legs was at this time so fetid as to be hardly endurable by those about him. One more act of injustice and cruelty was, however, to be perpetrated. The head of the Romish party and of the ancient nobility was the duke of Norfolk, a man who had on several occasions done good service to the crown; his son, the earl of Surrey, was the most accomplished nobleman of the age.[2] The Seymours, the uncles of the young prince, may be regarded as the chiefs of the reformed party, and there was a jealousy between them and the Howards, who despised them as upstarts. Whether it proceeded from the intrigues of the Seymours, or from the king's own caprice or apprehensions, the duke and his son were committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason. Feebler or more ill-supported charges never were made than on this occasion. Surrey's principal offences were his having quartered the arms of the confessor with his own, a thing in which he was warranted by the heralds; his having spoken contemptuously of the new nobility; and his having two Italians in his service, whom one of the witnesses suspected to be spies. Being a commoner he was tried by a jury at Guildhall

[1] This whole story is doubted by some historians though it is admittedly not improbable.]
[2] His poems are still read with pleasure. He gave the earliest specimen of blank verse in our language in his translation of a part of the Æneid of Virgil.

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(January 13th, 1547), before the chancellor and other commissioners. He defended himself with eloquence and spirit; but vain was all defence in this reign; he was condemned as a traitor, and six days after (19th) he was beheaded on Tower Hill.

The duke of Norfolk was accused of various trifling acts of treason, and every effort was made to get up evidence against him. A good deal of the misfortune of himself and his son originated in family dissension; the duchess, who was separated from her husband, actuated by jealousy, wrote to the lord privy seal, accusing him; and his daughter, the duchess of Richmond, was one of the witnesses against her brother. Mrs. Holland, who was supposed to be the duke's mistress, testified all she could against him. The duke was induced to sign a confession of having divulged the king's secrets, concealed his son's treason in quartering the arms of the confessor, and having himself quartered those of England. But all availed not; a bill of attainder was hurried through parliament, the royal assent was given by commission on the 27th, and he was ordered for execution the next morning. Fortunately for Norfolk the king died in the night, and a respite was sent to the Tower.

THE DEATH OF THE KING (1547 A.D.)

The king had gradually been growing worse, but his friends feared to apprise him of his danger. At length Sir Anthony Denny ventured to inform him of his approaching dissolution. He received the intelligence with meekness, expressing his reliance on the merits of his Saviour. Sir Anthony asked if he would have any divine to attend him; he said, if any, it should be the archbishop of Canterbury; but "Let me take a little sleep first," said he, "and when I awake again I shall think more about the matter." When he awoke he directed that Cranmer should be fetched from Croydon. The prelate came in all haste, but found him speechless. He desired him to give a sign of his faith in the merits of Christ; the king pressed his hand and expired.[u]

Henry VIII died at two o'clock in the morning of the 28th of January, 1547, in his palace at Westminster. His death was concealed for three days. On the 31st of January the commons were summoned to the house of lords, and Wriothesley wept while he announced the event. The will of the king, by which the succession was defined, and the government of the realm during the minority of his son was regulated, was then read in part. Hertford and Paget had employed the three days of secrecy in determining the course to be pursued under the will, which was in their private keeping. Some suspicions have arisen that the will was forged.

The nation did not, in all likelihood, feel the loss of the most arbitrary monarch that had ever filled the English throne as a great calamity. On the 5th of February the bishop of Winchester wrote to Sir W. Paget, secretary of state, "To-morrow, the parishioners of this parish and I have agreed to have a solemn dirige for our late sovereign lord and master, in earnest, as becometh us; and, to-morrow, certain players of my lord of Oxford's, as they say, intend, on the other side, within this burgh of Southwark, to have a solemn play, to try who shall have most resort, they in game or I in earnest." The sorrow could not have been very violent when the players thought that a diversion would be welcome, even before the king's body was conveyed to earth at Windsor. Though Henry is said to have wrung Cranmer's hand on his death-bed, his last religious exercises were in accordance with the practice of the Roman church. In the same spirit were his funeral solemnities con-

ducted: "The body lay in state in the chapel of Whitehall for twelve days, with masses and dirge sung and said every day; Norroy standing at the choir door, and beginning with these words, pronounced aloud, 'Of your charity, pray for the soul of the high and mighty prince our late sovereign lord, King Henry VIII.' "[g]

KEIGHTLEY'S ESTIMATE OF HENRY

Nothing can be more injudicious than the conduct of those Protestant writers who, identifying Henry with the Reformation, seem to think themselves bound to apologise for and even justify the various enormities with which his memory is charged. A slight knowledge of history will suffice to show that the worst instruments are often employed to produce the greatest and best results. We may therefore allow Henry to have been a bad man, and yet regard the Reformation, of which he was an instrument, as a benefit to mankind. It is, on the other hand, weak in the Romanists to charge the Reformation with the vices of Henry; it would be equally so to impute to their religion the atrocities of Pope Alexander VI and his children, Cesare and Lucrezia Borgia.

Thorough selfishness formed the basis of Henry's character.[1] He never was known to sacrifice an inclination to the interest or happiness of another. "He spared no man in his anger, no woman in his lust," was the famous phrase of Peter Heylin;[ii] everything must yield to his will. He was rapacious and profuse, vain and self-sufficient. At the same time he was courteous and affable, and when in good humour had a gay, jovial manner highly captivating in a ruler. His people remembered the magnificence of his early reign, his handsome person, his skill in martial exercises, and he was popular with them to the very last. The constancy of his friendship to Cranmer is the most estimable trait in his character; but the primate never had dared to oppose his will. Henry's patronage of letters was also highly commendable; he was skilful in selecting those whom he employed in church and state, and rarely promoted an inefficient person.[u]

HUME'S ESTIMATE OF HENRY AND HIS REIGN

It is difficult to give a just summary of this prince's qualities: He was so different from himself in different parts of his reign, that, as is well remarked by lord Herbert,[ii] his history is his best character and description. The absolute uncontrolled authority which he maintained at home, and the regard which he acquired among foreign nations, are circumstances which entitle him in some degree to the appellation of a great prince; while his tyranny and barbarity exclude him from the character of a good one. He possessed, indeed, great vigour of mind, which qualified him for exercising dominion over men, courage, intrepidity, vigilance, inflexibility. And though these qualities lay not always under the guidance of a regular and solid judgment, they were accompanied with good parts and an extensive capacity; and everyone

[1] See Wolsey's opinion of him. He went to dine one day with Sir T. More, at Chelsea. After dinner he walked for an hour in the garden with him, with his arm round his neck. When More's son-in-law, Roper, congratulated him on the favour he seemed to be in, "I thank our Lord, son (quoth he), I find his grace my very good lord indeed, and I believe he doth as singularly favour me as any subject within this realm; howbeit, son Roper, I may tell thee I have no cause to be proud thereof, for if my head would win him a castle in France it should not fail to go." This was in 1522, in Henry's jovial days.

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dreaded a contest with a man who was known never to yield or to forgive, and who in every controversy was determined either to ruin himself or his antagonist. A catalogue of his vices would comprehend many of the worst qualities incident to human nature: violence, cruelty, profusion, rapacity, injustice, obstinacy, arrogance, bigotry, presumption, caprice. But neither was he subject to all these vices in the most extreme degree, nor was he at intervals altogether destitute of virtues. He was sincere,[1] open, gallant, liberal, and capable at least of a temporary friendship and attachment. In this respect he was unfortunate, that the incidents of his reign served to display his faults in their full light. The extensive powers of his prerogative, and the submissive, not to say slavish disposition of his parliaments, made it the more easy for him to assume and maintain that entire dominion by which his reign is so much distinguished in the English history.



CAMBRIDGE

It may seem a little extraordinary that, notwithstanding his cruelty, his extortion, his violence, his arbitrary administration, this prince not only acquired the regard of his subjects, but never was the object of their hatred. He seems even in some degree to have possessed to the last their love and affection. His exterior qualities were advantageous, and fit to captivate the multitude. His magnificence and personal bravery rendered him illustrious in vulgar eyes. And it may be said with truth, that the English in that age were so thoroughly subdued, that, like Eastern slaves, they were inclined to admire those acts of violence and tyranny which were exercised over themselves, and at their own expense.

It may not be improper to recapitulate whatever is memorable in the statutes of this reign, whether with regard to government or commerce. Nothing can better show the genius of the age than such a review of the laws. The abolition of the ancient religion much contributed to the regular execution of justice. While the Catholic superstition subsisted, there was no possibility of punishing any crime in the clergy. The church would not permit the magistrate to try the offences of her members, and she could not herself inflict any civil penalties upon them. But Henry restrained these pernicious immunities. The privilege of clergy was abolished for the crimes of petty treason, murder, and felony, to all under the degree of a subdeacon. But the former superstition not only protected crimes in the clergy, it exempted also the laity from punishment, by affording them shelter in the churches and sanctuaries. The parliament abridged these privileges. It was first declared that no sanctuaries were allowed in cases of high treason; next, in those of murder, felony, rapes, burglary, and petty treason. And it limited them in other particulars.

[1 Friedmann, however, finds his most terrible fault to be "the utter want of truth. His dishonesty cannot be denied; his own handwriting is still extant to show it."]

The farther progress of the Reformation removed all distinction between the clergy and other subjects, and also abolished entirely the privileges of sanctuaries. These consequences were implied in the neglect of the canon law.

In the year 1544 it appears that an acre of good land in Cambridgeshire was let at a shilling, or about fifteen pence of our present money. This is ten times cheaper than the usual rent at present. But commodities were not above four times cheaper, a presumption of the bad husbandry in that age. Some laws were made with regard to beggars and vagrants; one of the circumstances in government which humanity would most powerfully recommend to a benevolent legislator; which seems, at first sight, the most easily adjusted; and which is yet the most difficult to settle in such a manner as to attain the end without destroying industry. The convents formerly were a support to the poor; but at the same time tended to encourage idleness and beggary.

In 1546 a law was made for fixing the interest of money at ten per cent., the first legal interest known in England. Formerly, all loans of that nature were regarded as usurious. The preamble of this very law treats the interest of money as illegal and criminal. And the prejudices still remained so strong that the law permitting interest was repealed in the following reign. This reign, as well as many of the foregoing, and even subsequent reigns, abounds with monopolising laws, confining particular manufactures to particular towns, or excluding the open country in general. In the subsequent reign the corporations which had been opened by a former law, and obliged to admit tradesmen of different kinds, were again shut up by act of parliament; and everyone was prohibited from exercising any trade who was not of the corporation.

Henry, as he possessed himself some talent for letters, was an encourager of them in others. He founded Trinity College in Cambridge, and gave it ample endowments. Wolsey founded Christ Church in Oxford, and intended to call it Cardinal College. But upon his fall, which happened before he had entirely finished his scheme, the king seized all the revenues, and this violence, above all the other misfortunes of that minister, is said to have given him the greatest concern. But Henry afterwards restored the revenues of the college, and only changed the name. The countenance given to letters by this king and his ministers contributed to render learning fashionable in England. Erasmus speaks with great satisfaction of the general regard paid by the nobility and gentry to men of knowledge. It is needless to be particular in mentioning the writers of this reign, or of the preceding. There is no man of that age who has the least pretension to be ranked among our classics. Sir Thomas More,[1] though he wrote in Latin, seems to come the nearest to the character of a classical author.[o]

[Froude, admitting Henry's faults, yet glorifies him more than any other writer has done.] "Beyond and besides the Reformation, the constitution of these islands now rests in large measure on foundations laid in this reign. Henry brought Ireland within the reach of English civilisation. He absorbed Wales and the Palatinates into the general English system. He it was who

[1 To this name should, of course, be added Wyatt's and that of the ill-fated Surrey, of whom Mackintosh[m] says: "Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, is so justly renowned for his poetical genius, which had been then surpassed by none but that of Chaucer; by his happy imitations of the Italian masters; by a version of the Æneid, of which the execution is wonderful, and the very undertaking betokens the consciousness of lofty superiority; by the place in which we are accustomed to behold him, at the head of the uninterrupted series of English poets; that we find it difficult to regard him in the inferior points of view, of a gallant knight, a skilful captain, and an active statesman."]

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raised the house of commons from the narrow duty of voting supplies, and of passing without discussion the measures of the privy council, and converted them into the first power in the state under the crown. When he ascended the throne, so little did the commons care for their privileges, that their attendance at the sessions of parliament was enforced by a law. His personal faults were great, and he shared, besides them, in the errors of his age; but far deeper blemishes would be but as scars upon the features of a sovereign who in trying times sustained nobly the honour of the English name, and carried the commonwealth securely through the crisis of its history."*i*





CHAPTER VI

EDWARD VI AND THE PROTECTORATE

[1547–1553 A.D.]

> HENRY'S wishes for a successor had been partially fulfilled, and the nation, which had been taught to rest absolutely on the will and guidance of its head, found itself nominally governed by a child of tender years, and really in the hands of a body of unprincipled statesmen, such as are the constant product of personal government —men of great ability, but trained in habits of dependence and with no higher moral aim than their own aggrandisement. There was one exception to this general censure: the earl of Hertford was a patriot, but was without that statesmanlike balance which was so striking a characteristic of Henry. He had espoused one side in the great conflict, could see no excellence in any other, and that side was the revolutionary and innovating one. He panted for the opportunity of carrying out his reforms.—J. F. BRIGHT.[b]

AT the beginning of Henry VIII's reign the Protestants (even if we number all the anti-papists among them) formed a small though intelligent and bold minority. They grew stronger by degrees, as opinions and parties which are the children of the age naturally do. Their strength lay in the towns on the southern and eastern coasts, and among the industrious classes of society. In the northern and midland provinces, and in the mountains of Wales, far removed from commerce with the heretics of Flanders and Germany, the ancient faith maintained its authority. At the end of Henry's reign it is still doubtful whether the majority had changed sides. That monarch had few qualifications for an umpire. But it was a public service that he restrained both factions, and kept the peace during this critical process. Had the reforming party risen against Henry they must have been vanquished, and he would have been driven back into the arms of Rome.

The iron hand which held both parties in check was advantageous to the Protestant cause, humanly speaking, only because the opinions and institutions which spring up in an age are likely to be the most progressive. His grotesque authority as head of the church, his double prosecution of Romanists and Lutherans, his passion for transubstantiation, and his abhorrence of appeals to a court of Rome, may be understood, if we regard his reign as a bridge which the nation was to pass on its road to more complete reformation. The reformers needed the acquisition of one great state for the stability and

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solidity of their projects. They gained England. As soon as the hand was withdrawn which had held the statesmen and the people dumb, the Reformation was established.

Eleven months before the decease of the English monarch, Luther had breathed his last in his native town of Eisleben, which he had not visited for many years.

At the moment of his death, Lutheranism had been established only in Scandinavia and in those parts of Germany which had embraced it when it was first preached. The extent, however, of its invisible power over the minds of men was not to be measured by the magnitude of the countries where it was actually predominant. Bold inquiry, active curiosity, awakened reason, and youthful enthusiasm, throughout every country of Europe, in secret cherished a Lutheran spirit. The late king of England, as we have seen, was impelled, by a singular combination of circumstances, to prepare the way in England for embodying this spirit in a civil establishment.

Calvin, who was called by some of his contemporaries the greatest divine since the apostles, had now spread the seeds of reformation throughout France. Had Luther survived a few years longer, he would have seen the second and more terrible struggle of the reformed doctrines in the civil wars of that country, in which the Protestant party maintained their ground for thirty years, and obtained a partial establishment for near a century. At the death of Henry the preponderance of visible force in the scale of establishment was immense; and even the moral force of the state and the church retained its commanding posture and its aspect of authority, at the moment when its foundation in opinion was silently crumbling beneath it.

In the list of executors appointed by the will of the deceased king, we see the decisive predominance of the new nobility, invidiously so called by their enemies, both because they were partisans of the reformers and because they had owed their sudden rise in wealth to a share of the spoils of the church. Generally speaking, they were gentlemen of ancient lineage; but their fortune and rank commonly sprang from this dubious source. Few of the highest houses were free from this impeachment. The main body of the English peerage are a modern nobility raised out of an ancient gentry. As the selection had been made at the very moment of the downfall of the house of Howard, the leaders of the old nobility and the chiefs of the old faith, the preponderating influence of the earl of Hertford must be supposed to have presided over the choice of these persons.

The royal will had been executed when the king lay on his death-bed, in the hands of Seymour, Catherine Parr, and Cranmer. The delay of three days in taking any formal measures upon the demise, if it could have occurred in our time, would have been censured as a daring assumption of responsibility. At that time no notice was taken of it. The young prince, who was at the royal mansion of Hatfield at the time of his father's death, was brought thence in regal state, and proclaimed king of England.

His proclamation took place when he was nine years and about three months old. As the late king, in execution of the power vested in him by statute, had appointed the council called executors to exercise the royal authority in the minority of his son, they do not seem to have gone substantially beyond their power, by nominating one of their number to preside in their deliberations, and to represent the state on fit and urgent occasions. Hertford was created duke of Somerset, and assumed, or received, the titles of "governor of his majesty, lord-protector of all his realms, lieutenant-general of all his armies." This appointment was vainly resisted by the chancellor Wriothes-

ley, who considered it as the grave of the ancient institutions, of which he was now the most forward champion. A few months later the boy-king was crowned, and some days after the great seal was taken from the refractory chancellor, and placed in the more compliant hands of the Lord St. John.

The encomiums bestowed on Edward VI are an example of the folly of excessive praise. What he was in reality was a diligent, docile, gentle, sprightly boy, whose proficiency in every branch of study was remarkable, and who showed a more than ordinary promise of capacity. But sycophants, and lovers of the marvellous, have almost drowned in a flood of adulation these agreeable and amiable qualities. The manuscripts of his still extant, either essays or letters, might have been corrected or dictated by his preceptors. It is not probable that the diary of his life, which is the most interesting of them, should have been copied from the production of another hand; neither does it indicate the interposition of a corrector. It is, perhaps, somewhat brief and dry for so young an author; but the adoption of such a plan, and the accuracy with which it is written, bear marks of a pure taste and of a considerate mind.[1]

At an early period the council, no longer restrained by the presence of Wriothesley, proceeded to enlarge the protector's authority in a manner which was at variance with the foundation of their own power. They addressed the king to name the new duke of Somerset protector to the king and the kingdom; and the royal boy, like Henry VI in his earliest infancy, was made to go through the ceremony of ordering the great seal "to be affixed to letters patent, granting the title of protector to that nobleman, with full authority to everything that he thought for the honour and good of the kingdom; to swear such other commissioners as he should think fit; and to annul and change what they thought fitting; provided that the council was to act by the advice and consent of the protector."

THE PROTECTORATE OF SOMERSET AND PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION (1547–1549 A.D.)

The populace now began to destroy the images in churches, which Luther had tolerated as aids to devotion, and of which Cranmer vindicated the moderate use. The government, almost entirely Protestant, proceeded to the object of completing the religious revolution, and of establishing a church not only independent of the see of Rome, but dissenting from many doctrines which had been for ages held sacred by the western church. The protector began his task through the ancient prerogative of the crown, through the supremacy over the church, and by means of the statute which gave to proclamations the authority of laws. Persecutions under the act of the six articles ceased; prisoners were released, exiles were recalled. The obedience of the clergy was enforced by the adoption of the principle that the appointment of bishops, like all other appointments, had been determined by the

[1 One part of his education was likely to have strengthened his passions. No one was permitted to address him, not even his sisters, without kneeling to him. "I have seen," says Ubaldini,[c] "the princess Elizabeth drop on one knee five times before her brother, before she took her place." At dinner, if either of his sisters were permitted to eat with him, she sat on a stool and cushion, at a distance, beyond the limits of the royal dais. Even the lords and gentlemen who brought in the dishes before dinner, were bareheaded, and knelt down before they placed them on the table. This custom shocked the French ambassador, Vieilleville,[d] and his suite; for in France the office was confined to pages, who bowed only, and did not kneel.[e]]

demise of the crown; thus compelling all prelates to receive their bishoprics by letters patent from the king, during good behaviour.

Preaching, which had been so rare in Catholic times that it would have been impossible to impose it on an untrained clergy, was in some measure supplied by homilies, composed by Cranmer, which the parish priests were directed to read to their congregations. Visitors were despatched throughout the kingdom, with instructions to require that four sermons in the year should be preached in every church against the papal authority; that sermons should be directed against the worship of images; that all images abused by being the object of pilgrimages and offerings should be destroyed; that the English Bible, with Erasmus' commentary on the gospels, should be placed in every church for the use of the people; together with many other points selected, not always so much on account of their intrinsic importance, as because they were brought by public worship in daily contact with the minds of the people; and because, taken altogether, they carried into every hamlet the assurance that the government was no longer to be neutral.



EDWARD VI
(1537–1553)

Gardiner, a man of great learning and ability, but one of Henry's devoted agents, who did not scruple to hold his diocese of Winchester during the whole schismatic establishment, now made a manly and becoming resistance to these injunctions, on principles of civil liberty,[1] as much as of ecclesiastical discipline. He was imprisoned for his disobedience. Bonner, bishop of London, more violent and more subservient, escaped imprisonment by an humble submission. Tunstall, bishop of Durham, a prelate of various and eminent merit, was excluded from the privy council, to impress on the people, by the strongest example, the disinclination of the protector towards the ancient faith.

After these preparatory measures parliament was assembled, and several bills passed to promote and enlarge the Reformation. The communion was appointed to be received in both kinds by the laity as well as clergy, without

[1 According to the historian Gardiner, he thought that no change should be made in religion till the king came of age. He was released from prison in the general amnesty on the prorogation of parliament, 1543.]

condemning the usages of other churches, in a statute, drawn with address, which professes to have been passed for the purpose of preventing irreverence towards the sacrament, and which covers the concessions to the people by many provisions for the former object. Bishops were to be nominated by the king; process in the ecclesiastical courts was to run in the king's name.

By another act the statutes against Lollards were repealed, together with all the acts in matters of religion passed under Henry, except those directed against the papal supremacy. All the treasons created by Henry underwent the same fate, and that offence was restored to the simplicity of the statute of Edward. The act which gave legislative power to proclamations was also abrogated by the last-mentioned statute, which at the same time guards the order of succession as established in the last act of settlement. Though Bonner was daily present during the session, there were only two divisions; one in which he, with four of his brethren, voted against the allowance of the cup to laymen, there being twenty-two prelates in the majority; another in which Cranmer, in a minority with Bonner, voted against a measure for vesting the lands of chantries in the crown.

In the next session of 1549 the uniformity of public worship was established, in which all ministers were enjoined to use only the "book of common prayer," prepared by the primate and his brethren, the foundation of that which, after various alterations in the reigns of Elizabeth, James, and Charles II, continues in use to this day.[g] With some variations in a subsequent edition of 1552, which was called the second book, this liturgy is not essentially different from that of the present day. It was based upon the ancient Catholic services, which had been handed down from the primitive ages of the church, and which the English people had for generations heard sung or said, without comprehending their meaning. In the western insurrection of 1549 the rebels declared, "We will have the mass in Latin, as was before." The answer of Cranmer to this point of their complaints is a logical appeal to the common sense of Englishmen: "The priest is your proctor and attorney, to plead your cause and to speak for you all; and had you rather not know than know what he saith for you? I have heard suitors murmur at the bar, because their attorneys have pleaded their cases in the French tongue, which they understood not. Why then be you offended that the priests, which plead your cause before God, should speak such language as you may understand?" The resistance to the act for the uniformity of service, to which the people in some places were stimulated by high counsels and examples, was of itself an indication of the fears of the anti-reformers, that the habitual use of a common prayer book, so pure and simple, so earnest and elevated, so adapted to the universal wants and feelings of mankind, so touching and solemn in its offices, would establish the reformed worship upon a foundation which no storm of worldly policy could afterwards overthrow. The change in the habits of the people produced by this book of common prayer must indeed have been great.[o]

A singular law also was passed to enforce the observance of fast-days and of Lent, by the infliction of a fine of ten shillings and ten days' imprisonment upon fast-breakers, "Albeit," says the statute, "one day is not more holy than another, yet it is proper, to prevent this knowledge from turning into sensuality, to subdue men's bodies to their souls, and especially that fishers may the rather be set at work." This strange enactment was immediately followed by the emancipation of the English clergy from compulsory celibacy, which is prefaced by an admission, that "it would be much better for priests to live separate from the bond of marriage for their own estimation, and that they might attend solely to the ministration of the Gospel."

Although there were no Protestant nonconformists at this period, yet the last act of uniformity passed in this reign may be considered as the earliest instance of penal legislation pointed against mere dissenters. It commanded all persons to attend public worship under pain of ecclesiastical censure, and of six months' imprisonment for the first offence, twelve for the second, and for the third confinement for life. Notwithstanding the merciful repeal of the late treason laws, which lent a benignant aspect to the opening of the new reign, it was deemed necessary before its close to pass a riot act of great severity against tumultuous assemblies, and to punish those who should call the king heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper, for the first offence with forfeiture and imprisonment during pleasure, and for the third with the pains of high treason.

The war with Scotland, begun with little justice, and conducted with no humanity, began in this year. [It will be treated in its entirety a few pages farther on.]

EXECUTION OF SEYMOUR (1549 A.D.)

Among civil occurrences one took place in the second session of parliament during this reign which too evidently shows how thoroughly Somerset had been trained in the lawless and unnatural practices of the last king. Sir Thomas Seymour, now Lord Sudeley and admiral of England, was a brave soldier, a stately and magnificent courtier, more acceptable to the nobility than to the people; open, passionate, ambitious, with none of that reputation which belonged to his brother, the protector, as the founder of the English Reformation. He had paid court to Catherine Parr while she was Lady Latimer, and would have been successful if he had not been supplanted by Henry. Scarcely had that monarch breathed his last, when Seymour secretly espoused Catherine, said to have been induced to take this measure by a letter from Edward, which if real could only have been a promise of pardon. By this marriage he acquired some part of the great fortune which the fondness of Henry had suffered her to accumulate. The jealousy of power appears to have early existed between the two brothers; and the strife was embittered by a rivalry in rank which sprang up between their wives. Catherine retained her regal station as queen-dowager; while Anne Stanhope, the wife of Somerset, who is charged with intolerable pride and violence, could not brook the superiority allowed to her modest rival, but, as the spouse of the first person in the realm, claimed the rank of the first female. The death of Catherine followed her marriage so soon as to occasion rumours that it had not been left to nature. Lord Sudeley was then suspected of seeking the hand of the princess Elizabeth.*g*

SEYMOUR AND ELIZABETH

"It is objected, and laid unto your charge," say the council, in one of their articles exhibited against the lord-admiral, "that you have not only, before you married the queen, attempted and gone about to marry the king's majesty's sister, the lady Elizabeth, second inheritor in remainder to the crown, but also, being then let (hindered) by the lord-protector and others of the council, sithence that time, both in the life of the queen continued your old labour and love, and after her death, by secret and crafty means, practised to achieve the said purpose of marrying the said Lady Elizabeth, to the danger of the king's majesty's person, and peril of the state of the same."

The evidence contained in the Burleigh Papers,[h] if it does not completely sustain this charge, at least supplies a very interesting and remarkable chapter in the biography of the great Elizabeth.

It should appear that Seymour, whatever were his designs upon the princess, had in his interest, or, at any rate, as favourably disposed to him as he could desire, no less convenient a personage than her highness' governess, a Mrs. Catherine Ashley. Thomas Parry, the cofferer of the princess' household, relates a conversation he had with this lady, in which she admitted to him that even the duchess of Somerset had found great fault with her "for my lady Elizabeth's going in a night in a barge upon Thames, and for other light parts," and had told her, in consequence, that she was not worthy to have the governance of the king's daughter.

On the subject of the court paid by the admiral to the princess, "I do remember also," says Parry, "she told me that the admiral loved her but too well, and had so done a good while, and that the queen (Catherine Parr) was jealous on her and him, insomuch that one time the queen, suspecting the often access of the admiral to the lady Elizabeth's grace, came suddenly upon them when they were all alone, he having her in his arms, wherefore the queen fell out both with the lord-admiral and with her grace also. And hereupon the queen called Mrs. Ashley to her, and told her fancy in that matter; and of this was much displeasure." At this time, it appears, the princess was living with the queen-dowager, but, immediately after the above incident, she either removed of her own accord, or was sent away. But Mrs. Ashley may be allowed to speak for herself, at least in so far as her somewhat naïvely expressed details will bear to be quoted.

In her *Confession*, in which of course she confesses as little as possible against herself, she states that "at Chelsea, immediately after he was married to the queen, the admiral used frequently to come into the lady Elizabeth's chamber before she was ready, and sometimes before she was out of bed. If she were up, he would slap her familiarly on the back or on the hips. And one morning he strave to have kissed her in her bed."[1] At this last and some other instances of boldness Mrs. Ashley professes to have been duly shocked, and to have rebuked the admiral as he deserved. Other instances of the admiral's audacity are given, but these may serve as sufficient specimens. Mrs. Ashley admits she had reason to suppose that the queen was jealous of the familiarity betwixt her husband and the princess; and "she saith also, that Mr. Ashley, her husband, hath divers times given this examinate warning to take heed, for he did fear that the lady Elizabeth did bear some affection to my lord-admiral; she seemed to be well pleased therewith; and sometimes she would blush when he were spoken of."

Elizabeth also makes her *Confession* among the rest; but it relates merely to what had passed between her and Mrs. Ashley after the queen's death, on the subject of the lord-admiral's wish to marry her, and, as might be expected,

[1 On one occasion Catherine herself held Elizabeth while Seymour cut her gown into a hundred pieces. Miss Strickland[i] makes this striking suggestion: "It is just possible that the actual guilt incurred by the unhappy queen, Catherine Howard, in her girlhood did not amount to a greater degree of impropriety than the unseemly romping which took place almost every day at Chelsea between the youthful princess Elizabeth and the bold, bad husband of Catherine Parr." Manners were free in those days, and the same argument might be applied to give Anne Boleyn the benefit of the doubt. Otherwise it will be necessary to give Elizabeth the disadvantage of the doubt. M. A. S. Hume[j] says that while the *Confessions* of Ashley and Parry were bad enough, "they probably kept back far more than they told," in view of Elizabeth's great consideration of them ever after, Parry being knighted by her. Creighton[k] says that the narrow escape was a great lesson to Elizabeth in discretion.]

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contains nothing to her own disadvantage. In a letter, however, which she wrote from Hatfield to the protector in January, 1549, while the proceedings against Seymour were in progress, she mentions a circumstance which we should not otherwise have known, namely, that rumours had got abroad that she was "in the Tower and with child by my lord-admiral." These imputations she declares to be "shameful slanders,"[1] and requests that, to put them down, she may be allowed to come immediately to court. It appears, however, that all these examinations gave her no little disturbance and alarm, though, young as she was—only entering upon her sixteenth year—she bore herself, in the delicate and difficult position in which she was thereby placed, with a wonderful deal of the courage and politic management that she evinced on so many occasions in her after life.

The lord-admiral's renewal of his pretensions to the hand of Elizabeth after the death of his queen seems to have at once brought matters to another open quarrel between him and his brother. The marquis of Northampton, one of the persons whom he had sought to seduce to a participation in his designs, relates in his examination, or confession, that Seymour had told him "he was credibly informed that my lord-protector had said he would clap him in the Tower if he went to my lady Elizabeth." These threats, and the obstacle that presented itself to his schemes in the clause of the late king's will, which provided that, if either of the princesses should marry without the consent of the council, she should forfeit her right of succession, roused all the natural impetuosity and violence of his temper, and drove him again to intrigues and plots, and other measures of desperation. It is asserted that, seeing he could not otherwise achieve his object, he resolved to seize the king's person, and to carry him away to his castle of Holt, in Denbighshire, one of the properties he had acquired by the late royal grant; that for the furtherance of this and his ulterior designs, he had confederated with various noblemen and others; that he had so travailed in the matter as to have put himself in a condition to raise an army of ten thousand men out of his own tenantry and other immediate adherents, in addition to the forces of his friends; and that he had got ready money enough to pay and maintain the said ten thousand men for a month. He is also charged with having, in various ways, abused his authority and powers as lord-admiral, and of having actually taken part with pirates against the lawful trader. It appears, from the Burleigh Papers,[h] that the immediate occasion of proceedings being taken against Seymour was a confession made to the council by Sir William Sharington, master of the mint at Bristol, who had been taken up and examined on a charge of clipping, coining base money, and other frauds. Sharington had been, in the first instance, defended by the admiral, who, it appears, was his debtor to a considerable amount; but he eventually admitted his guilt, and informed the council, in addition, that he had been in league with the admiral to supply him with money for the designs that have just been recounted. There can be no doubt that Sharington made this confession to save his own life; in point of fact, he was, after a short time, not only pardoned, but restored to his former appointment. But the admiral was instantly (January 19th, 1549) sent to the Tower.

Seymour had now no chance of escape. Abandoned by every friend on earth, he lay passive and helpless in his prison-house, while "many complaints," as Burnet[l] observes, "being usually brought against a sinking man," all who sought to make their own positions more secure, or to advance them-

[1 "But," says M. A. S. Hume,[i] "virtuous indignation, real or assumed, was one of her favourite weapons."]

selves in court favour, hastened to add their contribution to the charges or the evidence by which he was to be destroyed.[m]

The presence of his brother at the head of the lords is a circumstance which resembles, and, indeed, surpasses, the conduct of the judges of Anne Boleyn.[1] Seymour was at the time a prisoner in the Tower; he was not heard in his own defence; no witnesses were examined. The master of the rolls brought down a message from the throne, assuring the house that "it was not necessary for the admiral to appear before them; but, if they thought it essential, some lords should come to them to confirm their evidence." Even this was deemed superfluous. The impression of the message was such that the bill was passed without further delay. Three days after, the warrant for Seymour's execution was issued, with his brother's name heading the subscribers.[2] He was beheaded on Tower Hill, March 20th, 1549, solemnly repeating his disavowal of treasonable purposes against the king or kingdom.

POPULAR DISCONTENT AND INSURRECTIONS (1549 A.D.)

A change in the forms of public worship was sufficient of itself to offend the simple peasants of remote provinces, especially when religious solemnities were their chief occasions of intercourse, and the only festivals which diversified their lives. The substitution of a simple and grave worship for a ceremonial full of magnificence could be grateful only to the eyes of hearty piety. "The country people loved those shows, processions, and assemblies, as things of diversion," says Burnet,[l] against which the zeal of the reformers was peculiarly pointed. The most conspicuous, if not the most efficient, cause of the commotions which followed was the religious feelings to which we have adverted more than once.

It cannot be doubted, however, that other agents contributed to these and to most other disorders and revolts of the sixteenth century. The inclosure and appropriation of common fields, from the produce of which the poorer classes had derived part of their subsistence, was now hastened by the profits to be derived from wool, the raw material of the growing manufactures of the realm. A new impulse was, perhaps, too suddenly given to this economical revolution by the grantees of abbey lands, who were in general rich and intelligent. The people (the learned as well as the illiterate) were profoundly ignorant of the truth, that increase of produce must be finally beneficial to all classes. They were equally unacquainted with the effects of that influx of the precious metals from America which had enhanced in general the money price of commodities before it had caused a proportional rise in the wages of labour.

The depreciation of money in England, by the wretched debasements of the coin to which Henry had so often recurred, had powerfully, though secretly, disturbed every interest in the community. The wages of labourers were paid in debased coin, although it required a greater quantity of gold and silver in their unalloyed state to purchase the necessaries of life. All these, and many like agencies, were now at work, the nature of which, however,

[1 Gardiner[f] says that his chief crime was possibly his protesting against the rapacity with which church lands were divided among the rich. Elizabeth later said she had heard Somerset say that "if his brother had been suffered to speak with him, he had never suffered."]

[2 How striking a picture it affords of the sixteenth century, to behold the popular and well-natured duke of Somerset, more estimable at least than any other statesman employed under Edward, not only promoting this unjust condemnation of his brother, but signing the warrant under which he was beheaded!—HALLAM.[n]]

was as unknown to the people of that age as the laws which regulate the planetary system.

The protector, who courted the people, and to whom their discontent was at least painful, endeavoured to appease the prevalent dissatisfaction by issuing a proclamation against inclosures, which enjoined the landholders to break up their parks. In general they disregarded this illegal injunction. The peasantry accepted it as their warrant for the demolition of inclosures. Risings occurred in Wiltshire, Oxfordshire, and Gloucestershire, which were speedily quelled, but not without bloodshed. Disorders in Hampshire, Sussex, and Kent were more easily composed. But the rapid diffusion of these alarming revolts indicated the prevalence of a dangerous disaffection. Fears were entertained of a general insurrection of the commonalty.

In June of this year a formidable insurrection broke out in Cornwall, under a gentleman of ancient and noble lineage, Humphrey Arundel, governor of St. Michael's Mount. The insurgents amounted to ten thousand men. They were animated by tales of the prospect of the succession of the princess Mary. Their displeasure was first directed against inclosures; but a zealous clergyman found no difficulty in blending the Catholic cause with the injustice of the intrusive landholders. They demanded the restoration of the mass, of abbey lands, and of the law of the six articles, together with the recall of Cardinal Pole from exile. Lord Russell, who commanded the royal troops, found means to retard the advance of the rebels by negotiation, until he was reinforced, not only by an English levy, but by bodies of mercenary veterans from Germany and Italy.[1] Exeter held out against the insurgents. Russell raised the siege, pursuing the revolters to Launceston, where they were utterly routed. Severe military execution was inflicted. Arundel and the mayor of Bodmin, with some other leaders, were tried and executed in London. A Roman Catholic priest at Exeter was hanged from his own tower, in his sacerdotal vestments, and with the beads which he used in prayer hung from his girdle.

The flame thus extinguished in the west broke out with new violence in Norfolk. In that county the general disaffection assumed the form of a war against the gentry, who were loaded with charges of oppressing farmers and labourers. One Ket, a tanner, but also a considerable landholder, encamped on Mousehold Hill, near Norwich, with an army of twenty thousand men. He repulsed the marquis of Northampton in an assault on the city, in which Lord Sheffield was killed. The protector was obliged to recall troops from Scotland, serving under Dudley,[2] earl of Warwick, who would not have been intrusted with such an occasion of gaining reputation and followers, if Ket had not rendered extreme measures necessary. Warwick, on his arrival, forced his way into Norwich, and kept his ground there, till Ket, compelled by famine, abandoned his encampment, and with it the command of the city. Soon after he was defeated by Warwick. Two thousand insurgents perished in the action and pursuit. The remainder, hastily throwing up rude defences of wagons and stakes, refused a pardon, which they naturally distrusted. Warwick, however, at last persuaded them to surrender. He kept his word more faithfully than was usually the practice on such occasions. Ket was

[1 "It was the first time," says Gardiner, "that foreign troops had been used to crush an English uprising."]

[2 He was a son of that Dudley whose name is linked with Empsom's in the evil memory of Henry VII's exactions, and who was put to death on Henry VIII's accession. This Dudley, or Warwick, is later known as Northumberland. His son was the famous Leicester of Elizabeth's reign.]

hanged in Norwich castle, his brother on Wymondham steeple, and nine others on "the branches of the oak of reformation," under which Ket was wont to sit on Mousehold Hill, with a sort of imitation of royalty, to administer justice. He had assumed the title of king of Norfolk and Suffolk. This year also the first commissions were issued for lord lieutenants of counties; a species of civil governors and military commanders of whom the late confusions occasioned the appointment.[g]

The Cornish and Devonshire insurrection, and that of Norfolk, form one of the most striking passages of English history of the sixteenth century. This simultaneous revolt was essentially different in its character from either of the great insurrections of the two previous centuries. The rebellion of Wat Tyler was a protest against the oppressions of the labourers, who belonged to a period when slavery retained many of its severities without its accompanying protection. The insurrection of Jack Cade was in its essential elements political. But the rebellion that came exactly a century after that of 1450 was a democratic or social movement, stimulated by, and mixed up with, hostility to the change of religion. The government was embarrassed by the complexity of the motives upon which these insurrections were founded.[i]

THE FALL OF SOMERSET (1549 A.D.)

During this season of confusion the advocates of rigour loudly cried against the feebleness of Somerset, who dreaded unpopularity too much to be capable of executing justice. To this infirmity they imputed the repetition and prolongation of the late disturbances, which might have been quickly extinguished if the peasantry had not been tempted into them by an almost total impunity of the early rebels. He professed to think "it not safe to hold such a strict hand over the commons, and to press them down and keep them in slavery." But if he pursued the favour of the people, he soon found, when the hour of peril came, that their favour stood him in little stead. The Catholic priesthood, who detested him, still retained a mighty influence, especially over the distant provinces. He retained popularity enough to render him odious to the old nobility. The employment of foreign troops in quelling the insurrection had been unacceptable. His last usurpation of the protectorship dwelt in the minds of many besides his competitors.

He had begun the erection of Somerset House, his palace in the Strand, on a scale of invidious magnificence. Architects had been brought from Italy to construct it, and professors of the fine arts to adorn it. It was said to have been raised out of bishops' houses and churches, of which the surrender had been extorted from the owners by dread of his displeasure. Like many other candidates for the applause of the multitude, he was arrogant and negligent towards his equals. To every cry, to every insinuation against him, was added the formidable question, "What friendship could be expected from a man who had no pity on his own brother?"

A question, whether peace ought to be made with France and Scotland, produced differences of opinion in the council. Somerset disappointed his opponents by giving up his own better opinion for the sake of unanimity; but the dispute had served its most important purpose, by keeping out of view the motives and projects which aimed at the overthrow of the proud protector. Lord Southampton, the son of the late Catholic chancellor Wriothesley, had inherited his father's resentment against the Protestant Somerset.

Dudley, earl of Warwick, was the soul of the confederacy against him.[1] The latter was supposed to have really earned in the Scottish war the laurels which were borne away by his superior officer; and his success in quelling the insurrection contributed to strengthen the opinion of his military desert.

While the protector in his private correspondence was speaking with complacency of his success in quelling these movements, the plot for his own overthrow was ripe for execution. The discontented lords, gradually withdrawing from court, resorted with bodies of armed retainers to London. Sir William Paulet, the treasurer, by his policy (which probably consisted in the seasonable use of money) obtained for them the peaceable possession of the Tower. As soon as the protector learned this intelligence, he carried the king with him from Hampton Court to Windsor, where he began to strengthen the castle, writing circular letters to his friends, requiring them to repair thither with all their force. Sir Philip Hoby, who had been despatched to Windsor with the answer of the lords, urged their request so effectually, that in a few weeks the vast powers of Somerset were taken from him, and the next day he was brought under an escort to the Tower. Articles were prepared against him



WINDSOR CASTLE IN THE TIME OF EDWARD VI

which, from their extreme vagueness, cannot be considered as a judicial charge, but must be regarded either as a popular manifesto, or at best as the materials of an address for his removal from power. The great office of lord high admiral was conferred on his formidable and mortal enemy, the earl of Warwick. After many examinations, he was enlarged, on payment of a fine amounting to a yearly sum of two thousand pounds, charged upon his estates, and his whole personal goods, besides the forfeiture of all his offices. These transactions were afterwards confirmed by act of parliament. So far the circumstances attending this great nobleman's fall from power do not exceed the usual accompaniments of a violent change of administration in the sixteenth century.

Warwick, who was by no very slow degrees attracting to himself all the powers of government, hastened to assure the nation that the Protestant interest would suffer nothing by the protector's removal. His measures were, however, rather the result of Warwick's position than of his inclination. He declared at his death that he himself had always been a Catholic; and the most

[1 "Henry VIII had appointed Dudley admiral for life, which dignity Somerset had taken from him and given to his brother Seymour. Dudley, however, was elevated to the rank of earl of Warwick, and received as an indemnity considerable estates and revenues."—VON RAUMER, *p*]

zealous Protestants bewailed the fall of Somerset as dangerous to their cause. Now the undisputed chief of the government, he allowed Somerset to resume his seat in council, and Lord Lisle, his eldest son, was married soon after to the other's daughter. But under a fair surface of friendship the sores of fear and anger still rankled. Somerset could not persuade himself that he could be safe without power.

Warwick apprehended continual schemes on the part of his rival to recover the protectorship. Somerset assembled armed retainers in circumstances where it was very difficult to separate defence from offence. Soon, therefore, his wife and himself, with many of their friends, were committed to the Tower. The duke was brought to trial before the high steward and lords triers for high treason, in conspiring to seize the king, and for felony under the riot act of the preceding session, in assembling to imprison Warwick, a privy counsellor, who had since been raised to the dignity of duke of Northumberland. The lords unanimously acquitted him of the treason. They convicted him, however, of the felony; a verdict of which the strict legality may be questioned.

It is probably true that Somerset meditated a revolution as violent as that by which he had been deposed. His principal anxiety was to vindicate himself from the charge of plotting the death of Northumberland and his colleagues. "On the 22nd of January, 1552," says the diary of his royal nephew, "he had his head cut off upon Tower Hill, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning."[g]

Like many other unfortunate persons in history, the duke of Somerset was unequal to the situation in which his destiny placed him; his talents were ill matched with his ambition, and he thus fell into errors and even stained himself with a brother's blood. In more tranquil times his mild and humane disposition and his religious feelings might have caused him to pass a life of peace and happiness. Somerset stands almost alone in these times as a nobleman really caring for the rights and interests of the inferior classes of the people.

Four of Somerset's friends were executed. The earl of Arundel and Lord Paget were never brought to trial, but they were obliged to make submissions and confessions, resign their offices and pay fines.[q]

WAR WITH SCOTLAND (1547 A.D.)

At the period of Henry's death England was at peace. The pacification of 1546 with France included Scotland; and it was a leading object of Henry's policy, which he held to in his dying hour, that the union of England and Scotland should be cemented by the marriage of his son with the child Mary, the Scottish queen. The attempt to force this marriage upon Scotland had aroused the old national spirit of independence in her nobility; and the proposal of Somerset that the former treaty for this marriage should be renewed and ratified was coldly listened to. Within a month after the accession of Edward the council book shows that a state of active hostility was approaching. On February 27th, 1547, Sir Andrew Dudley is appointed to the command of the ship *Pauncy*, to cruise in the North Seas, off the English and Scottish coasts. In less than a fortnight Dudley had captured the Scottish vessel *Lion*. At this juncture an event occurred which materially affected the relations of England with France and Scotland. Francis I died on the 31st of March, at Rambouillet. Twenty days before the death of Francis a treaty had been concluded between France and England. This the new king of France refused

to ratify. He preferred to cultivate an alliance with the Scots. The duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine were the brothers of the queen-dowager of Scotland, and they were amongst the chief advisers of the French king.

To stay the progress of the reformed opinions in Scotland, and to prevent the marriage of the young Mary with Edward, were sufficient motives to a decided change of policy. The castle of St. Andrews, after the murder of Cardinal Beaton, in 1546, had been held against the regent Arran, by those who were favourable to the English alliance. A truce between the regent and the possessors was concluded in February, 1547; and they subsequently proceeded to make a treaty with Somerset, in which they engaged to forward the projected marriage, and to aid any English force that should enter Scotland for the purpose of obtaining possession of the queen's person. The French government, in the summer of 1547, sent a fleet to assist in the reduction of the castle. It was finally surrendered on the 29th of July, and was afterwards demolished. On the 2nd of September the protector crossed the border at Berwick with a powerful invading army.

It would be injustice to the policy of Somerset to assume that he entered upon the war with Scotland in the arrogant spirit with which Henry VIII had conducted his negotiations and his assaults. There was a treaty under the great seal of Scotland for the marriage of Edward with Mary; but the determination to demand its fulfilment was conducted in a tone of moderation, in the first instance, which shows that the empire of force was gradually yielding to the empire of opinion. The protector addressed a remarkable letter "to the nobility and counsellors, gentlemen and commons and all other the inhabitants of the realm of Scotland," in which, with "greeting and peace," he sets forth the desire of England to establish the amity of the two countries by the union of the crowns.

In this document we recognise the expression of the sagacious statesman rather than that of the ambitious intriguer—of one who saw what was inevitable, but who did not sufficiently estimate the force of national pride and individual interest in retarding a great good. What the statesmen of Queen Anne had the utmost difficulty in accomplishing, the minister of King Edward vainly expected to realise by appeals to great principles which were imperfectly understood even two centuries later. Somerset said to the people of Scotland, that living in one island, speaking the same language, alike in manners and conditions, it was "unmeet, unnatural, and unchristian, that there should be betwixt us so mortal war, who, in respect of all other nations, be and should be like as two brethren." He proposed a solid union by the marriage of King Edward and Queen Mary—the circumstances being so favourable that the Divine Providence manifestly pointed out the road to amity.

In this union of two kingdoms, England was ready "to take the indifferent old name of Britain again, because nothing should be left on our part to be offered. We seek not to take from you your laws nor customs, but we seek to redress your oppressions, which of divers ye do sustain." If eloquent writing could have been more effectual than sturdy blows, such an appeal as this might have prevented the battle of Pinkie: "If we two, being made one by amity, be most able to defend us against all nations, and having the sea for wall, the mutual love for garrison, and God for defence, should make so noble and well-agreeing monarchy, that neither in peace we may be ashamed, nor in war afraid of any worldly or foreign power, why should not you be as desirous of the same, and have as much cause to rejoice at it as we?"[1] But

[1] This letter is given at length in Holinshed.

the words of peace were not hearkened to. The influence of France prevailed. The priests stirred up the Scottish people to resist the English heretics. Knox was a prisoner in France; and the friends of the Reformation were scattered and proscribed.

The Battle of Pinkie

Somerset advanced from Berwick along the shore, whilst a fleet under Lord Clinton kept the sea within view of the coast; and as the army marched by Dunbar the ships were seen sailing into the Firth of Forth. Turning westward the cavalry forded the river Lynn, and the infantry crossed at Linton Bridge. Bands of Scottish horsemen now began to appear; and the earl of Warwick was nearly taken prisoner in a rash advance. On the 8th the English were encamped near Prestonpans; and the fleet was at anchor near Musselburgh. The Scottish army was within a distance of little more than two miles, the ridge of Falside being between the two hosts. On the 9th, after a sharp skirmish, Somerset and Warwick reconnoitred the Scots from this hill. They occupied a strong position, with the sea on their left flank, and a deep marsh on their right. The river Esk protected their front; and the bridge crossing the Esk was held and strongly defended.

On the morning of the 10th of September, 1547, when the English army began to move, it was discovered that the Scots had abandoned their strong position, and had crossed the river. They had taken up an opinion that the English were about to retreat to their ships, and would escape unless attacked in their camp. This belief was fatal to them. Although the Scots fought with the most determined valour, and successfully resisted a furious charge of the English cavalry, their rash movement had placed a portion of their force within the ability of the English "to compass them," says one present in the battle, "in that they should no ways escape us; the which by our force and number we were as well able to do as a spinner's web to catch a swarm of bees." The fight had been very doubtful until this superiority was gained in one portion of the field. A general panic then ensued, and the Scottish army fled before their slaughtering pursuers. We shall not follow Patten,[8] the "Londoner," in his narrative of the horrible traces of this slaughter, by the sands of Leith, by the high road and King's Park to Edinburgh, and through the marsh to Dalkeith. The pursuit was not ended till nightfall, when the victors returned to plunder the Scottish camp.

This great victory—the last field, most happily, in which England and Scotland were engaged in a quarrel that could be called national—was without any benefit beyond the unsubstantial glory of the victors. Ten thousand Scots perished, and fifteen hundred were taken prisoners, without any serious loss on the part of the English. Leith was set on fire. Several castles were taken. But in three weeks after the battle of Pinkie, Somerset recrossed the Tweed, and entered London on the 8th of October, declining, however, any triumphant reception. The young king congratulated his uncle in a short and sensible letter written on the 18th of September, and the successful general received additional grants of landed estates. Some have ascribed the sudden return of Somerset to the necessity of resisting intrigues that were proceeding against him in the English council. It is probable that he trusted more to the gradual effects of his victory upon the minds of the Scottish nation than to any immediate attempts to control the course of its government.

But the spirit of resistance to the English heretics was excited rather than allayed by the disaster of the black Saturday, as the day of Pinkie was

long called. The desired amity was still far distant. There was a young man in the battle whose influence upon the politics of Scotland was ultimately more powerful than the prowess of the protector, of whom he was a confidential servant. In that field the future great minister of Elizabeth "was like to have been slain; but was miraculously saved by one that, putting forth his arm to thrust Mr. Cecil out of the level of the cannon, had his arm stricken off."

After Somerset had gained the battle of Pinkie, in the autumn of 1547, he returned, as we have seen, suddenly to London, leaving to others to reap the harvest of his victory, if any were to be reaped.[1] The results of that great scattering of the Scottish power were not favourable to the English influence. The nobility of Scotland resolved to apply for assistance to France, and at the instigation of the queen-dowager the young queen Mary was offered in marriage to the dauphin of France. In 1548 Haddington was taken by the English under Lord Grey of Wilton, and several other minor successes were accomplished. But in June a large force, partly French and partly German, arrived at Leith, and an army of Scots, with these auxiliaries, marched to recover Haddington. A parliament, or convention, that was hastily assembled ratified the treaty for the marriage; and the child-queen was received at Dunbarton on board a French vessel which had entered the Clyde and then sailed to France. In August Mary was solemnly contracted to the dauphin. The war was continued with various success; but on the whole was unfavourable to the English. Haddington was relieved, after the garrison had endured the greatest suffering by famine. The English fleet was repulsed by the peasantry in several attacks upon the Scottish coast. At the time of the insurrections of 1549 the government of Somerset was preparing to carry on the contest with renewed vigour. The French auxiliaries who remained in Scotland had become distasteful to the people, and the king of France was more intent upon recovering Boulogne than aiding his Scotch allies. The war with Scotland was, however, too burdensome to be vigorously pursued by England; the Scots recovered many of their strong places; and even Haddington was evacuated on the 1st of October, 1549, the year of England's domestic troubles.

The ill-success of the English policy in Scotland, and the defenceless state of Boulogne, in 1549, were amongst the evils that were attributed to the rule of Somerset. His successors in power wisely concluded a peace with France, though under humiliating conditions. By the treaty of March, 1550, it was agreed that Boulogne should be restored to France upon the payment of one-fifth of the sum which Francis I had agreed to pay on the expiration of eight years. The demand arising out of the treaty of marriage between Edward and Mary of Scotland was abandoned. The pension which Henry VIII had accepted for the surrender of his claim to the crown of France was virtually set aside. This ridiculous pretension entered no longer into the diplomacy or the wars of the English government, though an empty title continued, for two centuries and a half longer, to be a practical satire upon a claim which the nation had long repudiated with other absurdities of the days of feudality. By this treaty the pretensions of England as regarded Scotland and France, and of France and Scotland as regarded England, were suspended. The reservation was a practical abandonment of causes of hostility which the growth of a higher power than the personal ambition of kings would speedily override.

[1 Recent dissensions in England checked Somerset's efforts against Scottish independence.]

NORTHUMBERLAND IN POWER (1549 A.D.)

The duke of Northumberland, though invested with no special power as that of protector or governor of the king, was now the directing authority of the realm. He had removed his great rival. He had summoned a parliament from which he expected the accustomed subserviency. The lords passed a more stringent law of treason than that of Edward III. The commons modified many of its clauses, and, from a feeling that trials for treason had been conducted with the most flagrant injustice, it was enacted that no person should be arraigned or convicted of treasonable offences except by the testimony of two witnesses, to be produced at the time of his arraignment. This law, like many others which interfered with the powers of the crown, was often disregarded in evil times, when, as in more barbarous periods, to be accused of treason, and to be condemned to its fearful penalties, were almost convertible terms. But the law of Edward VI shows that a spirit of justice was growing up in the minds of the representatives of the people. The parliament of 1552 was, in other respects, not a mere register of the decrees of the executive, and it was speedily dissolved.

Meanwhile, Northumberland had obtained the most lavish grants of estates from the crown, and was proceeding in a career of high-handed despotism. Commissions were issued for the seizure of all the remaining plate and ornaments of the churches, with the exception of such chalices as were necessary for the administration of the sacrament. A new parliament was called in 1553, and especial care was taken that the sheriffs should attend, in their returns, to the nominations of the crown and the recommendations of the privy counsellors.[o]

The policy adopted in the reign of Edward respecting dissent from the established church deserves some consideration. The toleration of heresy was deemed by men of all persuasions to be as unreasonable as it would now be thought to propose the impunity of murder. The open exercise of any worship except that established by law was considered as a mutinous disregard of authority, in which perseverance was accounted culpable contumacy.

Gardiner, a man of extraordinary abilities, learning, and resolution, had been a pliant tool in Henry's negotiations for divorce. Many were the attempts made to compel him to conform to the new system. Imprisonment, with unwarrantable aggravations, was chiefly trusted for subduing his haughty spirit. But he defended himself with courage and address.

It was thought fit to make the first experiment on a meaner subject—Bonner, bishop of London, a canonist of note, believed to be of a fierce temper and prone to cruelty; a belief well justified by his subsequent deeds. A commission issued for the examination of the complaints against this prelate. He deported himself insolently, manifesting that he was one of those inferior spirits who need coarseness to whet the edge of their courage. He complained that he was not deprived by a tribunal proceeding according to the canon law. It was answered with great force, as far as related to Bonner, that he had waived such objections when he consented to receive his bishopric from the king by letters patent. Sentence of deprivation was pronounced against him, and, on the bad ground of his indecorum at the trial, he was sent to the Marshalsea, where he continued a prisoner till the king's death. Gardiner was next brought to trial. He made so many concessions that in what remained he seems to have rather consulted pride than conscience. He, too, suffered a rigorous imprisonment.

MARY AND ELIZABETH

The treatment of the princess Mary was still more odious, if considered as the conduct of a brother towards a sister, or if tried by the standard of religious liberty in modern times. But the first would be a false point of view, and the second too severe a test. Somerset and Northumberland, who were the successive masters of the king and kingdom, saw the immense advantage that would accrue to the Protestant cause from the conversion of the presumptive heir to the throne. The feeble infancy of Edward was its only protection against a princess already suspected of bigotry, and who had grievous wrongs to revenge. Her conversion was therefore a high object of policy. Justice requires this circumstance to be borne in mind in a case where every generous feeling rises up in arms against the mere politician, prompting us warmly to applaud the steady resistance of the wronged princess.



NOBLEMAN'S COSTUME OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

There is no known instance in family history in which a brother and two sisters appear to have been doomed to be each other's enemies by a destiny inseparable from their birth, so extraordinary as that of Edward and the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth. The legitimacy of Mary necessarily rendered Elizabeth illegitimate. The innocence of Anne Boleyn threw a slur over the nuptials of which Edward was the sole offspring. One statute had declared Mary to be illegitimate, for the sake of settling the crown on Elizabeth. The latter princess was condemned to the same brand, to open the door for the nuptials with Edward's mother. Both were afterwards illegitimatised, as it might seem, to exalt the lawful superiority of their brother Edward. At the accession of the latter, Mary was in the thirty-second year of her age, Elizabeth in her fourteenth, and Edward in his ninth. Mary was of an age to remember with bitterness the wrongs done to her innocent mother. Her few, though faithful, followers were adherents of the ancient religion; to which honour and affection, as well as their instruction and example, bound her. On the other hand, the friends, teachers, and companions of the king were, in many instances, bound to the Reformation by conscience. Many others had built their character and their greatness upon its establishment. The pretensions of young Elizabeth were somewhat more remote; but the

daughter of Anne Boleyn was still dear to those zealous Protestants who considered her (whether inviolably faithful to Henry or not) as having died for her favour to the Protestant cause. The guardians of the young king deserve commendation for the decorum which they caused him to observe towards both his sisters, though he did not conceal his affection for Elizabeth, whom he used fondly to call "sweet sister Temperance." His mild temper and gentle nature made the task of his guardians an easy one. Neither of the sisters was likely to give equal help to those who laboured to keep peace between them.

When the parliament had directed the discontinuance of the mass, commanding the liturgy to be used instead, the emperor's ambassador had interposed to procure exemption by letters patent for the lady Mary from this rigorous prohibition. She probably experienced some connivance, though a formal license was refused. But in the autumn following, intelligence was received of designs formed by the English exiles to carry her to the Netherlands; in consequence of which she was desired to repair to her brother's court. She declined coming nearer to London than Hunsdon, reasonably enough disliking the close observation and malicious scrutiny of her enemies. Dr. Mallet, her principal chaplain, was committed to the Tower for solemnising mass at her residence, but when she was absent, and before some who were not members of her household.

The most ungracious act of the government was to employ the tongue and pen of her brother in attacks on her religious opinions. On one occasion she had an interview with the council in presence of Edward. She was told that "the king had long suffered her mass, in hope of her reconciliation, and there being now no hope, which he perceived by her letters, except he saw some speedy amendment he could not bear it." She answered well, that "her soul was God's, and her faith she would not change nor dissemble." Soon after, twenty-four privy counsellors, who had assembled at Richmond to consider the case, determined that it was not meet to suffer the practices of the lady Mary any longer. There was a disposition in the administration to spare Mary, though they could not avowedly dispense with the laws.

RELIGIOUS PERSECUTIONS

But, on the whole, the reign of Edward was the most pure from religious persecution of any administration of the same length, in any great country of Europe, since Christendom had been divided between Catholics and Protestants. "Edward," says a Catholic writer, Dodd,[t] "did not shed blood on that account. No sanguinary, but only penal, laws were executed on those who stood off." In the present case the suspension of arms may be attributed to the humane temper of Cranmer in a great measure. It is praise enough for young Edward, that his gentleness, as well as his docility, disposed him not to shed blood. The fact, however, that the blood of no Roman Catholic was spilled on account of religion, in Edward's reign, is indisputable.

The most remarkable instances of these deviations from humanity were those of fugitives from the Netherlands, who held many unpopular and odious opinions. Before the time of Luther there had been small sects in the Low Countries who had combined a denial of the divinity of Christ with a disbelief in the validity of infant baptism, and joined the rejection of oaths with the tenet of non-resistance adopted afterwards by the Quakers; proceeding,

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however, farther than that respectable persuasion, by denying the lawfulness of magistracy, obedience to human laws, and the institution of property.

The Reformation gave them a shock which roused them from lethargy. They were involved in the same sufferings with the Lutherans and Calvinists. Many of them took refuge in England, where a small number of the natives imbibed some portion of their doctrines.

Some years before, commissions were issued to Cranmer "to inquire into heretical pravity," being nearly the same words by which the power of the court of inquisition is described. Champneys, a priest at Stratford-le-Bow, confessed and recanted. Ashton, a priest, who maintained that "Christ was not God, but brought men to the knowledge of God," escaped in the same manner. Thumb, a butcher, and Putton, a tanner, went through the like process. These feeble heresies seem indeed to have prevailed almost solely among the inferior class.

Joan Becher, commonly called "Joan of Kent," a zealous Protestant, who had privately imported Lutheran books for the ladies of the court in Henry's reign, had now adopted a doctrine, or a set of words, which brought her to be tried before the commissioners. As her assertions are utterly unintelligible, the only mode of fully displaying the unspeakable injustice of her sentence is to quote the very words in which she vainly struggled to convey a meaning: "she denied that Christ was truly incarnate of the Virgin, whose flesh being sinful he could take none of it, but the word, by the consent of the inward man in the Virgin, took flesh of her." Her execution was delayed for a year by the compassionate scruples of Edward.

His conscientious hesitation was borne down by the authority and importunity of Cranmer, though the reasons of that prelate rather silenced than satisfied the boy, who, as he set his hand to the warrant, said, with tears in his eyes, to the archbishop, "If I do wrong, since it was in submission to your authority, you must answer for it to God."[1] Van Parris, also an eminent surgeon in London, of Dutch extraction, having refused to purchase life by recanting his heresy, which consisted in denying the divine nature of Christ, was condemned to the flames.

Opinions subversive of human society having been avowed by a sect in Lower Germany called "Anabaptists," a strong prejudice against that sect, whose distinguishing tenet, however, is perfectly consistent with social order, had a part in these lamentable executions.

THE FORTY-TWO ARTICLES

Of the forty-two articles promulgated in this reign, the principal propositions omitted under Elizabeth were condemnation of those who asserted that the resurrection was already past, or that souls sleep from death to the last judgment, as well as of those who maintain the final salvation of all men, or the reign of the Messiah for a thousand years; which last opinion the forty-first article styles "The fable of the millenaries, a Jewish dotage." The

[1 It was not that his humanity revolted from the idea of burning her at the stake; in his estimation she deserved the severest punishment which the law could inflict. But the object of his compassion was the future condition of her soul in another world. He argued that, as long as she remained in error, she remained in sin, and that to deprive her of life in that state was to consign her soul to everlasting torments. Cranmer was compelled to moot the point with the young theologian; the objection was solved by the example of Moses, who had condemned blasphemers to be stoned; and the king with tears put his signature to the warrant.*e*]

doctrine of the presence of Christ in the communion was expressed in terms more unfavourable to the church of Rome than those chosen by Elizabeth's divines.

In consequence of the changes introduced by the Reformation, it became necessary to reform the ecclesiastical laws. The canon law, consisting of constitutions of popes, decrees of councils, and records of usages (many of which have been long universally acknowledged to have been frauds), was the received code of the courts termed spiritual, in every country of Europe. The appeals allowed by every country to Rome had preserved a consistency of decision and unity of legislation. But the whole system of canon law was so interwoven with papal authority, and so favourable to the most extravagant pretensions of the Roman see, as to have become incapable of execution in a Protestant country.

An act had been accordingly passed, providing that "the king should have full power to nominate sixteen ecclesiastics, of whom four were to be bishops, and sixteen laymen, including four lawyers, to order and compile such laws ecclesiastical as should be thought convenient." A work was accordingly composed for this purpose by Cranmer, and translated into Latin with a happy imitation of the clear method and elegant brevity of the Roman jurists by Sir John Cheke and Dr. Haddon, two of the restorers of classical literature in England. This work was not prepared for the royal confirmation before the close of Edward's reign. The greater part being strictly theological, or relating to the order of proceedings in courts, is beyond our present province.

The duke of Northumberland ruled the kingdom with absolute authority, by means of the privy council, with the title of "admiral and earl marshal"; but the health of Edward was beginning to occasion serious apprehensions. His constitution, originally weak and puny, had been so much injured by measles and small-pox, that he was visited by a disorder in the lungs.

A parliament was assembled in 1553, after preparations which indicate the importance to which the house of commons had arisen. A circular letter was sent to the sheriffs, commanding them "to give notice to the freeholders, citizens, and burgesses, within their county, to nominate men of knowledge and experience," and "declaring it to be the king's pleasure, that whenever the privy council should recommend men of learning and wisdom, their directions be followed." Fifteen knights were accordingly recommended, by name, to the sheriffs of Huntingdon, Suffolk, Bedford, Surrey, Cambridge, Buckingham, Oxford, and Northampton. "These," says Strype,[u] "were such as belonged to the court, and were in places of trust about the king." Such recommendations from the crown were continued occasionally for more than a century longer; but it must be owned that the exercise of influence at this time was neither immoderate nor clandestine.

NORTHUMBERLAND ALTERS THE SUCCESSION

After the prorogation of parliament, Edward had been carried to Greenwich for his health. He returned in a somewhat improved state, and a gleam of hope seems to have cheered the public; but Northumberland did not relax his measures for aggrandising his own family, and for securing a Protestant successor. If Henry VII is to be considered as the stock of the new dynasty, it is clear that on mere principles of hereditary right the crown would descend, first, to the issue of Henry VIII; secondly, to those of Margaret Tudor, queen of Scots; thirdly, to those of Mary Tudor, queen of France. The title of

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Edward was on all principles equally undisputed; but Mary and Elizabeth might be considered as having been excluded by the sentences of nullity, pronounced in the cases of Catherine and Anne Boleyn, both which had been confirmed in parliament. The parties had been expressly pronounced to be illegitimate. Their hereditary right seemed thus to be taken away, and their pretensions rested solely on the conditional settlement of the crown on them, made by their father's will, in pursuance of authority granted by act of parliament.

After Elizabeth, Henry had placed the descendants of Mary, queen of France, on the throne, passing by the progeny of his elder sister, Margaret. Mary of France, by her second marriage with Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, had two daughters, the lady Frances, who had wedded Henry Grey, marquis of Dorset, created duke of Suffolk; and the lady Elinor, who had espoused Henry Clifford, earl of Cumberland. Henry afterwards settled the crown by his will on the heirs of these two ladies successively, passing over his nieces themselves in silence. Northumberland obtained the hand of the lady Jane Grey, the eldest daughter of Grey, duke of Suffolk, by Lady Frances Brandon, for the lord Guildford Dudley, his son. The fatal right of succession claimed by the house of Suffolk devolved, therefore, on the excellent and unfortunate Jane Grey.

It was easy to practise on the religious sensibility of young Edward, whose heart was now softened by the progress of infirmity and the approach of death. It was scarcely necessary for Northumberland to remind him that it was his duty not to confine his exertions for the interests of religion to the short and uncertain period of his own life; that he was bound to provide for the security of the Protestant cause after he himself should be no more. The zeal and rigour of Mary were well known, and their tremendous consequences could be prevented only by her exclusion. The princess Elizabeth, who had only a secondary claim, dependent on the death of her elder sister, had been declared illegitimate by parliament, and the will under which she must claim would be in effect deprived of all authority by the necessary exclusion of Mary.

Mary, queen of Scots, the granddaughter of Margaret Tudor, had been educated a Catholic, and had espoused the dauphin of France. She was almost necessarily, therefore, the irreconcilable enemy of the pure and reformed church, which Edward had been the providential instrument of establishing in England. If the will of Henry was valid, why should not Edward, in whose hands the royal prerogatives were as full and entire as in those of his father, supersede by a new will the arrangements of the former, and settle the crown in such a manner that it might continue to be the bulwark of the Protestant faith? Only to the house of Suffolk was it possible to look for the maintenance of the Reformation. Northumberland also could not fail to remind the young king of the excellent qualities of his playmate and companion, the lady Jane. By these and the like reasons of policy, or topics of persuasion, was Edward induced to make a new testamentary disposal of the crown.

Upon this determination of the king's, Montague, chief justice of the common pleas, and two judges of that court were commanded to attend him at Greenwich, and there ordered to draw up a settlement of the crown upon the lady Jane, the heiress of the house of Suffolk. The judges desired time to consider this alarming proposal. A few days after they were brought before the privy council, from which Northumberland was absent. They represented the danger of incurring the pains of treason, to which they, and indeed all the lords, would be liable by an attempt to set aside a settlement made

under the authority of parliament. Northumberland rushed into the council, trembling with anger, and in a tone of fury, among other tokens of rage, called Montague a traitor, offering to fight in his shirt any man in the cause. Two days after they were once more summoned to attend the council, where the king, "with sharp words and an angry countenance," reproved them for their contumacy. Montague represented that the instrument, if made, would be without effect, because the succession could not be altered without the authority of parliament which had established it. To which the king answered, "We mind to have a parliament shortly; we will do it, and afterwards ratify it by parliament." The judges yielded after this promise.

Fifteen lords of the council, with nine judges, and other civil officers, subscribed to a paper, promising to maintain the limitation of the succession as contained in the royal notes, which were delivered to the judges to clothe them with legal formality. Cranmer's name was at the head of the first; though, as he afterwards protested, against his will, and without his having been allowed to communicate with the king in private.

The most inexplicable circumstance in this transaction is, that, after so much care to influence the elections, an assembly of the commons should not have been called to perform the task of excluding a popish successor. During the session of parliament, however, the danger of the king was not thought so urgent as to require immediate precautions. There was for a time an apparent improvement in his health; but the sudden disappearance of favourable symptoms compelled Northumberland to recur to measures of an illegal and violent description, which he might still hope that Edward would live long enough to legalise in parliament. Writs for a convocation of that assembly were issued about the time of the conferences with the judges.

DEATH OF EDWARD VI

The death-bed devotions of Edward bear testimony to his love of his people, and to his fervid zeal against what he conscientiously believed to be corruptions of true religion. "O Lord! save thy chosen people of England. Defend this realm from papistry, and maintain thy true religion," was the prayer which he uttered. He now sank rapidly. On the day before his demise the council made an attempt to lure the princess Mary into their hands, by desiring her, in the name of her brother, to repair to London. After she had made some progress in her journey, she received from Lord Arundel private warning at Hunsdon, which induced her to shun the snare and betake herself to her residence in Norfolk. Had Northumberland acted with more rapidity, he might have secured Mary and Elizabeth, by obtaining a few days sooner the king's commands that they should come to attend the sick-bed of a brother. On his procrastination the events that followed hinged. Perhaps, however, he thought that Mary would be more dangerous as a prisoner in England than as an exile at Brussels; and he may have connived at her journey towards the coast, that she might be driven to that unpopular asylum.

Shortly after, on July 6th, 1553, this amiable and promising boy breathed his last in his palace at Greenwich.[g] He had lived fifteen years, eight months and twenty-two days, and entered upon the sixth month of the seventh year of his reign. There was suspicion that he died of poison, and Froude[v] quotes contemporary statements that his hair and nails fell off. None the less, he thinks that Northumberland could have gained nothing by his death, and

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that the unknown woman given to him as a nurse had probably given him mineral drugs in trying to cure his consumption, and had thus actually poisoned him, but without malice.[a]

His position in English history, between a tyrant and a bigot, adds somewhat to the grace of his innocent and attractive character, which borrows also an additional charm, from the mild lustre which surrounds the name of Lady Jane Grey, the companion of his infancy, and the object of his dying choice as his successor on the throne.[g]

Freeman sums up the reign as follows: "Besides ecclesiastical reform, this reign was beyond all other times the time of ecclesiastical spoliation. It was even more distinctly so than the reign of Henry. The suppression of the monasteries, the destruction of the shrines, were at least acts of policy. But in Edward's reign the possessions of the church were simply thrown to be scrambled for by the courtiers. The one act in which the public good was at all thought of came from the king himself. Edward, of his own act, applied a part of the revenues of the suppressed colleges and chantries to the foundation of that great system of grammar schools which still bear his name."[x]

THE TEN DAYS' REIGN OF QUEEN JANE

The lady Jane Grey was now but sixteen years of age; her person was pleasing, her disposition amiable and gentle, and her talents of a superior order. Of the extent of her acquirements and the serious turn of her mind we have a proof in the following anecdote, related by the learned Roger Ascham. Going one day to Bradgate, the residence of her family, he learned that the other members of it were hunting in the park, but he found the lady Jane at home deeply engaged in the perusal of Plato's *Phædo* in the original Greek. When he expressed his surprise at her thus foregoing the pleasures of the park, she replied with a smile, "I fancy all their sport is but a shadow to the pleasure that I find in Plato. Alas! good folks, they never felt what true pleasure means." Besides the classic languages, she is said to have been acquainted with French and Italian, and even to have acquired some smattering of the oriental languages.

Her usual residence since her marriage had been at Sion House; but she had lately removed to Chelsea. An order of the council to return to her former abode, and there to await the commands of the king, was now conveyed to her by her husband's sister, Lady Sidney. Next morning she was visited by Northumberland, Northampton, Arundel, Huntingdon, and Pembroke. They addressed her in terms of unwonted respect; her mother, her mother-in-law, and the marchioness of Northampton then entered, and the duke informed her of the death of her royal cousin, and his devise in her favour, in order to preserve the realm from papistry. The lords then fell on their knees and swore that they were ready to shed their blood in her right. At this unexpected intelligence Jane burst into a flood of tears and fell senseless on the ground. When she recovered, she bewailed her cousin's death, and expressed her sense of her unfitness to supply his place, but added, looking up to heaven, "If the right be truly mine, O gracious God, give me strength, I pray most earnestly, so to rule as to promote thy honour and my country's good."

A barge was prepared next day, and Jane was conveyed to the Tower, the usual residence of the kings previous to their coronation. As she entered it her train was borne by her own mother; her husband walked at her side, his cap in his hand; all the nobles bent the knee as she passed. Her succession

was now proclaimed; but the people, whose notions of hereditary right were strong, and who hated Northumberland, listened with apathy. A vintner's boy who ventured to express his dissent was set in the pillory and lost his ears for his offence. Many of the reformed clergy preached in favour of the present change in the succession. Bishop Ridley exerted his eloquence in the same cause at Paul's Cross, but with little effect. For this he has been blamed, and it may be with reason; but he had had recent experience of Mary's unyielding bigotry, and doubtless he deemed that there was no safety for the Reformation but in her exclusion.

Though the partisans of Jane had the government, the treasures, a fleet, an army, and the fortresses in their hands, the cause of Mary was strong in the popular notion of her right, and still stronger in the popular aversion to Northumberland. The people of Norfolk, who had suffered so much at his hands in their late insurrection, were therefore disposed to favour her, and she was proclaimed at Norwich (July 13th). She had previously written to the council demanding why they had concealed her brother's death, and requiring them to have her instantly proclaimed; a denial of her right was returned, and she was called on to "surcease to molest any of Queen Jane's subjects."



NICHOLAS RIDLEY, BISHOP OF LONDON (1500–1555)

Her letters to divers of the nobility and gentry were better attended to; the earls of Bath and Sussex and the heirs of Lords Wharton and Mordaunt joined her at the head of their tenantry; and Sir Edward Hastings, who had been sent by Northumberland to raise four thousand men for the cause of Jane, led them to the support of Mary. This princess had now removed to the duke of Norfolk's castle, Framlingham, on the coast of Suffolk, that she might escape to Flanders if necessary. A fleet had been sent to intercept her, but the crews were induced to declare in her favour. So many of the nobility and gentry had now joined her that she found herself at the head of an army of thirty thousand men. Sir Edward Hastings and some other leaders were preparing to march from Drayton to Westminster with ten thousand men.

On receiving this intelligence the council directed the duke of Suffolk to advance against the lady Mary with the troops which had been collected; but Jane, with tears, implored them not to deprive her of her father. As Suffolk's incapacity was well known, the council called on Northumberland himself to take the command. He complied, though with reluctance it is said, for he feared their treachery. He sent his troops forward, and on receiving the assurances of the nobles that they would join him with their forces at Newmarket, he set forth with his train (July 14th). The indifference shown by the assembled populace was such as to cause him to observe to Lord Grey, as they rode through Shoreditch, "The people press to look on us, but not one saith God speed ye!" He proceeded to Cambridge, whence he advanced (July 17th)

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at the head of eight thousand foot and two thousand horse in the direction of Framlingham; but at Bury St. Edmunds he found it advisable to retreat, and he returned to Cambridge, whence he wrote to the council requiring them to send him reinforcements without loss of time.

But things in London had meantime taken a new direction. On the 19th the lord treasurer and lord privy seal, the earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury and Pembroke, Sir Thomas Cheney and Sir John Mason met at Baynard's castle, where they were attended by the lord mayor, the recorder, and some of the aldermen. Arundel, who had all along been in secret correspondence with Mary, advised them to acknowledge her; he met the main objection by saying, "How doth it appear that Mary intends any alteration in religion? Certainly, having been lately petitioned on this point by the Suffolk men, she gave them a very hopeful answer." [1] Pembroke then drew his sword, and exclaimed, "If the arguments of my lord of Arundel do not persuade you, this sword shall make Mary queen, or I will die in her quarrel." [2] All, however, gave a willing assent; they rode forth and proclaimed Mary at St. Paul's Cross amid the acclamations of the populace, to whom beer, wine and money were then distributed, and the night was ushered in by bonfires and illuminations. Arundel and Paget having set forth with the news to Mary, Pembroke took the custody of the Tower from Suffolk.

The lady Jane, after a brief reign of only ten days, laid down her royalty and retired to Sion House. When her father announced to her the necessity for her resignation, she replied that it was far more agreeable than his late announcement had been, and expressed her wish that her cheerful abdication might atone for the offence she had committed in accepting the crown, in obedience to him and her mother. Northumberland, when he found the turn matters were taking, proclaimed Queen Mary at Cambridge; but he was arrested by Arundel and committed to the Tower,[3] as also were the duke of Suffolk and twenty-five more of their friends.

Mary now advanced towards London. At Wanstead in Essex she was met by the lady Elizabeth, at the head of a stately cavalcade of knights, ladies, gentlemen, and their servants. Four days after, the two sisters, followed by a magnificent train, rode through the city to the Tower—Mary small, thin and delicate; Elizabeth tall, handsome and well-formed, carefully displaying her beautiful hands. In the Tower Mary was met by four state prisoners of rank: the duke of Norfolk, the duchess of Somerset, Courtenay, son of the late marquis of Exeter, and Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. She raised them from the ground where they knelt, kissed them, and gave them their liberty. Next day she released Tunstall and Bonner. When forming her council, she bestowed the office of chancellor on Gardiner, who soon showed that his captivity had not subdued his haughty, overbearing spirit. Paget was next in influence and importance in the cabinet.

Though Mary had hitherto led a life of seclusion, the love of splendid apparel, which seems to have been inherent in her family, was seated deep in her heart, and she gave loose to it in such a manner as to surprise even the French ambassador, who must have been well used to the pomp and display

[1] "Which indeed was true," adds Bishop Godwin, *w* as of his own knowledge. As it appears to have been only verbal, it was easy for Mary and her partisans afterwards to deny it.

[2] This fervent loyalist had been one of those who signed the devise of the crown to Jane, and he had sworn a few days before to shed his blood in her cause!

[3] As he was led through the city, a woman displayed one of the handkerchiefs dipped in Somerset's blood. "Behold," she cried, "the blood of that worthy man, the good uncle of that worthy prince, which was shed by thy malicious practices! It plainly now begins to revenge itself on thee."

of dress at his own court. She required all about her, both lords and ladies, to be similarly arrayed, and gray-haired dames of sixty were now to be seen in the gayest hues, and laden with jewels and ornaments—unlike the perhaps too sober court of Edward VI. Her coronation was celebrated (September 30th, 1553) with all possible splendour. It was performed in the ancient manner: her clothes were all blessed; she was anointed on various parts of her head and body; Gardiner chanted mass; the crown was borne by Elizabeth,[1] who with Anne of Cleves afterwards dined at the queen's table. A general pardon to all but sixty persons, who were named, was proclaimed the same day. *q*

[1 It is said that she whispered to the French ambassador, Noailles, that it was very heavy; and that he replied, "Be patient; it will seem lighter when it is on your own head."]





CHAPTER VII

THE REIGN OF MARY

[1553–1558 A.D.]

To appreciate the reasons that impelled Henry VIII to attach such importance to a male heir, and to bar his daughter by the Spanish marriage from the succession, we need but glance at what followed when she became queen after all. The Tudor ideal of founding a political power absolute in itself and independent of internal disputes or foreign interference, was sacrificed by Mary to her fondness for the nation to which her mother belonged and whence she chose also her husband. While her father and her brother had bent their energies to relieving England of papal influence, she restored it, and placed at its disposal all the strength and resource of the country.—VON RANKE.[b]

THE enthusiasm with which the bloodless revolution in favour of Queen Mary was hailed by the people has been considered as a proof that the majority were Roman Catholic, and would gladly lay aside all the doctrine and discipline of the church which had been so completely settled in the reign of Edward. We are inclined to receive this notion with considerable doubt. Another theory was set forth in the bitter satire of the Venetian ambassador, Micheli,[c] that the English "would be full as zealous followers of the Mohammedan or Jewish religion did the king profess either of them, or commanded his subjects to do so; that, in short, they will accommodate themselves to any religious persuasion, but most readily to one that promises to minister to licentiousness and profit."

At the accession of Mary, the English were neither wholly devoted to Catholicism nor indifferent to all religion. They accepted Mary with joy because, without entering into the subtleties of the divorce question of her mother, they knew that she was the direct heir to the crown, and that the attempt to set her aside was the unjust act of a few ambitious and unscrupu-

lous men. There were many decided Protestants amongst her first adherents. They could not doubt that she would firmly cleave to the mass and to the ceremonies of the church, as in the time of her father; but they could not assume that she would venture to force the papal domination again upon England,[1] or think it possible to take away the Bible from the people which her father had consented to give them. Mary herself saw the necessity of proceeding with great caution.

The news of her accession was received in Rome with exultation, and the pope resolved to send Cardinal Pole as legate to England. That measure was determined in a consistory as early as the 5th of August. But Pole was too discreet to risk such a demonstration before the temper of the people had been farther tried. Mary herself received a secret agent of Rome, Francis Commendone, and to him she professed her attachment to the Romish church, and her desire to bring back its worship. But she implored him to be cautious, for much was still unsettled. Mary, however, sent letters to the pope by this agent, which were so acceptable to Julius III that he wept for joy that his pontificate should be honoured by the restoration of England to its ancient obedience.[e]

EXECUTION OF NORTHUMBERLAND AND FIRST REACTIONS

Abject in adversity as insolent in prosperity, Northumberland sought an interview with Gardiner, and implored his interest to save his life. "Alas," cried he, "let me live a little longer, though it be but in a mouse-hole." Gardiner expressed his wish to serve him, but could not venture to give any hopes. He then prayed that a learned priest might be sent, to whom he might confess, adding that he had never been of any religion but the bishop's own, though for ambitious motives he had pretended otherwise; and that so he would declare at his death. Gardiner, it is said, shed tears, and there is reason to believe did apply to Mary on his behalf; but the emperor had strictly enjoined her not to spare him.

On the 22nd he was led with Gates and Palmer to the scaffold on Tower Hill. The duke, taking off his damask gown, leaned over the railing on the east side and addressed the spectators. He acknowledged his guilt, but said that he had been incited by others whom he would not name; he exhorted the people to return to the ancient faith, without which they could not hope for peace. "By our creed," says he, "we are taught to say, 'I believe in the holy Catholic faith,' and such is my very belief, as my lord bishop here present can testify. All this I say not from having been commanded so to do, but of my own free will."[e] He then prayed, and laid his head on the block. His two companions died with penitence and courage, but made no recantation.

The other prisoners, with the exception of Lady Jane and her husband, were set at liberty. But notwithstanding all this clemency, the prospect for

[1 It is singular that, though the crown of England had so often passed to claimants whose descent was wholly in the female line, yet England had never before seen a crowned queen. The empress Matilda was never crowned, and she bore no higher title than lady. The novelty gave rise to some cavil, and it was found needful at a later stage of Mary's reign for parliament to declare that a queen of England possessed all the rights and powers of a king. This first female reign was the time which finally settled the religious position of England. The supremacy of Rome was inseparably connected with the validity of her mother's marriage and the legitimacy of her own birth. As it was, she was simply queen by act of parliament. She naturally wished to be queen as the legitimate daughter of her father. —FREEMAN *d*]

the Protestants was gloomy and cheerless. The queen made no secret of her attachment to the church of Rome, though she still pretended that she would not interfere with the religion of the people. The Roman priests, now emboldened, ventured to celebrate mass openly in some places. Bourne, one of the royal chaplains, when preaching at St. Paul's Cross, dared to attack what had been done in the late reign. The people became excited, a cry of "Pull him down!" was raised, stones were thrown, and someone flung a dagger, which hit one of the pillars of the pulpit. He might have lost his life but for Bradford and Rogers, two reformed preachers, who calmed the fury of the people, and conveyed him into St. Paul's school. The queen took advantage of this to forbid all public preaching, the great weapon of the reformers.

No one could plead better the rights of conscience in her own case during the late reign than Mary, but in the case of her sister she seems to have forgotten them all. Elizabeth found it necessary for her safety to attend mass, and she was even obliged to stoop some time after to the hypocrisy of writing to the emperor to send her a cross, chalice, and other things for the celebration of mass in her private chapel. Ridley was already in the Tower; Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, and others were also in prison. Cranmer had hitherto been suffered to remain at Lambeth; but when the subdean Thorndon had the audacity to have mass celebrated in the cathedral of Canterbury, the primate felt it his duty to show that this was without his participation. He drew up a paper containing his sentiments on the mass.

He was summoned before the council; he acknowledged the paper to be his, and said his intention had been to enlarge it, affix his seal to it, and put it upon the doors of St. Paul's and other churches. He was committed to the Tower (September 14th) on a charge of treason. Latimer had been sent thither the preceding day for his "seditious demeanour," as it was termed. As the venerable man was led through Smithfield, he anticipated his fate, and said, "This place has long groaned for me."

Most of the leading Protestants were now in prison; many fled the kingdom; Peter Martyr and the other foreigners were ordered to depart. When the men of Suffolk sent to remind the queen of her promises, they met with insult, and one of them named Dobbe was set in the pillory. The intentions of the queen and her council could now be no secret to anyone.

The parliament which had been summoned met on the 5th of October. It is said, but without proof, that violence had been employed to procure a majority favourable to the court; but the simple court influence, added to the prejudices of a large number of the electors, the eagerness of the Catholics to obtain seats, and the fears or despondency of the Protestants, are fully sufficient to account for the effects. In open violation of the existing law a solemn mass of the Holy Ghost was celebrated in Latin before both houses, and when Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, refused to kneel at it he was thrust out of the house. The archbishop of York had been committed to the Tower the day before for "divers his offences," and Harley, the only remaining Protestant prelate, was not allowed to take his seat because he was a married man.

The most important measures passed in this parliament were: an act abolishing every kind of treason not contained in the statute 25 Edward III, and all felonies that did not exist anterior to 1 Henry VIII; one declaring the queen's legitimacy, and annulling the divorce pronounced by Cranmer;[1] and one repealing all the statutes of King Edward respecting religion. It

[1 Against this bill, though it was equivalent to a statute of bastardy in respect of Elizabeth, not a voice was raised in either house of parliament.—LINGARD.]

was further enacted, that after the 20th of December next ensuing no service should be allowed but that in use at the death of King Henry. An act of attainder was also passed against those already condemned for treason, and against Lady Jane Grey, her husband, Lord Ambrose Dudley, and Archbishop Cranmer. These four were arraigned at Guildhall (November 13th) and they all pleaded guilty. Cranmer, urged probably by the natural love of life, wrote to the queen a full explanation of his conduct in the affair of altering the succession, and seeking for mercy; he did not remind her, as he might have done, that she had been indebted to him for safety in her father's time. No notice, however, was taken of his application, but it does not appear that Mary had as yet any decided intention of taking his life.

THE SPANISH MARRIAGE PLAN AND WYATT'S INSURRECTION (1553–1554 A.D.)

The marriage of the queen was a subject which had for some time engaged the attention of herself and her council. The plan of a match between her and Cardinal Pole, whom a papal dispensation could restore to a secular condition, was again brought forward; but the cardinal was now fifty-four years of age, his health was delicate, his habits were bookish and studious, and as the queen seems to have desired an active young consort, that project was abandoned. The general opinion was that she would marry young Courtenay, whom she had created earl of Devonshire, and whose mother she had selected for her bedfellow, according to the usage of the age. Of foreign princes, the king of Denmark, the infante of Portugal, and others were spoken of; but the imperial ambassador had his directions to hint to her, as from himself, a match with the prince of Spain, who was now in his twenty-seventh year, and a widower. She did not seem to give any attention at the time, but the idea sank in her mind. Her affection for Courtenay was observed visibly to decline; she began to talk of his youth and inexperience, and she felt or affected great horror at the excesses into which he ran, and which were but too natural to a young man, long secluded, on the first acquisition of liberty. Presently came a letter from the emperor himself gallantly regretting that age and infirmity prevented him from offering her his own hand, but proposing to her that of the prince of Spain. Her pride was gratified by the prospect of such a high alliance, her vanity was flattered at her hand being sought by a man eleven years her junior, and she secretly resolved on the Spanish match.

In the council, Norfolk, Arundel, and Paget were in favour of it; Gardiner was opposed to it, as also were the bulk of the people, Catholics as well as Protestants; the French and Venetian ambassadors also exerted themselves strenuously in favour of Courtenay. On the 30th of October the commons voted an address to the queen, praying that she would select a husband out of the nobility of the realm. But she would not be thwarted; she said she would prove a match for all the cunning of the chancellor. She sent that same night for the imperial ambassador, and taking him into her oratory, knelt at the foot of the altar before the hallowed wafer, which she believed to be her Creator, and having recited the hymn "Veni, Creator Spiritus," called God to witness that she took the prince of Spain for her husband, and never would have any other. When the commons waited on her with the address, she told them that it was for her, not for them, to choose in this matter.

On the 2nd of January, 1554, four ambassadors extraordinary arrived from the emperor, and made a formal offer to her of the prince of Spain.

[1554 A.D.]

Gardiner, who had given up his opposition when he found it useless, had already arranged the terms with the resident ambassador Renard, and he took all possible precautions for the honour and independence of England. The appointment to all offices was to rest with the queen, and be confined to natives; Philip was to bind himself by oath to maintain all orders of men in their rights and privileges; he was not to take the queen abroad without her consent, nor any of her children without that of the nobility; not to claim a right to the succession if he survived her; not to take from the kingdom ships, ammunition, or any of the crown jewels; and not to engage the nation in the war between his father and France.

Gardiner recommended this treaty with all his eloquence to the lords of the council, who were willing auditors, but to the people the Spanish match was odious. Treaties and promises they knew were as easily broken as made; supported by foreign troops, Philip might easily trample on the constitution, and establish the diabolical tribunal of the Inquisition. These murmurs soon ripened into conspiracies, which were secretly encouraged by Noailles, the French ambassador. It was proposed to effect risings in various parts, and to marry Courtenay to Elizabeth, and establish them in Devonshire, where his family interest lay.

It was the intention of the conspirators to wait till the actual presence of Philip in the kingdom should have still further excited the dissatisfaction of the people; but Gardiner drew the secret from the fears or the simplicity of Courtenay, and the very next day (January 21st), finding they were betrayed, they resolved to have recourse to arms, unprepared as they were, before they were arrested. The duke of Suffolk and his brothers, the lords John and Thomas Grey, went down to Warwickshire to raise his tenantry there; Sir James Croft went to the borders of Wales, where his estates lay; and Sir Peter Carew and others to Devonshire. But all their efforts to raise the people proved abortive. The duke, after being defeated in a skirmish near Coventry by Lord Huntingdon, who was sent in pursuit of him, was betrayed by one of his own tenants and was recommitted to the Tower: Croft was surprised and taken in his bed before he could raise his tenantry; Carew fled to France at the approach of the earl of Bedford.

In Kent affairs assumed a more serious aspect. Sir Thomas Wyatt, a man of great skill and courage, raised the standard of revolt at Maidstone (January 24th); he was instantly joined by fifteen hundred men, and five thousand more were ready to rise. He fixed his headquarters at the old castle of Rochester, and he obtained cannon and ammunition from some ships that were lying in the river. The duke of Norfolk, at the head of a part of the guards and five hundred Londoners, advanced to attack him, but when he gave orders to force the bridge, Bret, the commander of the Londoners, addressed his men, urging them not to fight against those who only sought to save them from the yoke of foreigners. A cry of "A Wyatt! a Wyatt!" was raised, and Wyatt came out at the head of his cavalry; Norfolk and his officers fled towards Gravesend, and Wyatt soon reached Deptford at the head of fifteen thousand men.

The council were now greatly alarmed for the personal safety of the queen. This, however, is one of the few moments in her life in which we must admire her; she exhibited all the courage of her race, and resolved to face the danger. When the lord mayor had called a meeting of the citizens, she entered Guildhall with her sceptre in her hand, followed by her ladies and her officers of state, and addressed the assembly in such animated terms that the hall resounded with acclamations.*i*

She said, in part:

"Now, loving subjects, what I am, you right well know. I am your queen, to whom at my coronation when I was wedded to the realm, and to the laws of the same (the spousal ring whereof I have on my finger, which never hitherto was nor hereafter shall be left off), ye promised your obedience unto me. And that I am the right and true inheritor to the crown of this realm of England, I not only take all Christendom to witness, but also your acts of parliament confirming the same. And certainly, if I either did know or think that this marriage should either turn to the danger or loss of any of you my loving subjects, or to the detriment or impairing of any part or parcel of the royal estate of this realm of England, I would never consent thereunto, neither would I ever marry while I lived. And in the word of a queen I promise and assure you that if it shall not probably appear before the nobility and commons in the high court of parliament, that this marriage shall be for the singular benefit and commodity of all the whole realm; that then I will abstain, not only from this marriage, but also from any other whereof peril may ensue to this most noble realm. Wherefore, now as good faithful subjects, pluck up your hearts, and like true men stand fast with your lawful prince against these rebels, both our enemies and yours, and fear them not."

Of this speech, which Foxe[g] has preserved as well as Holinshed,[h] the martyrologist says, it is given "as near out of her own mouth as could be penned." The people of London were strangely moved by her courage and address. Protestant was as ready for her defence as Catholic. The day after the queen went to Guildhall the householders of London were in armour in the streets; "yea," says Stow,[i] "this day and other days, the justices, sergeants-at-the-law, and other lawyers in Westminster Hall pleaded in harness."[e]

Twenty-five thousand of the citizens forthwith enrolled themselves for the protection of the city. Wyatt[1] meantime was at Southwark with a force diminished to two thousand men, for his followers slunk away when they found that the Londoners would oppose them. Finding that they were exposed to the guns of the Tower, he led them up the river to Kingston, and having there repaired the bridge, which had been broken, and crossed, he proceeded rapidly towards London in the hope of surprising Ludgate before sunrise. But the carriage of one of his cannon happening to break, he most unwisely delayed for an hour to repair it. This gave time for information to be conveyed to the court. The ministers on their knees implored the queen to take refuge in the Tower, but she scorned the timid counsel.

A force of ten thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, under the lords Pembroke and Clinton, was ready to oppose the rebels. At nine o'clock, February 7th, Wyatt reached Hyde Park. Though exposed to the fire of the royal cannon at St. James's, he forced his way up Fleet street with a few followers and reached Ludgate, where, being refused admittance, he turned and fought his way back to Temple Bar; but here finding further resistance hopeless, he surrendered to Sir Maurice Berkeley. His followers meantime had been routed, one hundred being slain and about four hundred made prisoners.

EXECUTION OF LADY JANE GREY

If Mary on the former occasion had neglected the advice of the emperor, and acted with lenity, she resolved to do so no longer.[2] The very day after the capture of Wyatt (February 8th) she signed a warrant for the execution

[1 When he heard that it was proclaimed that whoever took him should have a thousand pounds, he set his name of Thomas Wyatt, fair written, on his cap.[e]]

[2 At the termination of the former conspiracy, the queen had permitted but three persons to be put to death—an instance of clemency, considering all the circumstances, not perhaps to be paralleled in the history of those ages. But the policy of her conduct had been severely arraigned both by the emperor and some of her own counsellors. Impunity, they



EXECUTION OF LADY JANE GREY, IN THE TOWER OF LONDON, FEBRUARY 12, 1554

(After the painting by Paul Delaroche, owned by Lord Cheylesmore)

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of "Guildford Dudley and his wife," as it was insultingly expressed. Feckenham, the former abbot of Westminster, was sent to endeavour to convert the lady Jane to the Catholic religion.[j] She was not likely to be pardoned who could boldly say to the priest sent to examine her, four days before her death, "I ground my faith upon God's word, and not upon the church. For if the church be a good church, the faith of the church must be tried by God's word, and not God's word by the church."[e]

Feckenham was acute, eloquent, and of a tender nature; but he made no impression on her considerate and steady belief. She behaved to him with such calmness and sweetness that he had obtained for her a day's respite. So much meekness has seldom been so free from lukewarmness. She wrote a letter to Harding on his apostasy, couched in ardent and even vehement language, partly because she doubted his sincerity. Never did affection breathe itself in language more beautiful than in her dying letter to her father, in which she says, "My guiltless blood may cry before the Lord, Mercy to the innocent!"

A Greek letter to her sister, the lady Catherine, written on a blank leaf of a Greek Testament, is needless as another proof of those accomplishments which astonished the learned of Europe, but admirable as a token that neither grief nor danger could ruffle her thoughts, nor lower the sublimity of her sentiments. In the course of that morning she wrote in her note-book three sentences in Greek, Latin, and English, of which the last is as follows: "If my fault deserved punishment, my youth, at least, and my imprudence were worthy of excuse. God and posterity will show me favour."

The history of tyranny affords no other example of a female of seventeen put to death for acquiescence in the injunction of a father, sanctioned by the concurrence of all that the kingdom could boast of what was illustrious in nobility, or grave in law, or venerable in religion, by the command of a female and a relation. The example is the more affecting as it was that of a person who exhibited a matchless union of youth and beauty with genius, learning, and piety; whose affections were so warm, while her passions were so perfectly subdued. It was a death sufficient to honour and dishonour an age.[t]

On the morning appointed for the execution (February 12th) Lord Guildford, whom Jane had refused to see lest their feelings should overcome their fortitude,[1] was led out and beheaded on Tower Hill in the presence of a great multitude of people. Jane, from her window, saw him go forth, and she afterwards beheld his bleeding trunk as it was brought back in a cart. Her own execution was to take place within the precincts of the Tower, either on account of her royal extraction, or more probably from fear of the effect the sight of her youth and innocence might have on the minds of the spectators. She ascended the scaffold with a firm step and then addressed those present, saying that she was come there to die for the commission of an unlawful act in taking what belonged to the queen; but adding that, as to the desire or procurement of it, she washed her hands in innocency, and she called on them to bear witness that she died a true Christian, and hoped for salvation only through the blood of Jesus. She then knelt down and repeated the fifty-first Psalm in English. As she was placing herself before the block she said to the executioner, "I pray you despatch me quickly." She then asked him, "Will you take it off

argued, encourages the factious to a repetition of their offence; men ought to be taught by the punishment of the guilty that if they presume to brave the authority of the sovereign, it must be at the peril of their lives and fortunes. Mary now began to admit the truth of these maxims; she condemned her former lenity as the cause of the recent insurrection.—LINGARD.[f]]

[1 They would meet soon enough in the other world, she said.]

before I lay me down?" "No, madam," replied he. Her eyes being bandaged, she groped about for the block, and not finding it she became a little agitated and said, "What shall I do? where is it? where is it?" Her head was then guided to the right spot. She stretched forth her neck, saying, "Lord! into thy hands I commend my spirit," and one blow terminated her existence.[j]

The note to the duke of Suffolk, her father, was probably written on the last morning of her life—perhaps in the very hour when she saw her Guildford's head taken out of the cart. It is worth extracting: "The Lord comfort your grace, and that in his Word, wherein all creatures only are to be comforted. And though it has pleased God to take away two of your children, yet think not, I most humbly beseech your grace, that you have lost them, but trust that we, by leasing this mortal life, have won an immortal life. And I, for my part, as I have honoured your grace in this life, will pray for you in another life." For three hundred years the simplest recital of the fate of this victim of ambition has stirred the sympathy of all true hearts.

On the wall of the Beauchamp tower, in which the Dudleys were imprisoned, is carved the word Jane; and there was formerly a second inscription of the same name. May this record be kept as a sacred memorial of the noble creature to whom one of the earnest Puritan race, Sir Simonds d'Ewes,[k] has paid an eloquent tribute: "How justly may the masculine constancy of this excellent lady, whose many virtues the pens of her very enemies have acknowledged, rise up in judgment against all such poor spirits who, for fear of death, or other outward motives, shall deny God and his truth."

The punishments which followed Wyatt's rebellion are considered by some moderns to have been mild. Mary's contemporaries thought them severe. On the day that Guildford and Jane Dudley were beheaded, the gallows was set up at every gate, and in every great thoroughfare of London. There is a brief catalogue of the use to which these machines were applied on the 13th, when, from Billingsgate to Hyde Park Corner, there were forty-eight men hanged at nineteen public places. On the 17th certain captains and twenty-two of the common rebels were sent into Kent to suffer death. Simon Renard, the ambassador from the emperor, writes to his master, on the 24th of February: "The queen has granted a general pardon to a multitude of people in Kent, after having caused about five score of the most guilty to be executed."

Such executions were made under martial law, although Wyatt and some other leaders were reserved for trial by a jury. According to Renard, Mary was bent on severity: "Numerous are the petitions presented to her majesty to have the pains of death exchanged for perpetual imprisonment, but to this she will not listen." The duke of Suffolk was tried on the 17th, and beheaded on the 23rd. Wyatt and others pleaded guilty. Sir Nicholas Throcmorton was tried on the 17th of April. His trial is one of the more remarkable in our criminal jurisprudence. It is chiefly remarkable for the boldness and ability with which Throcmorton defended himself for hours against the system then pursued by judges and counsel, of heaping accusation upon accusation upon a prisoner; of perplexing him with questions and urgent exhortations to confess his guilt; of reading over garbled evidence, not taken in open court, and requiring him to answer each separate charge as produced. The talent and energy of Throcmorton produced a most surprising result. He was acquitted. Of this rare event the ambassador of the emperor writes that the jury were "all heretics"; and adds, "When they carried him back to the Tower after his acquittal, the people with great joy raised shouts and threw their caps in the air."[e]

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But the court had no idea of being balked of its prey by the consciences of jurors. They were all summoned before the council, committed to prison, and made to pay fines of from one thousand marks to two thousand pounds apiece. This made other juries more pliant, and Sir John Throcmorton and others were found guilty at once. Wyatt was reserved for some time, and efforts were made to prevail on him to accuse the lady Elizabeth and Courtenay. He partly yielded, but what he had been induced to say being not deemed sufficient, he was sent to the scaffold. At his execution (April 11th) he declared, it is said, that led by a promise of his life, he had been induced to charge them falsely with a knowledge of his enterprise.

According to the accounts of both the French and the imperial ambassadors, upwards of four hundred persons were hung. Our own writers would seem to limit this number to little more than sixty.[1] On the 20th of February four hundred others were led coupled together with halters round their necks to the tilt-yard, where the queen from her gallery pronounced their pardon, and the poor men went away shouting "God save Queen Mary!"

ELIZABETH A PRISONER

But the great object of Mary and her council was to get the lady Elizabeth into their toils, as the emperor strongly urged her execution. In the beginning of December she had with difficulty obtained permission to retire to her house at Ashridge near Berkhampstead. It is very probable that she had received some intimation of the designs of the conspirators, and that, knowing her life to be in constant danger from the bigotry of her sister, she may have secretly approved of them; but there is no reason to suppose that she ever committed herself by giving her consent to them. But whether the court had evidence against her or not, the very moment Wyatt's insurrection was suppressed a body of five hundred cavalry was sent to Ashridge, whose commanders had orders to bring her up "quick or dead." She was at this time very unwell, and was retired to rest when they arrived at ten at night. She requested not to be disturbed till morning; but they insisted on seeing her immediately, and followed her lady into her chamber. Two physicians having reported that she might travel without danger to her life, she was placed next morning, February 18th, 1555, at nine o'clock, in a litter, and her weakness was such that she did not reach London till the fifth day.

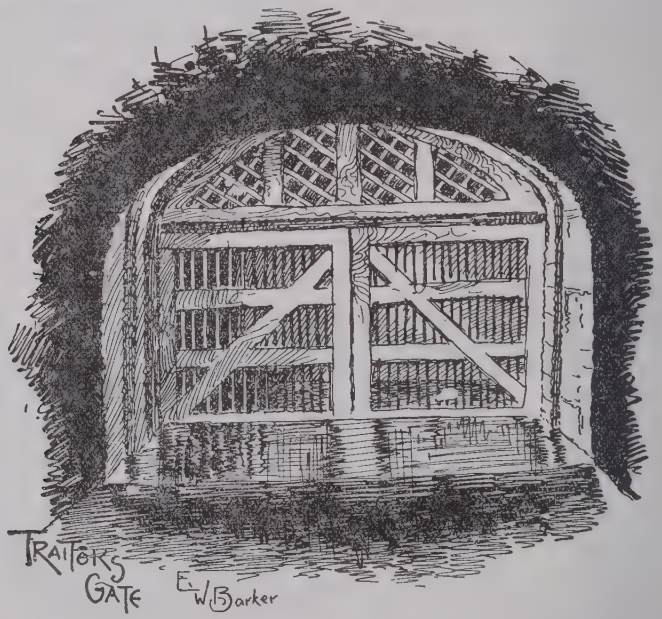
As she passed along the streets she caused the litter[2] to be opened and she appeared clad in white, but pale and swollen with her disease, yet still displaying that air of majesty and dignity which nature had impressed on her features. She was kept for a fortnight a close prisoner at her own residence. It was then determined to send her to the Tower. She wrote to her sister,

[1 Froude[m] says eighty or a hundred bodies were dangling in St. Paul's churchyard, on London Bridge, in Fleet Street, and at Charing Cross, in Southwark and Westminster. At all crossways and in all thoroughfares, says Noailles,[n] "the eye was met with the hideous spectacle of hanging men." But Lingard,[f] who, although a Catholic, is quite as unprejudiced as the other historians, says: "These executions have induced some writers to charge Mary with unnecessary cruelty; perhaps those who compare her with her contemporaries in similar circumstances will hesitate to subscribe to that opinion. If, on this occasion, sixty of the insurgents were sacrificed to her justice or resentment, we shall find in the history of the next reign that, after a rebellion of a less formidable aspect, some hundreds of victims were required to appease the offended majesty of her sister. If we look at the conduct of government after the rebellions of 1715 and 1745, we shall not find that the praise of superior lenity is due to more modern times."]

[2 As Lingard[f] points out, this was the queen's own litter, sent for her sister's comfort.]

asserting her innocence in the strongest terms, and claiming a personal interview on the grounds of a promise the queen had made her.

Her letter was unheeded, and on Palm Sunday she was led to a barge in order to embark for the Tower. She ventured to say that she wondered the nobility of the realm would suffer her to be led into captivity. She objected to landing at Traitors' Stairs, but one of the lords said she must not choose, and offered her his cloak, as it was raining. She flung it from her and stepped out, saying, "Here lands as true a subject, being a prisoner, as ever landed at these stairs. Before thee, O God! I speak it, having no other friends but thee alone." The warders who came to receive her knelt down and prayed for her safety, for which they were dismissed next day. She passed on, and sat on a stone to rest herself. The lieutenant begged of her to come in out of the rain;



she replied, "Better sitting here than in a worse place." She was then led to her apartment; the doors were locked and bolted on her, and she remained there to meditate on the fate of her guiltless mother and the innocent Jane Grey, a fate which she had little doubt awaited herself.

Mary, in whose bosom fanaticism had stifled all natural feeling, was willing to shed her sister's blood;[1] the emperor, acting perhaps on the principles of his grandfather in the case of the earl of Warwick, was urgent to have her executed if possible; Arundel and Paget were for the same course; but Gardiner saw plainly that neither she nor Courtenay could be brought within the provisions of 25 Edward III, now the only law of treason. It may be that motives of humanity had some influence on the chancellor's mind, but there is nothing to prove it. The queen feared to take on herself the responsibility of executing her sister contrary to law. The rigour of Elizabeth's confinement was so far

[1 This is also Froude's[m] declaration, but Lingard[f] denies this intention or desire, and emphasises Gardiner's determined opposition to Renard, who laboured to have Elizabeth put out of the way.]

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relaxed that she was allowed to walk in a small garden within the Tower. On the 19th of May Sir Henry Bedingfield came with one hundred soldiers and conveyed her to Richmond, and thence to Woodstock castle, where she was confined as strictly as when in the Tower. Courtenay, who was a close prisoner in this fortress, was sent on the 22nd to Fotheringay.

The queen meantime lay on no bed of roses. She was in a state of constant apprehension; she distrusted even those who were about her, and did not venture to move without a large body of guards. She is said to have had thoughts of ordering a general muster of the people, and then seizing their arms and laying them up in the fortresses. At this time great numbers of the gentry, apprehensive of the persecution which they saw coming, sold their properties and went over to France.

A parliament met on the 4th of April, 1554; a sum of four hundred thousand crowns, sent for the purpose by the emperor, is said to have been employed to gain over the members; and Mary, to quiet the apprehensions which might be felt about the church lands, resumed the title of supreme head of the church. The object proposed was to get a bill passed enabling the queen to dispose of the crown and appoint a successor. But the parliament easily saw who the successor would be, and that in her blind folly and hatred of her sister the queen would make England but a province of the Spanish monarchy. All the arts of Gardiner therefore failed; they would not even make it treason to compass the death of the queen's husband. Bills for reviving the law of the six articles and other statutes against heresy were introduced to no purpose, and the queen finding the parliament not to answer her ends dissolved it.

THE QUEEN'S MARRIAGE WITH PHILIP II

If we believe the malicious but probably true statements of the French ambassador, the queen manifested her impatience for the arrival of her young husband in a very ridiculous manner. She frequently complained of his delay, regarding it as intentional, and remarked that though she brought him a kingdom as her dower he had not favoured her with a single letter; and as she viewed her ordinary and careworn features in her glass, she feared lest she might fail of inspiring him with affection. At length, to her great joy, Philip landed at Southampton (July 19th). He was received by the lords of the council and presented with the order of the Garter. After a short delay he rode to Winchester, where he was met by the anxious queen, and on the feast of St. James, the patron saint of Spain (July 25th), the marriage ceremony was performed by Gardiner, the bishop of that see. The royal pair remained there for some days, and then proceeded to Windsor. They visited the metropolis, where they were received with those very dubious marks of affection, shows and pageants; but the character of neither was calculated to gain the popular favour. The queen was anxious to have her husband all to herself, and his own Spanish pride contributed to fence him round with pomp and etiquette.

But the object nearest the queen's heart was to bring her kingdom again into the bosom of the church. As this could never be effected while the nobility and gentry had to fear for their property in the church lands, the pope yielded to the representations of Gardiner, and signed a bull empowering the legate to "give, alienate, and transfer" to the present possessors all the property taken from the church in the two late reigns. It was now deemed advisable to convene a new parliament; and as the queen knew she might depend on the

compliance of the degenerate or upstart nobles, who never dreamed of opposing the royal will, no matter who possessed the crown, her sole care was to obtain a pliant house of commons. Orders were therefore sent to the sheriffs to have those who held the ancient faith elected; the Protestants were dispirited, and consequently a house containing probably not a single one of them was returned.

On the 1st of November, 1554, the parliament was opened by a speech from the chancellor in the presence of the king and queen, whose expectation he said it was that they would accomplish the reunion of the realm with the Catholic church. One of the first measures for this purpose was to introduce a bill for reversing the attainder of Cardinal Pole. It was passed, of course, without hesitation.

The cardinal meantime was on his way to England. He entered a barge at Gravesend; then, fixing his silver cross in the prow, he proceeded to Westminster. The chancellor received him as he landed, the king at the palace gate, the queen at the head of the staircase. After a short stay he retired to Lambeth, and occupied the archiepiscopal palace, which had been prepared for his abode.

THE SUBMISSION TO ROME (1554 A.D.)

Four days after, the legate returned to court, whither the lords and commons had been summoned. He thanked them for reversing his attainder, and assured them of his readiness to aid in restoring them to the unity of the church. They then retired, and next day (November 29th) they unanimously voted a petition to the king and queen, expressing their sorrow for the defection of the realm, and hoping through their mediation to be again received into the bosom of the church.*i*

The motion for the reunion was carried almost by acclamation. In the lords every voice was raised in its favour; in the commons, out of three hundred members, two only demurred, and these desisted from their opposition the next day. It was determined to present a petition in the name of both houses to the king and queen, stating that they looked back with sorrow and regret on the defection of the realm from the communion of the apostolic see; that they were ready to repeal, as far as in them lay, every statute which had either caused or supported that defection; and that they hoped, through the mediation of their majesties, to be absolved from all ecclesiastical censures, and to be received into the bosom of the universal church.

On November 30th the queen took her seat on the throne. The king was placed on her left hand, the legate, but at greater distance, on her right. The chancellor read the petition to their majesties; they spoke to the cardinal; and he, after a speech of some duration, absolved "all those present, and the whole nation, and the dominions thereof, from all heresy and schism, and all judgments, censures, and penalties for that cause incurred; and restored them to the communion of holy church in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." "Amen," resounded from every part of the hall; and the members, rising from their knees, followed the king and queen into the chapel, where Te Deum was chanted in thanksgiving for the event. The next Sunday the legate, at the invitation of the citizens, made his public entry into the metropolis; and Gardiner preached at Paul's Cross the celebrated sermon in which he lamented in bitter terms his conduct under Henry VIII, and exhorted all who had fallen through his means, or in his company, to rise with him, and seek the unity of the Catholic church.

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A bill was now enacted which provided that all papal bulls, dispensations, and privileges not containing matter prejudicial to the royal authority, or to the laws of the realm, may be put in execution, used, and alleged in all courts whatsoever; and concludes by declaring that nothing in this act shall be explained to impair any authority or prerogative belonging to the crown in the twentieth year of Henry VIII; that the pope shall have and enjoy, without diminution or enlargement, the same authority and jurisdiction which he might then have lawfully exercised; and that the jurisdiction of the bishops shall be restored to that state in which it existed at the same period. In the lords, the bill was read thrice in two days; in the commons, it was passed after a sharp debate on the third reading. Thus was re-established in England the whole system of religious polity which had prevailed for so many centuries before Henry VIII.*f*

The present parliament readily passed the bill against heresy, and the others which had been rejected by the last. They also made it treason to compass or attempt the life of Philip during his union with the queen; but even they would go no further, refusing to consent even to his coronation. An act, however, was passed, giving him the guardianship of the queen's expected issue, "if it should happen to her otherwise than well in the time of her travail."

The lovesick Mary actually fancied at this time that her longing desires for issue were about to be gratified. At the first sight of Pole, she felt, as she thought, the babe moving in her womb; this by some of the zealous was likened to John the Baptist's leaping in his mother's womb at the salutation of the Virgin. The council wrote that very night to Bonner to order a Te Deum to be sung in St. Paul's and the other churches. Prayers were composed for the safe delivery of the queen, one of which ran partly thus: "Give therefore unto thy servants Philip and Mary a male issue, which may sit in the seat of thy kingdom. Give unto our queen a little infant, in fashion and body comely and beautiful, in pregnant wit notable and excellent." Public rejoicings were made, and the household of the prince (for so it was to be) was arranged. But all was mere illusion; the pregnancy, as afterwards appeared, was but the commencement of dropsy.

To ingratiate himself with the nation, Philip caused those who were in confinement in the Tower for treason to be set at liberty. Through his means the same favour was extended to Courtenay. This young man went to the Continent, and died soon after at Padua. But Philip's most popular act was obtaining pardon for the princess Elizabeth. As we have seen, she was now a prisoner at Woodstock, and Sir Henry Bedingfield proved so rigorous a jailer, that, it is said, hearing one day the blithe song of a milkmaid, she could not refrain from wishing that she were a milkmaid too, that she might carol thus gay and free from care. Her situation was a precarious one; as the daughter of Anne Boleyn, and as a Protestant in her heart, she was an object of aversion to the queen, who, according to Elizabeth's assertion, actually thirsted for her blood. The Spanish match alone saved Elizabeth, for it became the interest of him who had the power to do it to protect her.

Foxe *g* tells us that when Lord Paget said that the king would not have any quiet commonwealth in England unless her head were stricken from the shoulders, the Spaniards answered, "God forbid that their king and master should have that mind to consent to such a mischief"; and he adds, that they never ceased urging Philip till he had her released from prison. To this is to be added Elizabeth's extreme prudence, which prevented her enemies from gaining any advantage over her, and her feigning to be a Catholic. Something also must be ascribed to the mild temper of Cardinal Pole.

Hatfield was now assigned to Elizabeth as a residence, under the charge of Sir Thomas Pope, a gentleman of honour and humanity, and she was frequently received at court. It was proposed to marry her to some foreign prince, but she steadfastly declined all the offers made to her.[1] She spent her time chiefly in reading the classics with the learned Roger Ascham.

THE PERSECUTIONS BEGIN

The year 1555 opened with dismal prospects for the Protestants. The queen had already, even before the parliament met, made this reply to the lords of the council in writing: "Touching the punishment of heretics, methinketh it ought to be done without rashness, not leaving in the meantime to do justice to such as by learning would seem to deceive the simple; and the rest so to be used that the people might well perceive them not to be condemned without just occasion, by which they shall both understand the truth, and beware not to do the like. And especially within London I would wish none to be burned without some of the council's presence, and both there and everywhere good sermons at the same time."

On the 23rd of January all the bishops went to Lambeth to receive the legate's blessing and directions. Pole, whose natural temper was mild and whose character was virtuous, desired them to return to their sees and endeavour to win back their flocks by gentle methods. On the 25th (the conversion of St. Paul) there was a solemn procession through London. First went one hundred and sixty priests, all in their copes; then came eight bishops, and lastly Bonner, bearing the host; thanksgivings were offered to God for reconciling them again to his church; bonfires blazed all through the night, and this day was appointed to be annually observed under the name of the Feast of Reconciliation. On the 28th the chancellor, aided by the bishops Bonner, Tunstall, Heath, Thirlby, Aldrich, and other prelates, with the duke of Norfolk and the lords Montague and Wharton, opened his court under the legatine authority for the trial of heretics at St. Mary Overy's in Southwark.

The bishops Hooper and Ferrar, and Rogers, Taylor, and some other divines had been brought on the 22nd before the chancellor and council; they had to undergo the ill language and browbeating of Gardiner, but they persisted in maintaining their principles. Hooper and Rogers were now put on their trial. The former was charged with marrying, though a priest; with maintaining that marriages may be legally dissolved for fornication and adultery, and that persons so released may marry again; and with denying transubstantiation. He admitted the truth of all.

Rogers was asked if he would accept the queen's mercy and be reconciled to the Catholic church. He replied that he had never departed from that church, and that he would not purchase the queen's clemency by relapsing into anti-Christian doctrines. Gardiner then asked the fatal question, did he believe that the body of the Lord was really present in the sacrament. He answered that he did not. The two prisoners were brought up again, and as they refused to recant they were condemned on the charges already mentioned. Rogers requested that his poor wife, being a stranger (she was a German), might come and speak with him while yet he lived. "She is not thy wife," said Gardiner. "Yea, but she is, my lord," replied Rogers,

[1 Courtenay had been proposed as her husband, but she had declined him as well as Emmanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, and Eric, son of the Swedish king. She had already begun that policy of the evasion of marriage which so characterised her reign.]

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"and hath been so these eighteen years." His request was refused. The two prisoners were then committed to the sheriffs, with directions to keep them in the Clink till night and then to transfer them to Newgate. In order that the city might be enveloped in darkness, orders were given that the costermongers, who then, as now, sat with candles at their stalls, should put them out; but the people stood with lights at their doors, and greeted, prayed for, and praised the confessors as they passed.

Some days after, Bonner came to Newgate, and in the chapel performed the ceremony of degrading them, on which occasion he rejected the renewed request of Rogers to be allowed to see his wife. On the 4th of February Rogers was led forth to be burned in Smithfield. Immense crowds were assembled in the streets, who cheered and applauded him as he went along repeating the fifty-first Psalm. Among them he beheld his wife and his ten children, one of them an infant at the breast. At the stake a pardon was offered him if he would recant; he refused it, and died with constancy, England's Protestant proto-martyr.[1]

Hooper, whom it was determined to burn in his own diocese, was committed to the charge of six men of the royal guard, who were to conduct him to Gloucester. As it was market-day (February 9th) about seven thousand people were assembled, but strict orders from the council not to permit him to address the people had been received.[2] A box containing his pardon was set before the victim. "If you love my soul, away with it!" said he twice. When he was fixed to the stake, one of his guards came and kindly fastened some bags of gunpowder about him to shorten his torments. The pyre was then inflamed, but most of the wood was green, and the wind blew the flames from him. At length it blazed up, but it sank again, leaving him all scorched; even the explosion of the powder did him little injury. His sufferings lasted for three-quarters of an hour, during which he was seen to move his lips constantly in prayer, and to beat his breast, which he continued to do with one hand after his other arm had dropped off. At length his agonies came to their close.*i*

Of all the heroes of the Reformation, Rowland Taylor is, to our minds, the most interesting, because the most natural. Of a hearty, bluff English nature, full of kindliness and pleasantry, he is perfectly unconscious of playing a great part in this terrible drama, and goes to his death as gaily as to a marriage-feast. Fuller *p* says that those "who admire the temper of Sir Thomas More jesting with the axe of the executioner, will excuse our Taylor making himself merry with the stake." He has been compared to Socrates in his simplicity and jocularity, his affection for his friends, and his resolution to shrink from no danger rather than compromise the goodness of his cause.

The account which Foxe *g* has given of Rowland Taylor is held by Heber *q* to be only inferior to the eloquence and dignity of the Phædo of Plato. Taylor had been chaplain to Archbishop Cranmer, but having been appointed rector of Hadleigh in Suffolk, he devoted himself most zealously to the duties of his parish. He was married and had nine children. Soon after the accession of Mary some zealous papists took forcible possession of his church and brought a priest to perform mass. Taylor remonstrated, with more wrath

[1 Gardiner's *o* statement should be noted: "It was not only Mary who thought it meet that heretics should be burned. John Rogers, who was the first to suffer, had in the days of Edward pleaded for the death of Joan Becher. Hooper was carried to Gloucester that he might die at the one of his two sees which he had stripped of its property to enrich the crown."]

[2 The martyrs were usually enjoined not to speak. Foxe *g* says that the council used to threaten to cut out their tongues if they did not pledge themselves to be silent.

than worldly prudence, against what he called popish idolatry; and he was cited to appear in London before the chancellor. He remained in confinement for about a year and three-quarters, when he was brought before the commissioners and condemned as a heretic.

His degradation was performed by Bonner, the usual mode being to put the garments of a Roman Catholic priest on the clerk-convict, and then to strip them off. Taylor refused to put them on, and was forcibly robed by another. "And when he was thoroughly furnished therewith, he set his hands to his sides, and said, 'How say you, my lord, am I not a goodly fool? How say you, my masters, if I were in Cheap should I not have boys enough to laugh at these apish toys?' " The final ceremony was for the bishop to give the heretic a blow on his breast with his crosier-staff. "The bishop's chaplain said, 'My lord, strike him not, for he will sure strike again.' 'Yes, by St. Peter, will I,' quoth Doctor Taylor; 'the cause is Christ's and I were no good Christian if I would not fight in my Master's quarrel.' So the bishop laid his curse on him, and struck him not." When he went back to his fellow-prisoner, Bradford, he told him the chaplain had said he would strike again; "and by my troth," said he, rubbing his hands, "I made him believe I would do so indeed." We give the scene as we find it, as an exhibition of character and of manners. What Heber calls "the coarse vigour of his pleasantry" may justly appear to some as foolish irreverence. But under this rough contempt of an authority which he despised, there was in this parish priest a tenderness and love most truly Christian.[e]

JOHN FOXE'S ACCOUNT OF TAYLOR'S DEATH

On the next morrow after that Doctor Taylor had supped with his wife, which was the 5th day of February, the sheriff of London with his officers came to the compter by two o'clock in the morning, and so brought forth Doctor Taylor, and without any light led him to the Woolsack, an inn without Aldgate. Doctor Taylor's wife, suspecting that her husband should that night be carried away, watched all night in St. Botolph's church-porch beside Aldgate, having with her two children. Now when the sheriff and his company came against St. Botolph's church, Elizabeth cried, saying, "O my dear father! mother, mother, here is my father led away." Then cried his wife, "Rowland, Rowland, where art thou?" for it was a very dark morning, that the one could not see the other. Doctor Taylor answered, "Dear wife, I am here"; and stayed.

Then came she to him, and he took his daughter Mary in his arms; and he, his wife, and Elizabeth kneeled down and said the Lord's prayer. At which sight the sheriff wept apace, and so did divers others of the company. After they had prayed, he rose up and kissed his wife, and shook her by the hand, and said, "Farewell, my dear wife; be of good comfort, for I am quiet in my conscience. God shall stir up a father for my children." And then he kissed his daughter Mary, and said, "God bless thee, and make thee his servant"; and kissing Elizabeth, he said, "God bless thee. I pray you all stand strong and steadfast unto Christ and his word, and keep you from idolatry." Then said his wife, "God be with thee, dear Rowland; I will, with God's grace, meet thee at Hadley."

And so was he led forth to the Woolsack, and his wife followed him. At the coming out of the gates, John Hull [his servant] stood at the rails with Thomas, Doctor Taylor's son. When Doctor Taylor saw them, he called

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them, saying, "Come hither, my son Thomas." And John Hull lifted the child up, and set him on the horse before his father; and Doctor Taylor put off his hat, and said to the people that stood there looking on him, "Good people, this is mine own son, begotten of my body in lawful matrimony; and God be blessed for lawful matrimony." Then lifted he up his eyes towards heaven and prayed for his son; laid his hat upon the child's head and blessed him; and so delivered the child to John Hull, whom he took by the hand and said, "Farewell, John Hull, the faithfullest servant that ever man had."

And so they rode forth to Brentwood, where they caused to be made for Doctor Taylor a close hood. with two holes for his eyes to look out at, and a slit for his mouth to breathe at. This they did that no man should know him, nor he speak to any man; which practice they used also with others. Their own consciences told them that they led innocent lambs to the slaughter. Wherefore they feared lest if the people should have heard them speak, or have seen them, they might have been much more strengthened by their godly exhortations to stand steadfast in God's word and to fly the superstitions and idolatries of the papacy.

All the way Doctor Taylor was joyful and merry, as one that accounted himself going to a most pleasant banquet or bridal. He spake many notable things to the sheriff and yeomen of the guard that conducted him, and often moved them to weep through his much earnest calling upon them to repent and to amend their evil and wicked living. Oftentimes also he caused them to wonder and rejoice, to see him so constant and steadfast, void of all fear, joyful in heart, and glad to die. Then said Doctor Taylor, "I will tell you how I have been deceived, and, as I think, I shall deceive a great many. I am, as you see, a man that hath a very great carcase, which I thought should have been buried in Hadley churchyard, if I had died in my bed, as I well hoped I should have done; but herein I see I was deceived; and there are a great number of worms in Hadley churchyard, which should have had jolly feeding upon this carrion, which they have looked for many a day. But now I know we be deceived, both I and they; for this carcase must be burnt to ashes; and so shall they lose their bait and feeding, that they looked to have had of it."

When the sheriff and his company heard him say so they were amazed, and looked one on another, marvelling at the man's constant mind, that thus, without all fear, made but a jest at the cruel torment and death now at hand prepared for him. Coming within two miles of Hadley, he desired, for somewhat, to light off his horse; which done, he leaped and set a frisk or twain, as men commonly do in dancing. "Why, master doctor," quoth the sheriff, "how do you now?" He answered: "Well, God be praised, good master sheriff, never better; for now I know I am almost at home. I lack not past two stiles to go over, and I am even at my Father's house. But, master sheriff," said he, "shall we not go through Hadley?" "Yes," said the sheriff, "you shall go through Hadley." Then said he, "O good Lord! I thank thee, I shall yet once more ere I die see my flock, whom thou, Lord, knowest I have most heartily loved and truly taught. Good Lord! bless them and keep them steadfast in thy word and truth."

The streets of Hadley were beset on both sides the way with men and women of the town and country who waited to see him; whom when they beheld so led to death, with weeping eyes and lamentable voices they cried, saying one to another, "Ah, good Lord! there goeth our good shepherd from us that so faithfully hath taught us, so fatherly hath cared for us, and so

godly hath governed us. O merciful God! what shall we poor scattered lambs do? What shall come of this most wicked world? Good Lord, strengthen him, and comfort him"; with such other most lamentable and piteous voices. Wherefore the people were sore rebuked by the sheriff and the catchpoles his men that led him. And Doctor Taylor evermore said to the people, "I have preached to you God's word and truth, and am come this day to seal it with my blood."

At the last, coming to Aldham common, the place assigned where he should suffer, and seeing a great multitude of people gathered thither, he asked, "What place is this, and what meaneth it that so much people are gathered hither?" It was answered, "It is Aldham common, the place where you must suffer; and the people are come to look upon you." Then said he, "Thanked be God, I am even at home"; and so alighted from his horse, and with both his hands rent the hood from his head. Now was his head knotted evil-favouredly, and clipped much like as a man would clip a fool's head; which cost the good bishop Bonner had bestowed upon him, when he degraded him. But when the people saw his reverend and ancient face, with a long white beard, they burst into weeping tears, and cried, saying, "God save thee, good Doctor Taylor! Jesus Christ strengthen thee, and help thee; the Holy Ghost comfort thee"; with such other like godly wishes. Then would he have spoken to the people, but the yeomen of the guard were so busy about him that, as soon as he opened his mouth, one or other thrust a tipstaff into his mouth, and would in nowise permit him to speak.

Doctor Taylor, perceiving that he could not be suffered to speak, sat down, and seeing one named Soyce, he called him and said, "Soyce, I pray thee come and pull off my boots, and take them for thy labour. Thou hast long looked for them, now take them." Then rose he up, and put off his clothes unto his shirt, and gave them away; which done, he said with a loud voice, "Good people! I have taught you nothing but God's holy word, and those lessons that I have taken out of God's blessed book, the holy Bible; and I am come hither this day to seal it with my blood." With that word, Homes, yeoman of the guard aforesaid, who had used Doctor Taylor very cruelly all the way, gave him a great stroke upon the head with a waster, and said, "Is that the keeping of thy promise, thou heretic?" Then he, seeing they would not permit him to speak, kneeled down and prayed, and a poor woman that was among the people stepped in and prayed with him; but her they thrust away, and threatened to tread her down with horses; notwithstanding she would not remove, but abode and prayed with him. When he had prayed, he went to the stake, and kissed it, and set himself into a pitch-barrel, which they had set for him to stand in, and so stood with his back upright against the stake, with his hands folded together, and his eyes towards heaven, and so he continually prayed.

Four were appointed to set up the fagots, and to make the fire, which they most diligently did; and this Warwick cruelly cast a fagot at him, which lit upon his head, and brake his face, that the blood ran down his visage. Then said Doctor Taylor, "O friend, I have harm enough, what needed that?"

Furthermore, Sir John Shelton there standing by, as Doctor Taylor was speaking, and saying the psalm *Miserere* in English, struck him on the lips. "Ye knave," said he, "speak Latin; I will make thee." At the last they set to fire; and Doctor Taylor, holding up both his hands, called upon God, and said, "Merciful Father of heaven, for Jesus Christ my Saviour's sake, receive my soul into thy hands." So stood he still without either crying or

moving, with his hands folded together, till Soyce with a halbert struck him on the head that the brains fell out, and the dead corpse fell down into the fire.

Thus rendered the man of God his blessed soul into the hands of his merciful Father, and to his most dear and certain Saviour Jesus Christ, whom he most entirely loved, faithfully and earnestly preached, obediently followed in living, and constantly glorified in death.[g]

FURTHER PERSECUTIONS

Foxe gives at length a letter written anonymously to Bishop Bonner by a woman he had sought to apprehend. As an index of the mood of the time, part of it is worth quoting:

"I see that you are set all in a rage like a ravening wolf against the poor lambs of Christ appointed to the slaughter for the testimony of the truth. Indeed, you are called the common cutthroat and general slaughter-slave to all the bishops of England; and therefore it is wisdom for me and all other simple sheep of the Lord to keep us out of your butcher's stall as long as we can. The very papists themselves begin now to abhor your bloodthirstiness, and speak shame of your tyranny. Like tyranny, believe me, my lord, every child that can any whit speak, can call you by your name and say, 'Bloody Bonner is bishop of London'; and every man hath it as perfectly upon his fingers' ends, as his Paternoster, how many you, for your part, have burned with fire and famished in prison; they say the whole sum surmounteth to forty persons within this three-quarters of this year. Therefore, my lord, though your lordship believeth that there is neither heaven nor hell, nor God nor devil, yet if your lordship love your own honesty, which was lost long agone, you were best to surcease from this cruel burning of true Christian men, and also from murdering of some in prison; for that indeed offendeth men's minds most. Therefore, say not but a woman gave you warning, if you list to take it. And as for the obtaining of your popish purpose in suppressing the truth, I put you out of doubt, you shall not obtain it so long as you go this way to work as ye do; for verily I believe that you have lost the hearts of twenty thousand that were rank papists within this twelve months."[g]

In Guernsey a pregnant woman was brought to the stake, and in her terror gave birth to a child, which a compassionate spectator attempted to save; but others snatched up the infant and threw it into the flames, with the assent of the officers; for it was already infected with the poison of heresy and ought to perish! Thus, by religious persecution, man sinks in wickedness lower than the spirits of hell, and in stupidity below the brute beast.[r]

Our limits do not allow us to enter into the details of the martyrdom of Sanders, Bradford, and others. Suffice it to say that they all died with the utmost constancy, especially those who were married,[1] thus nobly refuting the slanderous assertions of their adversaries, that sensual pleasure was the bait which allured them to the reformed creed.

It is remarkable that after the condemnation of Hooper and Rogers, the chancellor Gardiner sat no more, but resigned the odious office to Bonner, of whom it has been truly said by Mackintosh,[t] that he "seems to have been of so detestable a nature, that if there had been no persecution he must have sought other means of venting his cruelty."

Another notable circumstance is this: On the 10th of February, 1555, Alfonso de Castro, a Franciscan friar and confessor to the king, preached a

[1 "The married clergy were observed to suffer with most alacrity. They were bearing testimony to the validity and sanctity of their marriage; the honour of their wives and children were at stake; the desire of leaving them an unsullied name, and a virtuous example, combined with a sense of religious duty; and thus the heart derived strength from the very ties which in other circumstances might have weakened it."—SOUTHEY.[s]]

sermon, in which he condemned these sanguinary proceedings in very strong terms, as contrary to both the text and the spirit of the Gospel. Whether the friar in doing so acted from conscience or the directions of Philip cannot be ascertained.[1] If the latter was the cause, it must have been that Philip, seeing the horror caused by these barbarous executions, and knowing that they would be laid to his charge, and that he would thus lose all chance of obtaining the government of England, took this mode of clearing himself. But the stratagem, if it was such, was of no avail; in a few weeks the piles were rekindled, and every one knew that he had such influence over the queen that he could have ended the persecution at his pleasure.

The possessors of the church lands, as we have seen, seem to have cared little about religion or conscience in comparison with their houses and manors; but they now ran some risk of seeing their rights of possession disputed. A splendid embassy, headed by Lord Montague, Thirlby, bishop of Ely, and Sir Edward Carne, was sent to Rome to lay the submission of England before the papal throne. But while they were on the road Pope Pius died, and his successor, Marcellus, followed him to the tomb within a few days after his elevation. The choice of the college now fell on the cardinal Caraffa, a man hitherto distinguished for the austerity of his manners. This haughty pontiff condescended to forgive the English nation the sin of their defection, and he confirmed the erection of Ireland into a kingdom.

While England was thus brought again within the papal fold, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer lay in prison expecting the fate which they knew awaited them. In the beginning of March in the preceding year they had been transmitted to Oxford, where they were required to dispute with a commission, presided over by Doctor Weston, on the subject of the eucharist and the mass. This disputation lasted for three days, April 13th–15th, 1554. The prisoners met with little but sophistry, insult, and derision; and as they steadfastly maintained their opinions, they were condemned as heretics, "themselves, their fautors and patrons." Cranmer, probably being regarded as an attainted traitor, was confined in the common gaol, which was named Bocardo; the other two prelates were kept in separate houses.

As there was no law at this time by which deniers of the real presence could be burned, the government was obliged to wait till parliament should have armed them with powers for the purpose. The prelates were therefore left in their prisons till the autumn of the following year (1555), when Brookes, bishop of Gloucester, came down by commission from the legate as papal sub-delegate, attended by two civilians, Martin and Storey, as the royal proctors.

He opened his commission (September 12th) in St. Mary's church, seated on a scaffold ten feet high over the high altar. Cranmer was led in, habited in his doctor's dress; he took no notice of Brookes, but saluted the royal proctors. Brookes observed that his present situation entitled him to more respect. Cranmer mildly replied that he meant no personal disrespect to him, but that he had solemnly sworn never to readmit the bishop of Rome's authority into the realm. Brookes then addressed him, charging him with heresy, perjury, treason, and adultery.

Cranmer proceeded to deny the authority of the pope, and to inveigh against the practice of saying prayers in a foreign language. Speaking of his book on the eucharist, he maintained that it was conformable to the decisions of the church for the first thousand years. He objected to the witnesses who

[1 In view of the atrocities committed in Spain and the Netherlands, it is more probable, according to Aubrey,[u] that Philip urged on the persecutions. According to Lingard[f] the resumption of the fires was due to the insurrections against Mary.]

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appeared against him as being perjured men, who had before sworn to renounce the pope. The next day he was cited to appear in person before the pope within eighty days, and was then sent back to his prison.

On the 30th of September Brookes sat again, aided by White of Lincoln and Holiman of Bristol. Ridley and Latimer were brought before them. Five articles, two of which related to transubstantiation and the mass, were offered to them to subscribe. They refused, and protested against the authority of the court.

They were excommunicated as impugners of the real presence, transubstantiation, and the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass. Some days after the mockery of degradation was undergone.

The following morning (October 16th) the martyrs were led from their prisons to the pyre in the old city-ditch, opposite Balliol college. As Ridley passed by Bocardo he looked up, hoping to catch a last view of Cranmer; but he was at that moment engaged in an argument with de Soto, a Spanish dominican and some others. He afterwards, it is said, went up to the roof of the prison, whence he had a view of the pyre, and on his knees, with outspread hands, prayed to God to give them constancy of faith and hope in their agony. When the prisoners arrived at the fatal spot, they embraced each other, and Ridley said, "Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the fire or else strengthen us to abide it." They kissed their stakes, knelt and prayed, and then conversed together. Doctor Smyth, a man who always thought with those in power, then mounted a pulpit and preached from the text, "Though I give my body to be burned and have not charity it profiteth me nothing," and the sort of charity which his discourse contained may be easily conjectured. When they were fastened to the stakes Ridley's brother-in-law attached bags of gunpowder to them. A lighted fagot was then thrown at their feet.

"Be of good comfort, master Ridley," then said Latimer, "and play the man. We shall this day, by God's grace, light in England such a candle as I trust shall never be put out." He washed his hands, as it were, in the flames, and then stroked his face with them, and crying, "Father of heaven, receive my soul!" speedily expired. Ridley's sufferings were greatly protracted; the bottom of the pyre being composed of furze, with fagots heaped upon it, the flame beneath was at first strong, and it burned his lower extremities, but it then subsided. In agony he cried, "Oh, for Christ's sake, let the fire come unto me!" His brother-in-law heaped on more fagots; the victim became enveloped in a dense smoke, when he kept crying, "I cannot burn; oh, let the fire come unto me!" Some of the fagots were then removed, the flame sprang up, the smoke cleared off, and it was seen that on one side his shirt was not even discoloured. He turned eagerly to the flame, the gunpowder exploded, and he ceased to exist.

The arch-persecutor Gardiner soon followed his victims to the tomb. He had been suffering from disease of late. On the 21st of October, however, when the parliament met, he addressed it, and displayed even more than his usual powers. But the effort was too much for him; he returned to his house, where he died on the 12th of November. He is said to have shown some penitence, for on the Saviour's passion being read to him, when they came to St. Peter's denial, he bade them stop there, for, said he, "I have denied with Peter, I have gone out with Peter, but I have not yet wept bitterly with Peter"; words however, rather ambiguous. He was, as his whole life shows, a worldly minded, ambitious man, of unscrupulous conscience, proud and arrogant, false and artful. The reformers charged him with looseness and

incontinence of living. He was, however, an able statesman, and there is something not unworthy of respect in his conduct during the late reign.[1]

The parliament, owing either to the want of Gardiner to manage it, or to the horror caused by the late sanguinary proceedings, or aversion to the Spanish alliance, was much less compliant than was wished. The queen's zeal had already led her to give back to the church such portions of its lands as were in the possession of the crown; but she wished to do more, and to restore the tenths, first-fruits, etc., which had been transferred from the pope to Henry VIII by the act which made him supreme head of the church. This measure passed the lords without opposition, but the resistance in the commons was vigorous, the numbers being one hundred and ninety-three for, one hundred and twenty-six against, it. As a revenue of sixty thousand pounds a year was thus abandoned, the commons were naturally indignant at being called on to grant considerable supplies. "What justice is there," said they, "in taxing the subject to relieve the sovereign's necessities, when she refuses to avail herself of funds legally at her disposal?" The ministers were finally obliged to be content with much less than they originally demanded. The commons refused to pass a bill of penalties against the duchess of Suffolk and those who had sought refuge abroad against persecution, and another to disable certain persons from acting as justices of peace; for it was known that their aversion to persecution was their offence. Parliament was dissolved on the 9th of December, 1555.

When Philip found that the queen's pregnancy had been all an illusion, and that there remained little or no hope of offspring, and saw the utter impossibility of his ever acquiring the affections of the nation, he readily complied with his father's desire of returning to Flanders. He took his leave of the queen on the 4th of September, and on the 25th of the following month the emperor made to him the famous resignation of his dominions.[2] Mary meantime beguiled the tedium of his absence by persecuting her heretical subjects and by re-establishing the friars in their houses; the Grey Friars were replaced at Greenwich, the Carthusians at Sheen, and the Brigittines at Sion. Westminster again became an abbey, and the house of the Knights of St. John rose from its ruins. She doubtless, in her blind fanaticism, reckoned it as not her least merit in the sight of God that in the course of this year not less than sixty-seven impugners of the real presence, of whom four were bishops and fifteen were priests, had perished in the flames.

THE LAST DAYS OF CRANMER

Cranmer still lay in prison. He had written a very manly letter to the queen, wherein he stated his reasons for denying the pope's authority. To this, by her direction, Pole wrote a reply; it was in his usual vague declamatory style, well seasoned with invective, but containing a memorable attestation of Cranmer's merciful exercise of his authority. The pontiff meantime, as soon as the eighty days were expired, condemned him, collated Pole to the primacy, and issued a commission for Cranmer's degradation.

On the 14th of February, 1556, Bonner of London and Thirlby of Ely took their seats in the choir of Christ Church at Oxford as papal com-

[1 Lingard *f* denies that he was the soul of the persecution, as alleged, and points out that while his enemies accused him of amassing between thirty and forty thousand pounds, his will, in which he bequeathed his all to the queen, showed that he possessed "but an inconsiderable sum."]

[2 See the histories of the Netherlands and of the Holy Roman Empire.]

missioners. Cranmer was led in; the commission was read, dwelling as usual on the papal impartiality, and stating what ample time had been given to the accused to proceed with his appeal and defence. "My lord," cried Cranmer, "what lies be these! that I, being continually in prison, and never suffered to have counsel or advocate at home, should procure witness and appoint counsel at Rome. God must needs punish this open and shameless falsehood." When the commission was read, the various Romish vestments, made of canvas by way of insult, were produced, and he was arrayed in them; a mock mitre was placed on his head, and a mock crosier in his hand. The brutal Bonner then began to scoff at him. "This is the man," cried he, "that hath despised the pope, and now is to be judged by him! This is the man that hath pulled down so many churches, and now is come to be judged in a church! This is the man that contemned the blessed sacrament, and now is come to be condemned before that sacrament!" And so he ran on, though Thirlby, who was a man of gentle nature and had been very intimate with the primate, shed floods of tears, declared that he sat there against his will, and implored him to recant.



Portion of Roof and Doorway in the Tower.

Cranmer was now civilly degraded, and might be burned; but his enemies would have him morally degraded also; every engine was therefore set at work to induce him to recant. He was assured that the queen felt favourably towards him; "but then," it was added, "her majesty will have Cranmer a Catholic, or she will have no Cranmer at all." To these various temptations he at length yielded.

There are in fact not less than six recantations preserved which Cranmer is said to have subscribed. Of these, the fifth alone contains an unequivocal assent to the doctrines of popery. The love of life led Cranmer into duplicity, and we have his own assertion that he had written or signed papers containing "many things untrue."

Aware of his duplicity, or determined that it should not save him, the government had sent down the writ for his execution, but his fate was concealed from him. Between nine and ten o'clock of March 21st, 1556, he was led forth to be burned in the place where his friends had suffered, but as the morning was wet, the sermon was to be preached in St. Mary's church. He walked thither—now, it would seem, aware of his fate—between two friars, who mumbled psalms as they went; and as they entered the church they sang the *Nunc dimittis*, which must have assured him that his time was come.

Cole then commenced his sermon, by assigning reasons why in the present case a heretic, though penitent, should be burned. He then exhorted Cranmer and assured him that masses and dirges should be chanted for the repose of his soul. He concluded by calling on all present to pray for the prisoner. All knelt. Cole then called on Cranmer to perform his promise and make a con-

fession of his faith, so that all might understand that he was a Catholic indeed. "I will do it," said Cranmer, "and that with a good will."

He rose, put off his cap, and gravely addressed the people, exhorting them "not to set overmuch by the false glosing world, to obey the king and queen, to love one another like brethren and sistren, to give unto the poor." He then declared his belief in the creed, and in all things taught in the Old and New Testaments. "And now," said he, "I am come to the great thing that troubleth my conscience more than any other thing that I ever said or did in my life, and that is the setting abroad of writings contrary to the truth; which here now I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and writ for fear of death and to save my life if might be; and that is all such papers as I have written or signed since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue; and forasmuch as my hand offended in writing contrary to my heart, my hand when I come to the fire shall first be burned. And as for the pope, I refuse him as Christ's enemy and Antichrist with all his false doctrine." At these words murmurs were heard. Lord Williams charged him with dissembling. "Alas, my lord," said he, "I have been a man that all my life loved plainness, and until this time never did I dissemble against the truth; I am most sorry for this my fault, but now is the time in which I must strip off all disguise." He would have spoken more, but Cole cried out, "Stop the heretic's mouth, and take him away."

He was now hurried away to the stake. He again declared "that he repented his recantation right sore," whereupon the lord Williams cried, "Make short, make short!" Fire being now put to him, he stretched out his right hand and thrust it into the flame, and held it there a good space before the fire came to any other part of his body, when his hand was seen of every man sensibly burning, crying with a loud voice, "This hand hath offended." His sufferings were short, as the fire soon blazed fiercely; his heart was found entire amidst the ashes.*i*

Macaulay's Estimate of Cranmer

If we consider Cranmer merely as a statesman, he will not appear a much worse man than Wolsey, Gardiner, Cromwell, or Somerset. But when an attempt is made to set him up as a saint, it is scarcely possible for any man of sense who knows the history of the times to preserve his gravity. The origin of his greatness, common enough in the scandalous chronicles of courts, seems strangely out of place in a hagiology. Cranmer rose into favour by serving Henry in the disgraceful affair of his first divorce. He promoted the marriage of Anne Boleyn with the king. On a frivolous pretence he pronounced that marriage null and void. On a pretence, if possible, still more frivolous, he dissolved the ties which bound the shameless tyrant to Anne of Cleves. He attached himself to Cromwell while the fortunes of Cromwell flourished. He voted for cutting off Cromwell's head without a trial when the tide of royal favour turned. He conformed backwards and forwards as the king changed his mind.

He assisted, while Henry lived, in condemning to the flames those who denied the doctrine of transubstantiation. He found out, as soon as Henry was dead, that the doctrine was false. He was, however, not at a loss for people to burn. The authority of his station and of his gray hairs was employed to overcome the disgust with which an intelligent and virtuous child regarded persecution. Intolerance is always bad; but the sanguinary intolerance of a man who thus wavered in his creed excites a loathing to which it is

[1556 A.D.]

difficult to give vent without calling foul names. Equally false to political and to religious obligations, the primate was first the tool of Somerset, and then the tool of Northumberland. When the protector wished to put his own brother to death, without even the semblance of a trial, he found a ready instrument in Cranmer. In spite of the canon law, which forbade a churchman to take any part in matters of blood, the archbishop signed the warrant for the atrocious sentence. When Somerset had been in his turn destroyed, his destroyer received the support of Cranmer in a wicked attempt to change the course of the succession.

The apology made for him by his admirers only renders his conduct more contemptible. He complied, it is said, against his better judgment, because he could not resist the entreaties of Edward. A holy prelate of sixty, one would think, might be better employed by the bedside of a dying child than in committing crimes at the request of the young disciple. If Cranmer had shown half as much firmness when Edward requested him to commit treason as he had before shown when Edward requested him not to commit murder, he might have saved the country from one of the greatest misfortunes that it ever underwent. He became, from whatever motive, the accomplice of the worthless Dudley. The virtuous scruples of another young and amiable mind were to be overcome. As Edward had been forced into persecution, Jane was to be seduced into treason. No transaction in our annals is more unjustifiable than this.

To the part which Cranmer, and, unfortunately, some better men than Cranmer, took in this most reprehensible scheme, much of the severity with which the Protestants were afterwards treated must in fairness be ascribed.

The plot failed, popery triumphed, and Cranmer recanted. Most people look on his recantation as a single blemish on an honourable life, the frailty of an unguarded moment. But, in fact, his recantation was in strict accordance with the system on which he had constantly acted. It was part of a regular habit. It was not the first recantation that he had made; and, in all probability, if it had answered its purpose, it would not have been the last. We do not blame him for not choosing to be burned alive. It is no very severe reproach to any person that he does not possess heroic fortitude. But surely a man who liked the fire so little should have had some sympathy for others. A persecutor who inflicts nothing which he is not ready to endure, deserves some respect. But when a man who loves his doctrines more than the lives of his neighbours, loves his own little finger better than his doctrines, a very simple argument *a fortiori* will enable us to estimate the amount of his benevolence.

But his martyrdom, it is said, redeemed everything. It is extraordinary that so much ignorance should exist on this subject. The fact is that, if a martyr be a man who chooses to die rather than to renounce his opinions, Cranmer was no more a martyr than Doctor Dodd. He died, solely because he could not help it. He never retracted his recantation till he found he had made it in vain. The queen was fully resolved that, Catholic or Protestant, he should burn. Then he spoke out, as people generally speak out when they are at the point of death and have nothing to hope or to fear on earth. If Mary had suffered him to live, we suspect that he would have heard mass and received absolution, like a good Catholic, till the accession of Elizabeth, and that he would then have purchased, by another apostasy, the power of burning men better and braver than himself.

We do not mean, however, to represent him as a monster of wickedness. He was not wantonly cruel or treacherous. He was merely a supple, timid,

interested courtier in times of frequent and violent change. That which has always been represented as his distinguishing virtue, the facility with which he forgave his enemies, belongs to the character. Slaves of his class are never vindictive, and never grateful. A present interest effaces past services and past injuries from their minds together. Their only object is self-preservation; and for this they conciliate those who wrong them, just as they abandon those who serve them. Before we extol a man for his forgiving temper, we should inquire whether he is above revenge or below it.[v]

In contrast with the tremendous scorn of Macaulay for the weaknesses of Cranmer, we may quote Sir James Mackintosh in his defence. He begins with a citation from Strype,[w] who quotes the testimony of a Catholic eye-witness of Cranmer's death.[a]

Mackintosh's Estimate of Cranmer

"His patience in the torment, his courage in dying, if it had been for the glory of God, the weal of his country, or the testimony of truth, as it was for a pernicious error, I could worthily have commended the example, and marked it with the fame of any father of ancient time. His death much grieved every man—his friends for love, his enemies for pity, strangers for a common kind of humanity whereby we are bound to one another."[1]

To add anything to this equally authentic and picturesque narration from the hand of a generous enemy,[2] which is one of the most beautiful specimens of ancient English, would be an unskilful act of presumption. The language of Cranmer speaks his sincerity, and demonstrates that the love of truth still prevailed in his inmost heart. It gushed forth at the sight of death, full of healing power, engendering a purifying and ennobling penitence, and restoring the mind to its own esteem after a departure from the strict path of sincerity. Courage survived a public avowal of dishonour, the hardest test to which that virtue can be exposed; and if he once fatally failed in fortitude, he in his last moments atoned for his failure by a magnanimity equal to his transgression.[3] Let those who require unbending virtue in tempestuous times condemn the amiable and faulty primate. Others, who are not so certain of their own steadiness, will consider the fate of Cranmer as perhaps the most memorable example in history of a soul which, though debased, was not depraved by an act of weakness, and preserved a heroic courage after the forfeiture of honour, its natural spur, and, in general, its inseparable companion.

The firm endurance of sufferings by the martyrs of conscience, if rightly contemplated, is the most consolatory spectacle in the clouded life of man; far more ennobling and sublime than the outward victories of virtue, which must be partly won by weapons not her own, and are often the lot of her foulest foes. Magnanimity in enduring pain for the sake of conscience is not, indeed, an unerring mark of rectitude; but it is, of all other destinies, that which most exalts the sect or party whom it visits, and bestows on their story an undying command over the hearts of their fellow-men.[t]

[1] The extracts above are from the narrative of a Catholic who was present; it is given by Strype in his *Life of Cranmer*.

[2] The narrative of the Catholic eye-witness quoted by Strype.]

[3] Compared to others of his rank and station, Cranmer appears a miracle of constancy and perseverance. Lords and ladies were almost everywhere on the side of the queen. Elizabeth herself was an assiduous embroiderer of petticoats for female saints, and a devout walker in solemn processions. Cecil, Sadler, and all the great names we shall meet with in the next reign, were vacillating bondsmen of the pope.—WHITE.*ii*]

Froude on Cranmer

As the translation of the Bible bears upon it the imprint of the mind of Tyndale, so, while the church of England remains, the image of Cranmer will be seen reflected on the calm surface of the liturgy. The most beautiful portions of it are translations from the breviary; yet the same prayers translated by others would not be those which chime like church-bells in the ears of the English child. The translations, and the addresses which are original, have the same silvery melody of language, and breathe the same simplicity of spirit. So long as Cranmer trusted himself, and would not let himself be dragged beyond his convictions, he was the representative of the feelings of the best among his countrymen. He was brought out, with the eyes of his soul blinded, to make sport for his enemies, and in his death he brought upon them a wider destruction than he had effected by his teaching while alive.[m]

THE PUNISHMENT OF DEAD BODIES

The day after the murder of Cranmer, Cardinal Pole was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, and he then assumed the public functions of the papal legate. He was a man of too much moderation to suit the temper of the furious Paul IV, who subsequently attempted to supersede him as legate, which attempt Mary had the spirit to resist. But he either wanted the inclination or the power to control the extravagant bigotry of the English universities, whose authorities, in 1557, perpetrated deeds that show how little learning is akin to wisdom when it associates itself with superstitions that outrage the natural feelings of mankind.

At the period when two new colleges were founded in Oxford—Trinity by Sir Thomas Pope, and St. John's by Sir Thomas White—that university was visited by the commissioners of the cardinal, who not only burned all the English Bibles and other heretical books, but went through the farce of making a process against the body of Peter Martyr's wife, who had been buried in one of the churches. They could find no witnesses who had heard her utter any heresies, for she could speak no English. So, under the direction of the cardinal, they transferred her body to a dunghill, upon the plea that she had been a nun and had died excommunicated. A scene equally disgusting was perpetrated by Pole's commissioners at Cambridge. They laid the churches of St. Mary's and St. Michael's under interdict, because the bodies of the great reformers, Bucer and Fagius, were buried in them. The dead were then cited to appear; but not answering to the summons, they were judged to be obstinate heretics, and their bodies were to be taken out of their graves and delivered to the secular power. On the 6th of February these bodies were publicly burned, according to the ancient ceremonies, which Rome had found so effectual in the case of Wycliffe.[e]

WAR WITH FRANCE (1557–1558 A.D.)

Philip, who was now at war with France, was anxious to obtain the aid of England;[1] for this purpose he came over in March, 1557. He assured the queen that it would be his last visit if he was refused. Mary was, of course,

[1] The resources of the kingdom were at Philip's command, and he even took ships of the English fleet to escort his father, the emperor, on his abdication, to Spain. More extra-

most desirous of gratifying him, but Pole and other members of the council were decidedly opposed to engaging England in a war for Spanish interests. Fortunately for Philip, just at this time Thomas Stafford, grandson to the last duke of Buckingham, sailed with a small force from Dieppe, landed and seized the old castle of Scarborough, and put forth a proclamation stating that he was come to deliver the nation from its present thraldom to the Spaniards. But no one joined him, and he was obliged to surrender on the fourth day (April 28th) to the earl of Westmoreland. He was brought up to London and beheaded, after being made to confess that the king of France had aided and encouraged him in his enterprise. The resistance of the council, whom the queen had in vain menaced even with a dismissal, was now overcome, and war was declared against France.



COSTUME IN THE TIME OF MARY

The queen, who two years before had had recourse to sundry unjust and violent modes of raising money, put some of them now again in practice, especially that of privy seals, that is, letters addressed to persons of substance requiring them to lend the sums specified in them to the crown. To victual a fleet she seized all the corn that could be come at in Norfolk and Suffolk; and having by the aid of impressment raised an army of ten thousand men, she sent it under the earl of Pembroke to join that of Philip in the Low Countries. In order to secure herself against disturbances at home, she put into the Tower such of the gentry as she most suspected, and they were taken thither either by night or muffled up that they might not be recognised.

The Spanish army, when joined by the English auxiliaries, numbered forty thousand men. The Duke of Savoy, who commanded it, laid siege to the town of St. Quentin. The constable Montmorency advanced to its relief; but failing in his attempts to throw succour into the town, he was attacked on

ordinary still, he ultimately succeeded in committing England to a war against France, when France had made an alliance with the pope against him as king of Spain; so the very marriage which was to confirm England in the old religion led to a war against the occupant of the see of Rome.—GAIRDNER.x]

his retreat by the besieging army, and defeated (August 10th) with a loss of three thousand men. The English fleet meantime made descents on various parts of the coast of France. The French, however, soon had ample revenge on the English queen for her share in the war. The duke of Guise, who had been recalled from Italy, resolved to attempt a plan which had been suggested by the admiral Coligny for surprising Calais. In the month of December he assembled at Compiegne an army of twenty-five thousand men with a large battering train; and while it was expected that he would attempt the recovery of St. Quentin, he suddenly marched for Calais, and on New Year's day, 1558, he was seen approaching that town. Calais was surrounded by marshes, impassable during the winter, except by a dike defended by two castles, St. Agatha and Newnhambridge. The French carried the former by a vigorous assault, and the latter was soon also obliged to surrender; the same was the fate of another castle named the Risbank, which guarded the entrance of the harbour.

Batteries were now opened on the town and castle, and the governor, Lord Wentworth, was obliged to capitulate (January 7th, 1558). Guines surrendered shortly after; and thus, after a possession of two hundred and eleven years, was lost the only acquisition of Edward III. The loss was in truth a real benefit to England, but neither the queen nor the people viewed it in that light; it was regarded as a stain on the national character, and it augmented the already great unpopularity of Mary. She was herself so affected that, when on her death-bed, she said to her attendants, "When I am dead and opened, ye shall find Calais lying in my heart."

Parliament when assembled (January 20th) made a liberal grant. A fleet was equipped, and sent to make an attempt on the port of Brest in Brittany; but it failed to achieve its object. A small squadron of ten English ships, however, lent such valuable aid to Count Egmont, in his attack at Gravelines on a French force which had invaded Flanders, as enabled him to give it a total overthrow.

DEATH OF QUEEN MARY (1558 A.D.)

The inauspicious reign of Mary was now drawing to its close. She was suffering under disease; she felt that she had lost the affections of even that portion of her people who agreed with her in religious sentiments, by her subserviency to the Spanish councils and by her arbitrary taxation, while her cruelties had drawn on her the well-merited hatred of the Protestants. She had also the mournful conviction that she had exercised cruelty to little purpose, as the heresy had been hardly checked by it; and she knew that her successor, however she might now dissemble, secretly held the reformed doctrines, and would probably re-establish them. Finally, her husband, for whom she had forfeited the affection of her subjects, and for whom she felt such extravagant fondness, was negligent if not unkind. Her mind is also said to have been kept in a constant ferment by the paper-war that was carried on against herself and her religion by the exiles at Geneva.

While such was the state of her mind and body she was attacked by the epidemic fever then prevalent, and after languishing for three months she breathed her last (November 17th), during the performance of mass in her chamber, in the forty-third year of her age. Cardinal Pole, who was ill of the same fever, died the following day.

The cardinal was a man of letters, polished in manners and virtuous in mind, generous, humane, and to a certain extent liberal in feeling; yet relig-

ion made him a traitor to his sovereign and benefactor, a scurrilous libeller, and a persecutor even unto death of those who dissented from his creed; for though it may be true that he did not urge on the persecution, he always assented to it; and not a week before his death, five persons, the last of the victims whom his own certificate had given over to the secular arm, were burned in his diocese.

With the deaths of Mary, Pole, and Gardiner, ended forever the dominion of the papacy in England. The cruelties perpetrated by them were even of advantage to the reformed faith. The English nation is naturally averse to cruelty, and the sight of the constancy and even exultation with which the martyrs met their fate, while it caused pity and admiration for the sufferers, inspired a natural favour towards the religion which enabled men to die thus cheerfully, and raised doubts as to the truth of the system which required the aid of the stake and fagot. Hence many who were Catholics at the commencement of Mary's reign were Protestants at its close; and hence her successor found so little difficulty in establishing the reformed faith. The number who perished in the flames during the four years of the persecution was little short of three hundred, of whom more than a sixth were women, and some were children and even babes.[i]

Speed[y] says two hundred and seventy-four, Burnet[z] two hundred and eighty-four, Collins[bb] two hundred and ninety. Lord Burleigh[cc] (in Strype) states the number who perished in this reign by imprisonments, torments, famine and fire at four hundred, of whom two hundred and ninety were burned. Doctor Lingard[j] says that "almost two hundred persons perished in the flames for religious opinion." S. R. Gardiner[o] places the number at two hundred and seventy-seven—"almost all in the eastern and southeastern parts of England." Aubrey[u] fixes on two hundred and ninety-six, including an archbishop, four bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight gentlemen, eighty-four tradesmen, one hundred handicraftsmen, labourers, and servants, twenty widows, twenty-six wives, and nine maidens. "An unknown number perished in prison by starvation, noxious disease, or torture."

A CATHOLIC ESTIMATE OF MARY (LINGARD'S)

It was the lot of Mary to live in an age of religious intolerance, when to punish the professors of erroneous doctrine was inculcated as a duty, no less by those who rejected than by those who asserted the papal authority.[1] It might perhaps have been expected that the reformers, from their sufferings under Henry VIII, would have learned to respect the rights of conscience. Experience proved the contrary. They had no sooner obtained the ascendancy during the short reign of Edward, than they displayed the same persecuting spirit which they had formerly condemned, burning the Anabaptist, and preparing to burn the Catholic at the stake, for no other crime than adherence to religious opinion. The former, by the existing law, was already liable to the penalty of death; the latter enjoyed a precarious respite, because his belief had not yet been pronounced heretical by any acknowledged authority.

But the zeal of Archbishop Cranmer observed and supplied this deficiency; and in the code of ecclesiastical discipline which he compiled for the government of the reformed church, he was careful to class the distinguishing doctrines of the ancient worship with those more recently promulgated by Muncer

[1] This is equally true of the foreign religionists. See Calvin,[dd] Beza,[ee] and Melanchthon.[ff]

and Socinus. By the new canon law of the metropolitan, to believe in transubstantiation, to admit the papal supremacy, and to deny justification by faith only, were severally made heresy; and it was ordained that individuals accused of holding heretical opinions should be arraigned before the spiritual courts, should be excommunicated on conviction, and after a respite of sixteen days should, if they continued obstinate, be delivered to the civil magistrate, to suffer the punishment provided by law.

Fortunately for the professors of the ancient faith, Edward died before this code had obtained the sanction of the legislature. By the accession of Mary the power of the sword passed from the hands of one religious party to those of the other; and within a short time Cranmer and his associates perished in the flames which they had prepared to kindle for the destruction of their opponents.

With whom the persecution under Mary originated is a matter of uncertainty. By the reformed writers the infamy of the measure is usually allotted to Gardiner, more, as far as I can judge, from conjecture and prejudice than from real information. The charge is not supported by any authentic document; it is weakened by the general tenor of the chancellor's conduct.

While the ministers in prison sought to mollify their sovereign by a dutiful address, their brethren at liberty provoked chastisement by the intemperance of their zeal. On the eve of the new year, 1555, Ross, a celebrated preacher, collected a congregation towards midnight, administered the communion, and openly prayed that God would either convert the heart of the queen or take her out of this world. He was surprised in the fact, and imprisoned with his disciples; and the parliament hastened to make it treason to have prayed since the commencement of the session, or to pray hereafter, for the queen's death. It was, however, provided that all who had been already committed for this offence might recover their liberty, by making an humble protestation of sorrow, and a promise of amendment.

It had at first been hoped that a few barbarous exhibitions would silence the voices of the preachers, and check the diffusion of their doctrines. In general they produced conformity to the established worship; but they also encouraged hypocrisy and perjury. It cannot be doubted that among the higher classes there were some who retained an attachment to the doctrines which they professed under Edward, and to which they afterwards returned under Elizabeth. Yet it will be useless to seek among the names of the sufferers for a single individual of rank, opulence, or importance. All of this description embraced, or pretended to embrace, the ancient creed. The victims of persecution, who dared to avow their real sentiments, were found only in the lower walks of life. Of the reformed clergy a few suffered—some who were already in prison, and some whose zeal prompted them to brave the authority of the law. Others, who aspired not to the crown of martyrdom, preferred to seek an asylum in foreign climes. The Lutheran Protestants refused to receive them, because they were heretics, rejecting the corporeal presence in the sacrament; but they met with a cordial welcome from the disciples of Calvin and Zwingli, and obtained permission to open churches in Strasburg, Frankfort, Basel, Geneva, Arau, and Zurich. Soon, however, the demon of discord interrupted the harmony of the exiles.

Each followed his own judgment. The very prisons became theatres of controversy; force was occasionally required to restrain the passions of the contending parties, and the men who lived in the daily expectation of being summoned to the stake for their denial of the ancient creed, found leisure to condemn and revile each other for difference of opinion respecting the use

of habits and ceremonies, and the abstruse mysteries of grace and predestination.

The persecution continued till the death of Mary. Sometimes milder counsels seemed to prevail; and on one occasion all the prisoners were discharged on the easy condition of taking an oath to be true to God and the queen. But these intervals were short, and, after some suspense, the spirit of intolerance was sure to resume the ascendancy. From the catalogue of the martyrs should be expunged the names of all who were condemned as felons or traitors, or who died peaceably in their beds, or who survived the publication of their martyrdom, or who would for their heterodoxy have been sent to the stake by the reformed prelates themselves, had they been in possession of the power.



QUEEN MARY
(1516–1558 A.D.)

Yet these deductions will take but little from the infamy of the measure. After every allowance, it will be found that, in the space of four years, almost two hundred persons perished in the flames for religious opinion, a number at the contemplation of which the mind is struck with horror, and learns to bless the legislation of a more tolerant age, in which dissent from established forms, though in some countries still punished with civil disabilities, is nowhere liable to the penalties of death.

If anything could be urged in extenuation of these cruelties, it must have been the provocation given by the reformers. They heaped on the queen, her bishops, and her religion, every indecent and irritating epithet which language could supply. Her clergy could not exercise their functions without danger to their lives; a dagger was thrown at one priest in the pulpit; a gun was discharged at another; and several wounds were inflicted on a third, while he administered the communion in his church. The chief supporters of the treason of Northumberland, the most active among the adherents of Wyatt, professed the reformed creed; an impostor was suborned to personate Edward VI; some congregations prayed for the death of the queen; tracts filled with libellous and treasonable matter were transmitted from the exiles of Germany; and successive insurrections were planned by the fugitives in France.

We are inclined to believe that the queen herself was not actuated so much by motives of policy as of conscience; that she had imbibed the same intolerant opinion which Cranmer and Ridley laboured to instil into the young mind of Edward; "that, as Moses ordered blasphemers to be put to death, so it was the duty of a Christian prince, and more so of one who bore the title of defender of the faith, to eradicate the cockle from the field of God's church, to cut out the gangrene, that it might not spread to the sounder parts."[1] In this principle both parties seem to have agreed; the only difference between them regarded its application, as often as it affected themselves. Still, the foulest blot on the character of Mary is her long and cruel persecution of the reformers. The sufferings of the victims naturally begat an antipathy to the woman by whose authority they were inflicted. It is, however, but fair to recollect that the extirpation of erroneous doctrine was inculcated as a duty by the leaders of every religious party. Mary only practised what they taught. It was her misfortune, rather than her fault, that she was not more enlightened than the wisest of her contemporaries.

With this exception, she has been ranked, by the more moderate of the reformed writers, among the best, though not the greatest, of our princes. They have borne honourable testimony to her virtues; have allotted to her the praise of piety and clemency, of compassion for the poor, and liberality to the distressed; and have recorded her solicitude to restore to opulence the families that had been unjustly deprived of their possessions by her father and brother, and to provide for the wants of the parochial clergy, who had been reduced to penury by the spoliations of the last government. It is acknowledged that her moral character was beyond reproof. It extorted respect from all, even from the most virulent of her enemies. The ladies of her household copied the conduct of their mistress; and the decency of Mary's court was often mentioned with applause by those who lamented the dissoluteness which prevailed in that of her successor.*ff*

HALLAM'S ESTIMATE OF MARY

No one of our historians has been so severe on Mary's reign, except on a religious account, as Carte,*gg* on the authority of the letters of Noailles.*n* Doctor Lingard, though with these before him, has softened and suppressed, till this queen appears honest and even amiable. But, admitting that the French ambassador had a temptation to exaggerate the faults of a government wholly devoted to Spain, it is manifest that Mary's reign was inglorious, her capacity narrow, and her temper sanguinary; that, although conscientious in some respects, she was as capable of dissimulation as her sister, and of breach of faith as her husband; that she obstinately and wilfully sacrificed her subjects' affections and interests to a misplaced and discreditable attachment; and that the words with which Carte has concluded the character of this unlamented sovereign are perfectly just: "Having reduced the nation to the brink of ruin, she left it, by her seasonable decease, to be restored by her admirable successor to its ancient prosperity and glory." I fully admit, at the same time, that Doctor Lingard has proved Elizabeth to have been as dangerous a prisoner as she afterwards found the queen of Scots.*hh*

[1] To the same purpose Elizabeth, in a commission for the burning of heretics, to Sir Nicholas Bacon, says, "they have been justly declared heretics, and therefore, as corrupt members to be cut off from the rest of the flock of Christ, lest they should corrupt others professing the true Christian faith."

JAMES WHITE'S ESTIMATE OF MARY

From this time forth the conduct of this unhappy queen was regulated entirely by her conscience. No one can deny her the possession of the great qualities of sincerity and firmness, or the character of an affectionate wife and zealous friend; but behind the scenes there were persons who managed the conscience by which all her deeds were guided; and the nation soon found out that a conscientious oppressor, who thought cruelty a merit, and the destruction of liberty the highest duty of kings, was far more difficult to bear than tyrants to whom the word conscience is utterly unknown. There never was an instance where private virtues so uniformly turned out to be public wrongs. She was so conscientious a daughter, that she revenged the insults bestowed on her mother with death and ruin; so conscientious a wife, that she made every effort to subordinate the benefit of England to the hostile interests of her husband; and so conscientious a believer in the papal supremacy and the doctrines of the Roman faith, that she tried to exterminate with fire and fagots all who ventured to express a different opinion.*i*

R. CARRUTHER'S ESTIMATE OF MARY

The temper of Mary, never frank or amiable, had been soured by neglect, persecution, and ill health; and her fanatical devotion to the ancient religion had become the absorbing and ruling passion of her mind. She was not devoid of private virtues—certainly excelling Elizabeth in sincerity and depth of feeling; but her virtues "walked a narrow round"; and whenever the Romish church was in question, all feelings of private tenderness, and all considerations of public expediency or justice, were with Mary as flax in the fire. The five years of her reign are perhaps the most un-English epoch in our annals.*ii*



CHAPTER VIII

THE ACCESSION OF ELIZABETH

[1558–1561 A.D.]

THE completed national character of England dates from the days of the Tudors, and mainly from the reign of Elizabeth. From this time, in dealing with the actors in English history we seem, more thoroughly than in any earlier time, to be dealing with men who are in all things our own fellows. One main cause of this is that the language of the sixteenth century is the earliest form of English which an ordinary reader can understand without an effort. And, as it was with language, so it was with everything else which goes to make up the national life. Its modern form is now completed. We feel that the men of Elizabeth's day, her statesmen, her warriors, her poets, and her divines, are men who come near to ourselves in a way which the men of earlier times cannot do. A gap of more than a generation, of more than two generations, seems to part Wolsey from Burghley.—E. A. FREEMAN.[b]

WHEN the lords and commons assembled under Mary's writs met they found parliament, according to the ancient constitution, legally dissolved by the decease of the sovereign. The lords, however, desired the attendance of the commons to receive an important communication. When the latter had come to the bar, Archbishop Heath, the chancellor, desired their concurrence, as considerable men of the realm, in the solemnities which the demise of the crown required. "The cause of your calling hither," said he, "is to signify to you that the lords are certified that God has this morning called to his mercy our late sovereign; a mishap heavy and grievous to us; but we have no less cause to rejoice that God has left unto us a true, lawful, and right inheritress in the person of the lady Elizabeth, of whose title to the same (thanks be to God) we need not to doubt. Wherefore the lords have determined, with your consent, to pass from hence unto the palace, and there to proclaim the lady Elizabeth queen of this realm." The commons answered by cries of "Long live Queen Elizabeth!" and both houses proceeded to the great gate of Westminster Hall, where she was proclaimed by the heralds, with the accustomed solemnities, in the midst of shouts of joy from the sur-

rounding multitude. The lords, perhaps, considered themselves to be acting as counsellors of the crown; but their desire of the consent of the dissolved commons gave the appearance of a parliamentary proclamation to the solemnity.

Elizabeth received the tidings of this great change in her fortunes at Hatfield, where she had been residing for several years in the mild custody of Sir Thomas Pope, but under the watchful eye of a guard. On being apprised of her accession she fell down on her knees, saying, "This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes."[1] Elizabeth almost immediately gave an earnest of the principles which were to govern her reign by accepting, on the same day, a note of advice on urgent matters from Sir William Cecil, whom she restored to the post of secretary of state which he had occupied under Edward, but from which he had been removed by Mary. Although he had been charged by some with compliances in the latter years of that princess, he was nevertheless known and trusted as a zealous and tried adherent of the Protestant cause. He was forthwith sworn a privy councillor, with his friends and followers, Parry, Rogers, and Cave. On the same day, also, the earl of Bedford, who had only a short time before returned from a visit to the Protestant exiles at Zurich, took his seat at the board. Though many of the privy councillors of Mary were reappointed, the principles of the majority of the queen's confidential servants who held their sittings at Hatfield left no doubt of her policy.

The council at Hatfield performed all the duties of administration. They gave orders to the admirals in the Channel; they despatched instructions to the English plenipotentiaries at Cambrai; they thanked the magistrates for staying prosecutions for religion; they released such as were prisoners for the Protestant cause.

Orders were issued without delay for the ceremonial of the queen's entrance into London. At the age of twenty-five it is easy for a queen to be applauded for personal attractions. We are told by the Venetian minister Micheli,[c] that she was then "a lady of great elegance both of mind and body; of a countenance rather pleasing than beautiful; tall and well made; her complexion fine, though rather dark; her eyes beautiful; and, above all, her hands, which she did not conceal." She is described by some as majestic, by others as haughty; but all agree that her countenance and port were rather commanding than alluring, yet not without a certain lofty grace becoming a ruler. She is mentioned by her preceptor as at the head of the lettered ladies of England, excelling even Jane Grey and Margaret Roper.[d]

VON RAUMER'S PORTRAIT OF ELIZABETH AND HER MINISTER

Elizabeth, who was born on the 7th of September, 1533, and lost her mother in the third year of her age, had been hereupon wholly neglected by the timid servants of her passionate father, publicly repudiated by him as illegitimate, and left so destitute that her governess, Lady Bryan, wrote to Lord Cromwell: "I beseech you to be good, my lord, to my lady, and to all hers, and that she may have some raiment. She has neither gown, nor kirtle, nor petticoat, nor no manner of linen, nor foresmocks, nor kerchiefs, nor sleeves, nor rails, nor body stitchet, nor mufflers, nor biggins." Afterwards, when

[1 Her exclamation was actually the Latin equivalent: *A Domino factum est istud, et est mirabile oculis nostris*—words which she afterwards had placed on a gold coin, also striking a silver coin with the phrase *Posui Deum adjutorem meum*, "I have chosen God as my helper."]

[1558 A.D.]

Henry's anger had been allayed, more attention was paid to her education; on this subject the learned Roger Ascham writes to a friend in 1550:

"Amongst the numberless honourable ladies of the present time my illustrious mistress, the lady Elizabeth, shines like a star, excelling them more by the splendour of her virtues and her learning than by the glory of her royal birth.

"The lady Elizabeth has accomplished her nineteenth year; and so much solidity of understanding, such courtesy, united with dignity, have never been



ELIZABETH
(1533–1603)

observed at so early an age. She has the most ardent love of true religion, and of the best kind of literature.

"The constitution of her mind is exempt from female weakness, and she is endued with a masculine power of application. No apprehension can be quicker than hers, no memory more retentive. French and Italian she speaks like English; Latin with fluency, propriety, and judgment; she also spoke Greek with me frequently, willingly, and moderately well. Nothing can be more elegant than her handwriting, whether in the Greek or Roman characters. In music she is very skilful, but does not greatly delight. With respect to per-

sonal decoration she greatly prefers a simple elegance to show and splendour,[1] so despising the outward adorning of plaiting the hair and wearing of gold, that in the whole manner of her life she rather resembles Hippolita than Phædra. She read with me almost the whole of Cicero and a great part of Livy; from these two authors, indeed, her knowledge of the Latin language has been almost exclusively derived.

"The beginning of the day was always devoted by her to the New Testament in Greek, after which she read select orations of Isocrates and the tragedies of Sophocles, which I judged best adapted to supply her tongue with the purest diction, her mind with the most excellent precepts, and her exalted station with a defence against the utmost power of fortune.

"For her religious instruction she drew first from the fountains of Scripture, and afterwards from St. Cyprian, the 'Commonplaces' of Melanchthon, and similar works, which convey pure doctrine in elegant language. In every kind of writing she easily detected any ill-adapted or far-fetched expression. She could not bear those feeble imitators of Erasmus, who bind the Latin tongue in the fetters of miserable proverbs; on the other hand, she approved a style chaste in its propriety and beautiful by perspicuity; and she greatly admired metaphors when not too violent, and antitheses when just and happily opposed."

The accounts given by other writers entirely coincide with those of Ascham. Several orations of Demosthenes and Isocrates she translated into Latin.

The years of youth which Mary Stuart spent in cheerfulness and pleasure, surrounded by admirers of all kinds, were passed by Elizabeth in solitude and silence.[2] Instead of the royal diadems which adorned the brow of Mary, she saw the axe of the executioner suspended over her head, and the flames of the funeral piles arise, on which her friends and fellow-believers were cruelly sacrificed. A serious, learned education, and so hard a school of adversity, by which even ordinary men are elevated above their original nature, could not fail to have the greatest influence on a mind of such eminent powers—a character of such energy; and this is manifest in the whole history of the reign of Elizabeth.

The manner in which she chose her highest officers of state, consulted them in all important matters, defended them against secret as well as violent attacks, without ever being subject to them, proves her penetrating understanding and firmness of character. Such men as Nicholas Bacon, Francis Walsingham, William Cecil, and many others, would deserve, in this place, a more particular description. The first, who in the beginning was lord keeper of the seals, and then, till 1579, lord chancellor, is celebrated for his extraordinary activity and ability; and if his son Francis was even superior to him in intellectual powers, he was inferior to him in probity.

Walsingham, descended from a good family, accomplished by diligent study and by travelling, was a man of distinguished prudence and the most acute understanding. He had few equals in the art of penetrating, of gaining, and guiding the minds of men. As ambassador in France and Scotland, and in England itself, he served his queen with the greatest fidelity and disinterestedness till his death, which took place in 1590. He died so poor that

[1 Creighton says that this love of simplicity soon passed away. "Indeed, it was never real, and Ascham's mention of it shows that Elizabeth was acting a part." Referring to her affair with Lord Seymour, he says: "She had been detected as a shameless coquette; she adopted the attitude of a modest and pious maiden. It was the wisest thing which she could do, for the times were stormy."]

[2 The same contrast with the brilliant early life of Mary Queen of Scots has been noted.]

[1558 A.D.]

his friends caused him to be secretly buried by night that his body might not be seized by his creditors.

Next to God, says a writer with justice, William Cecil was the main support of Elizabeth; and Roger Ascham says of him: "He is a young man, but rich in wisdom, equally versed in the sciences and in business, and yet so modest in the performance of his public duties that by the unanimous testimony of the English the praise which Thucydides gives to Pericles might be given to him fourfold. He knew all that ought to be known, he understood how to apply what he knew; he loved his country, and was inaccessible to the power of money." William Cecil, born in the year 1520, at Bourn, in Lincolnshire, and consequently now thirty-eight years of age, and thirteen years older than Elizabeth, was educated at Cambridge, and under the reign of Edward VI had been master of requests and afterwards secretary of state. Since the accession of Mary to the throne he had mostly lived in retirement, but was restored by Elizabeth to his former office, and in 1571 appointed lord high treasurer and elevated to the peerage by the title of baron of Burghley.

Superior to all the little arts, intrigues and disputes of the court,[1] he stood in a firm and exalted position with respect to his queen, with which he combined the most conscientious regard for the interest of the subjects, especially by economy in his office of treasurer. Indefatigable activity and strict love of truth, moderation, and noble gravity, which, however, did not disdain the most cheerful relaxation in a narrow circle; love of order and impenetrable secrecy; the eagle eye with which he penetrated the characters of men, and the clearness with which he saw and developed the most complex subjects, place him in the rank of the greatest statesmen recorded in history.

"He is prudent who is patient," said he, "and prudence constrains the stars. Modesty is a protection against envy and danger; excessive ambition, on the contrary, leads to ruin. The world is a storehouse of tools, of which man must make himself master; there are no greater artists than diligence and perseverance. Counsel without resolution is but wind. War is soon kindled, but peace very hardly preserved. War is the curse, peace the blessing, of God on a nation: one year of peace brings more profit than ten years of the most successful war."[g]

Elizabeth, as we have seen, was at Hatfield when she heard of her sister's death, and after a few days she went thence to London through crowds, who strove in giving her the strongest testimony of their affection. On her entrance into the Tower she could not forbear reflecting on the great difference between her present fortune and that which a few years before had attended her, when she was conducted to that place as a prisoner, and lay there exposed to all the bigoted malignity of her enemies. She fell on her knees and expressed her thanks to heaven for the deliverance which the Almighty had granted her from her bloody persecutors; a deliverance, she said, no less miraculous than that which Daniel had received from the den of lions. This act of pious gratitude seems to have been the last circumstance in which she remembered any past hardships and injuries.

With a prudence and magnanimity truly laudable she buried all offences in oblivion, and received with affability even those who had acted with the greatest malevolence against her; Sir Henry Bedingfield himself, to whose custody she had been committed, and who had treated her with severity,

[1] Elizabeth called him her "spirit." Lodge[f] says: "Burghley delythe with matters of the state only. With these love matters he will not meddle any way." He had indeed sometimes reason to complain, but he always became reconciled to the queen. They were made for each other.

never felt, during the whole course of her reign, any effects of her resentment. Yet was not the gracious reception which she gave undistinguishing: when the bishops came to make their obeisance to her, she expressed to all of them sentiments of regard, except to Bonner, from whom she turned aside as from a man polluted with blood, who was a just object of horror to every heart susceptible of humanity.

After employing a few days in ordering her domestic affairs, Elizabeth notified to foreign courts her sister's death and her own accession. She sent Lord Cobham to the Low Countries, where Philip then resided, and she took care to express to that monarch her gratitude for the protection which he had afforded her, and her desire of persevering in that friendship which had commenced between them.

Philip, who had long foreseen this event, and who still hoped, by means of Elizabeth, to obtain that dominion over England of which he had failed in espousing Mary, immediately despatched orders to the duke of Feria, his ambassador at London, to make proposals of marriage to the queen, and he offered to procure from Rome a dispensation for that purpose; but Elizabeth soon came to the resolution of declining the proposal.

She saw that the nation had entertained an extreme aversion to the Spanish alliance, and that one great cause of the popularity which she herself enjoyed was the prospect of being freed, by her means, from the danger of foreign subjection. She was sensible that her affinity with Philip was exactly similar to that of her father with Catherine of Aragon, and that her marrying that monarch was, in effect, declaring herself to be illegitimate, and incapable of succeeding to the throne; and though the power of the Spanish monarchy might be sufficient to support her title, her masculine spirit disdained such precarious dominion, which, as it would depend solely on the power of another, must be exercised according to his inclinations. But while these views prevented her from entertaining any thoughts of a marriage with Philip, she gave him an obliging though evasive answer, and he still retained such hopes of success that he sent a messenger to Rome with orders to solicit the dispensation.

DID ELIZABETH NOTIFY THE POPE OF HER ACCESSION?

Hume says: "The queen, on her sister's death, had written a letter to Sir Edward Carne, the English ambassador at Rome, to notify her accession to the pope; but the precipitate nature of Paul broke through all the cautious measures concerted by this young princess. He told Carne that England was a fief of the holy see, and it was great temerity in Elizabeth to have assumed, without his participation, the title and authority of queen; that, being illegitimate, she could not possibly inherit that kingdom; nor could he annul the sentence pronounced by Clement VII and Paul III with regard to Henry's marriage; that were he to proceed with rigour, he should punish this criminal invasion of his rights by rejecting all her applications; but, being willing to treat her with paternal indulgence, he would still keep the door of grace open; and if she would renounce all pretensions to the crown, and submit entirely to his will, she should experience the utmost lenity compatible with the dignity of the apostolic see. When this answer was reported to Elizabeth, she was astonished at the character of that aged pontiff; and having recalled her ambassador, she continued with more determined resolution to pursue those measures which already she had secretly embraced."[h]

[1558 A.D.]

This picturesque incident was universally accepted till recent years, since when it has been proved that Carne was never recognised by Elizabeth as her ambassador, and seems to have ignored the pope entirely, and to have shown towards him an attitude of determined independence.[a]

RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION

The queen, as we have seen, not to alarm the partisans of the Catholic religion, had retained eleven of her sister's councillors; but in order to balance their authority she added eight more, who were known to be inclined to the Protestant communion:[1] the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Bedford, Sir Thomas Parry, Sir Edward Rogers, Sir Ambrose Cave, Sir Francis Knollys, Sir Nicholas Bacon, and Sir William Cecil.

With these councillors, particularly Cecil, she frequently deliberated concerning the expediency of restoring the Protestant religion, and the means of executing that great enterprise. Cecil told her that the greater part of the nation had ever since her father's reign inclined to the Reformation; and though her sister had constrained them to profess the ancient faith, the cruelties exercised by her ministers had still more alienated their affections from it; that, happily, the interests of the sovereign here concurred with the inclinations of the people; nor was her title to the crown compatible with the authority of the Roman pontiff: that a sentence so solemnly pronounced by two popes against her mother's marriage could not possibly be recalled without inflicting a mortal wound on the credit of the see of Rome; and even if she were allowed to retain the crown, it would only be on an uncertain and dependent footing; that this circumstance alone counterbalanced all dangers whatsoever; and these dangers themselves, if narrowly examined, would be found very little formidable; that though the bigotry or ambition of Henry or Philip might incline them to execute a sentence of excommunication against her, their interests were so incompatible that they never could concur in any plan of operations; and the enmity of the one would always insure to her the friendship of the other; that if they encouraged the discontent of her Catholic subjects, their dominions also abounded with Protestants, and it would be easy to retaliate upon them; that even such of the English as seemed at present zealously attached to the Catholic faith would, most of them, embrace the religion of their new sovereign; and the nation had of late been so much accustomed to these revolutions that men had lost all idea of truth and falsehood in such subjects: that the authority of Henry VIII, so highly raised by many concurring circumstances, first inured the people to this submissive deference, and it was the less difficult for succeeding princes to continue the nation in a track to which it had so long been accustomed; and that it would be easy for her, by bestowing on Protestants all preferment in civil offices and the militia, the church and the universities, both to insure her own authority, and to render her religion entirely predominant.

The education of Elizabeth, as well as her interest, led her to favour the Reformation, and she remained not long in suspense with regard to the party which she should embrace. But, though determined in her own mind, she resolved to proceed by gradual and secure steps, and not to imitate the

[1 In a body composed of such discordant elements much harmony could not be expected; but this council was rather for show than real use; there was another and secret cabinet, consisting of Cecil and his particular friends, who possessed the ear of the queen, and controlled through her every department in the state.—LINGARD.]

example of Mary, in encouraging the bigots of her party to make immediately a violent invasion on the established religion. She thought it requisite, however, to discover such symptoms of her intentions as might give encouragement to the Protestants, so much depressed by the late violent persecutions. She immediately recalled all the exiles, and gave liberty to the prisoners who were confined on account of religion. We are told of a pleasantry of one Rainsford on this occasion, who said to the queen that he had a petition to present her in behalf of other prisoners called Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; she readily replied, that it behoved her first to consult the prisoners themselves, and to learn of them whether they desired that liberty which he demanded for them.

Elizabeth also proceeded to exert in favour of the reformers some acts of power which were authorised by the extent of royal prerogative during that age. Finding that the Protestant teachers, irritated by persecution, broke out in a furious attack on the ancient superstition, and that the Romanists replied with no less zeal and acrimony, she published a proclamation, by which she inhibited all preaching without a special license; and though she dispensed with these orders in favour of some preachers of her own sect, she took care that they should be the most calm and moderate of the party. She also suspended the laws so far as to order a great part of the service—the litany, the Lord's Prayer, the creed, and the Gospels—to be read in English. And having first published injunctions that all the churches should conform themselves to the practice of her own chapel, she forbade the host to be any more elevated in her presence—an innovation which, however frivolous it may appear, implied the most material consequences.

THE CORONATION AND FIRST PARLIAMENT (JANUARY, 1559)

These declarations of her intentions concurring with preceding suspicions made the bishops foresee, with certainty, a revolution in religion. They therefore refused to officiate at her coronation, January 15th, and it was with some difficulty that the bishop of Carlisle was at last prevailed on to perform the ceremony.[1] When she had been conducted through London the day before her coronation, amidst the joyful acclamations of her subjects, a boy, who personated Truth, was let down from one of the triumphal arches and presented to her a copy of the Bible. She received the book with the most gracious deportment,[2] placed it next her bosom, and declared that, amidst all the costly testimonies which the city had that day given her of their attachment, this present was by far the most precious and most acceptable.

Such were the innocent artifices by which Elizabeth insinuated herself into the affections of her subjects. Open in her address, gracious and affable in all public appearances, she rejoiced in the concourse of her subjects, entered into all their pleasures and amusements, and without departing from her dignity—which she knew well how to preserve—she acquired a popularity beyond what any of her predecessors or successors ever could attain. Her own sex exulted to see a woman hold the reins of empire with such prudence and fortitude; and while a young princess of twenty-five years, who possessed all the graces and insinuation though not all the beauty of her sex, courted the affections of individuals by her civilities, of the public by her

[1 Mass was sung as usual at the coronation.]

[2 "How reverendlie did she, with both her hands, take it, kiss it, and lay it upon her breast!" says Holinshed.*k*]

[1559 A.D.]

services, her authority, though corroborated by the strictest bands of law and religion, appeared to be derived entirely from the choice and inclination of the people.

A sovereign of this disposition was not likely to offend her subjects by any useless or violent exertions of power; and Elizabeth, though she threw out such hints as encouraged the Protestants, delayed the entire change of religion till the meeting of the parliament which was summoned to assemble. The elections had gone entirely against the Catholics, who seem not indeed to have made any great struggle for the superiority,[1] and the houses met, January 25th, 1559, in a disposition of gratifying the queen in every particular which she could desire of them. They began the session with an unanimous declaration that Queen Elizabeth was, and ought to be, as well by the word of God as the common and statute laws of the realm, the lawful, undoubted, and true heir to the crown, lawfully descended from the blood-royal, according to the order of succession settled in the 35th of Henry VIII.

This act of recognition was probably dictated by the queen herself and her ministers; and she showed her magnanimity as well as moderation in the terms which she employed on that occasion. She followed not Mary's practice in declaring the validity of her mother's marriage, or in expressly repealing the act formerly made against her own legitimacy. She knew that this attempt must be attended with reflections on her father's memory, and on the birth of her deceased sister; and as all the world was sensible that Henry's divorce from Anne Boleyn was merely the effect of his usual violence and caprice, she scorned to found her title on any act of an assembly which had too much prostituted its authority by its former variable, servile, and iniquitous decisions. Satisfied, therefore, in the general opinion entertained with regard to this fact, which appeared the more undoubted the less anxiety she discovered in fortifying it by votes and inquiries, she took possession of the throne both as her birthright and as insured to her by former acts of parliament, and she never appeared anxious to distinguish these titles.

The first bill brought into parliament with a view of trying their disposition on the head of religion was that for suppressing the monasteries lately erected, and for restoring the tenths and first-fruits to the queen. This point being gained with much difficulty, a bill [called the act of supremacy] was next introduced annexing the supremacy to the crown; and though the queen was there denominated Supreme Governess, not Supreme Head, of the church, it conveyed the same extensive power which under the latter title had been exercised by her father and brother.

All the bishops who were present in the upper house strenuously opposed this law, and as they possessed more learning than the temporal peers they triumphed in the debate; but the majority of voices in that house as well as amongst the commons was against them. By this act the crown, without the concurrence either of the parliament or even of the convocation, was vested with the whole spiritual power; might repress all heresies, might establish or repeal all canons, might alter every point of discipline, and might ordain or abolish any religious rite or ceremony. In determining heresy, the sovereign was only limited (if that could be called a limitation) to such doctrines as had been adjudged heresy by the authority of the Scripture, by the first four general councils, or by any general council which followed the Scripture as their rule, or to such other doctrines as should hereafter be denominated heresy by the parliament and convocation.

[1] Notwithstanding the bias of the nation towards the Protestant sect, it appears that some violence, at least according to our present ideas, was used in these elections.

In order to exercise this authority, the queen, by a clause of the act, was empowered to name commissioners, either laymen or clergymen, as she should think proper;[1] and on this clause was afterwards founded the court of Ecclesiastical Commission, which assumed large discretionary, not to say arbitrary powers, totally incompatible with any exact boundaries in the constitution. Their proceedings, indeed, were only consistent with absolute monarchy, but were entirely suitable to the genius of the act on which they were established —an act that at once gave the crown alone all the power which had formerly been claimed by the popes, but which even these usurping prelates had never been able fully to exercise, without some concurrence of the national clergy.

Whoever refused to take an oath acknowledging the queen's supremacy was incapacitated from holding any office; whoever denied the supremacy, or attempted to deprive the queen of that prerogative, forfeited, for the first offence, all his goods and chattels; for the second, was subjected to the penalty of a premunire; but the third offence was declared treason. These punishments, however severe, were less rigorous than those which were formerly, during the reigns of her father and brother, inflicted in like cases.

A law was passed confirming all the statutes enacted in King Edward's time with regard to religion. The nomination of bishops was given to the crown without any election of the chapters; the queen was empowered, on the vacancy of any see, to seize all the temporalities, and to bestow on the bishop-elect an equivalent in the impropriations belonging to the crown. This pretended equivalent was commonly much inferior in value; and thus the queen, amidst all her concern for religion, followed the example of the preceding reformers in committing depredations on the ecclesiastical revenues.

The bishops and all incumbents were prohibited from alienating their revenues, and from letting leases longer than twenty-one years or three lives. This law seemed to be meant for securing the property of the church; but as an exception was left in favour of the crown, great abuses still prevailed. It was usual for the courtiers during this reign to make an agreement with a bishop or incumbent, and to procure a fictitious alienation to the queen, who afterwards transferred the lands to the person agreed on. This method of pillaging the church was not remedied till the reign of James I. The present depression of the clergy exposed them to all injuries; and the laity never stopped till they had reduced the church to such poverty that her plunder was no longer a compensation for the odium incurred by it.

A solemn and public disputation was held during this session, in presence of Lord Keeper Bacon, between the divines of the Protestant and those of the Catholic communion. The champions appointed to defend the religion of the sovereign were, as in all former instances, entirely triumphant; and the papal disputants, being pronounced refractory and obstinate, were even punished by imprisonment. Emboldened by this victory, the Protestants ventured on the last and most important step, and brought into parliament a bill [called

[1 Mackintosh[d] says: "Nothing can be urged in defence of such a clause, considered even as a menace, but the disposition of the consistent adherents of papal supremacy to deny the legitimate birth and dispute the civil authority of the queen. Two temporal peers and nine prelates voted against the bill. On its return from the commons, however, the lay lords withdrew their opposition, but the spiritual ones persevered. The next act, for re-establishing the common prayer book of Edward VI, gave occasion to more serious scruples, and excited a more numerous as well as firmer resistance. The clause subjecting the ministers of the established church to punishment for disobedience, is rather to be blamed as a departure from clemency than as a breach of justice. The severe penalties denounced against all who libelled the authorised ritual, though they would now be condemned, were probably then blamed, if at all, for laxity."]

[1559 A.D.]

the act of uniformity] for abolishing the mass and re-establishing the liturgy of King Edward. Penalties were enacted, as well against those who departed from this mode of worship as against those who absented themselves from the church and the sacraments. And thus in one session, without any violence, tumult, or clamour, was the whole system of religion altered, on the very commencement of a reign, and by the will of a young woman whose title to the crown was by many thought liable to great objections: an event which, though it may appear surprising to men in the present age, was everywhere expected on the first intelligence of Elizabeth's accession.

The commons also made a sacrifice to the queen, more difficult to obtain than that of any articles of faith: they voted a subsidy of four shillings in the pound on land, and two shillings and eight pence on movables, together with two fifteenths. The house in no instance departed from the most respectful deference and complaisance towards the queen. Even the importunate address which they made her on the conclusion of the session, to fix her choice of a husband, could not, they supposed, be very disagreeable to one of her sex and age. The address was couched in the most respectful expressions, yet met with a refusal from the queen. She told the speaker that as the application from the house was conceived in general terms, only recommending marriage without pretending to direct her choice of a husband, she could not take offence at the address, or regard it otherwise than as a new instance of their affectionate attachment to her; that any farther interposition on their part would have ill become either them to make as subjects, or her to bear as an independent princess; that even while she was a private person, and exposed to much danger, she had always declined that engagement, which she regarded as an incumbrance; much more, at present, would she persevere in this sentiment, when the charge of a great kingdom was committed to her, and her life ought to be entirely devoted to promoting the interests of religion and the happiness of her subjects.



A Rich Merchant of London
(Time of Elizabeth)

That as England was her husband, wedded to her by this pledge (and here she showed her finger with the same gold ring upon it with which she had solemnly betrothed herself to the kingdom at her inauguration), so all Englishmen were her children; and while she was employed in rearing or governing such a family, she could not deem herself barren, or her life useless and unprofitable; that if she ever entertained thoughts of changing her condition, the care of her subjects' welfare would still be uppermost in her thoughts;

but should she live and die a virgin, she doubted not but divine Providence, seconded by their counsels and her own measures, would be able to prevent all dispute with regard to the succession, and secure them a sovereign who, perhaps better than her own issue, would imitate her example in loving and cherishing her people; and that, for her part, she desired that no higher character or fairer remembrance of her should be transmitted to posterity than to have this inscription engraved on her tombstone, when she should pay the last debt to nature: "Here lies Elizabeth, who lived and died a maiden queen."

After the prorogation of the parliament, May 8th, the laws enacted with regard to religion were put in execution[1] and met with little opposition from any quarter. The liturgy was again introduced in the vulgar tongue, and the oath of supremacy was tendered to the clergy. The number of bishops had been reduced to fourteen by a sickly season which preceded; and all these, except the bishop of Llandaff,[2] having refused compliance, were degraded from their sees; but of the inferior clergy throughout all England, where there were near ten thousand parishes, only eighty rectors and vicars, fifty prebendaries, fifteen heads of colleges, twelve archdeacons, and as many deans sacrificed their livings to their religious principles. Those in high ecclesiastic stations, being exposed to the eyes of the public, seem chiefly to have placed a point of honour in their perseverance; but on the whole, the Protestants, in the former change introduced by Mary, appear to have been much more rigid and conscientious.[h]

The second statute trenched more on the natural rights of conscience; it prohibited, under pain of forfeiting goods and chattels for the first offence, of a year's imprisonment for the second, and imprisonment for life for the third, the using of any but the established liturgy of the church of England; and it moreover imposed a fine of one shilling on everyone that should absent himself from the only true Protestant church on Sunday and holidays. By this act the Catholic rites, however privately celebrated, were interdicted. In some respects, where it was not deemed expedient to irritate persons of very high rank, the government connived at the secret or domestic exercise of the Roman religion; but such cases were rare, even in the early part of Elizabeth's reign; and the restored Protestant clergy, who had learned no toleration from their own sufferings, propelled the agents of government into the paths of persecution. As early as 1561, Sir Edward Waldegrave and his lady were sent to the Tower for hearing mass and keeping a popish priest in their house. Many others were punished for the same offence about the same time. The penalty for causing mass to be said was only one hundred marks for the first offence, but these cases seem to have been referred to the Protestant high commission court, and the arbitrary Star Chamber, whose violence, however illegal, was not often checked.

It is dishonest to deny so obvious a fact, nor can the denial now serve any purpose; it was this commencement of persecution that drove many English Catholics beyond the seas, and gave rise to those associations of unhappy and desperate exiles which continued to menace the throne of Elizabeth even

[1] It is thought remarkable by Camden,[I] that though this session was the first of the reign, no person was attainted, but, on the contrary, some restored in blood by the parliament—a good symptom of the lenity, at least of the prudence, of the queen's government; and that it should appear remarkable, is a proof of the rigour of preceding reigns.

[2] Kitchen, who was originally a Benedictine monk, always believed or professed according to the last act of parliament, which meant the last enunciation of the royal will. In the time of Henry VIII, when he received the see, he professed the mitigated Romanism held by that monarch; in the time of Edward VI he became a complete Protestant; and when Mary

down to the last years of her long reign. In the same year, 1559, which saw the enforcing of the statutes of supremacy and uniformity, the queen published certain injunctions after the manner of those of her brother, and, for the larger part, expressed in the very same words as those of Edward, twelve years before. There was, however, a greater decency of language in several of the clauses, and the church of Rome was treated with more courtesy than in Edward's time. According to Edward's commands, images, shrines, pictures, and the like, were to be destroyed, nor was any memory of the same to be left in walls and glass windows. Elizabeth enjoined that "the walls and glass windows shall be nevertheless preserved."

Meanwhile the monastic establishments were universally broken up; three whole convents of monks and nuns were transferred from England to the Continent; many of the dispossessed clergy were conveyed to Spain in the retinue of Feria.[n]

After these enactments it devolved on the queen to provide a new hierarchy for the new church. Before winter all Queen Mary's prelates had been weeded out of the church, with the exception of Kitchen, who submitted to take the oath, and in consequence was suffered to retain the see of Llandaff. To supply their places a selection had been made out of the exiles who hastened back from Geneva, Basel, and Frankfort, and out of the clergymen in England, who during the last reign had distinguished themselves by their attachment to the reformed worship. At their head Elizabeth resolved to place, as metropolitan, both through respect to the memory of her mother and in reward of his own merit, Dr. Matthew Parker, formerly chaplain to Anne Boleyn, and, under Edward, dean of the church of Lincoln. In obedience to a *congé d'élire*, he was chosen by a portion of the chapter, the major part refusing to attend; but four months were suffered to elapse between his election and his entrance on the archiepiscopal office. This was on account of two very extraordinary impediments. By the revival of the 25th of Henry VIII, it was made necessary that the election of the archbishop should be confirmed, and his consecration be performed by four bishops.

But how were four bishops to be found, when, by the deprivation of the Catholic prelates, there remained in the kingdom but one lawful bishop—he of Llandaff? Again, the use of the ordinal of Edward VI had been abolished by parliament in the last reign, that of the Catholic ordinal by parliament in the present; in what manner, then, was Parker to be consecrated, when there existed no form of consecration recognised by law? Six theologians and canonists were consulted, who returned an opinion that in a case of such urgent necessity the queen possessed the power of supplying every defect through the plenitude of her ecclesiastical authority as head of the church. In conformity with this answer a commission with a sanatory clause was issued, and four of the commissioners—Barlow, the deprived bishop of Bath, and Hodgkin, once suffragan of Bedford, who had both been consecrated according to the Catholic pontifical, and Scory, the deprived bishop of Chichester, and Coverdale, the deprived bishop of Exeter, who had both been consecrated according to the reformed ordinal—proceeded to confirm the election of Parker, and then to consecrate him after the form adopted towards the close of the reign of Edward VI. A few days later, Parker, as archbishop, confirmed the election of two of those by whom his own election had been confirmed—of Barlow to the see of Chichester, and of Scory to that of Hereford; and then,

came to the crown, he turned back to the point from which he had originally started, and became once more a thorough papist. Now he turned Protestant again, and was allowed to keep the bishopric of Llandaff to the year 1563, when he died.—SOAMES.[m]

assuming them for his assistants—for three bishops were requisite by law—confirmed and consecrated all the other prelates elect.[1]

The new bishops, however, were doomed to meet with a severe disappointment on their very entry into office. It had been the uniform practice, wherever the Reformation penetrated, to reward the services of its lay abettors out of the possessions of the church; but in England it was conceived that few gleanings of this description could now remain, after the spoliations of the late reigns. Still the ingenuity of Elizabeth's advisers discovered a resource hitherto unobserved, and had procured two acts to be passed in the late parliament, by the first of which all the ecclesiastical property restored by Queen Mary to the church was reannexed to the crown; and by the other the queen was empowered, on the vacancy of any bishopric, to take possession of the lands belonging to such bishopric, with the exception of the chief mansion-house and its domain, on condition that she gave in return an equivalent in tithes and parsonages appropriate. Now, by the deprivation of the Catholic prelates every bishopric but one had become vacant, and commissioners had already been appointed to carry into effect the exchange contemplated by the act.

The new prelates saw with dismay this attempt to tear from their respective sees the most valuable of their possessions. They ventured to expostulate with their royal patroness; they appealed to her charity and piety; they offered her a yearly present of one thousand pounds. But their efforts were fruitless; she refused to accept their homage, or to restore their temporalities, till the work of spoliation was completed. Then they accepted their bishopries in the state to which they had been reduced; and the lands taken from them were distributed by the queen among the more needy or the more rapacious of her favourites.

After the consecration of the new bishops there was little to impede the progress of the reformed worship. With the aid of commissions, injunctions, and visitations, the church was gradually purged of the non-juring clergy; but their absence left a considerable vacancy, which was but inadequately supplied by the reformed ministers, and it became necessary to establish for the moment a class of lay instructors, consisting of mechanics, licensed to read the service to the people in the church, but forbidden to administer the sacrament.[i]

The forms and ceremonies still preserved in the English liturgy, as they bore some resemblance to the ancient service, tended farther to reconcile the Catholics to the established religion; and as the queen permitted no other mode of worship, and at the same time struck out everything that could be offensive to them in the new liturgy, even those who were addicted to the Roman communion made no scruple of attending the established church. Had Elizabeth gratified her own inclinations, the exterior appearance, which is the chief circumstance with the people, would have been still more similar between the new and the ancient form of worship. Her love of state and magnificence, which she affected in everything, inspired her with an inclination towards the pomp of the Catholic religion, and it was merely in compliance with the prejudices of her party that she gave up either images or the addresses to saints or prayers for the dead. Some foreign princes interposed to procure the Romanists the privilege of separate assemblies in particular

[1 There was long a story current that the consecration ceremony which founded the English church took place in Nag's Head inn, the bishops kneeling on the tavern floor, and Bishop Scory jocularly laying a Bible on their heads and calling them consecrated. As Aubrey *o* says, this story has now joined the fable of Pope Joan.]

[1559 A.D.]

cities, but the queen would not comply with their request; and she represented the manifest danger of disturbing the national peace by a toleration of different religions.

PEACE WITH FRANCE

While the queen and parliament were employed in settling the public religion, the negotiations for a peace were still conducted at Château Cambresis, between the ministers of France, Spain, and England; and Elizabeth, though equally prudent, was not equally successful in this transaction. Philip employed his utmost efforts to procure the restitution of Calais, both as bound in honour to indemnify England, which, merely on his account, had been drawn into the war, and as engaged in interest to remove France to a distance from his frontiers in the Low Countries. Though all his own terms with France were settled he seemed willing to continue the war till she should obtain satisfaction, provided she would stipulate to adhere to the Spanish alliance and continue hostilities against Henry during the course of six years; but Elizabeth, after consulting with her ministers, wisely rejected this proposal. She was sensible of the low state of her finances; the great debts contracted by her father, brother, and sister; the disorders introduced into every part of the administration; the divisions by which her people were agitated; and she was convinced that nothing but tranquillity during some years could bring the kingdom again into a flourishing condition, or enable her to act with dignity and vigour in her transactions with foreign nations. Well acquainted with the value which Henry put upon Calais, and the impossibility, during the present emergence, of recovering it by treaty, she was willing rather to suffer that loss than submit to such a dependence on Spain as she must expect to fall into if she continued pertinaciously in her present demand. It was at last agreed, April, 1559, that Henry should restore Calais at the expiration of eight years; that, in case of failure, he should pay five hundred thousand crowns, and the queen's title to Calais still remain; that if Elizabeth broke the peace with France or Scotland during the interval, she should forfeit all title to Calais; but if Henry made war on Elizabeth, he should be obliged immediately to restore that fortress. All men of penetration easily saw that these stipulations were but a colourable pretence for abandoning Calais; but they excused the queen on account of the necessity of her affairs, and they even extolled her prudence, in submitting, without farther struggle, to that necessity.

Philip and Henry terminated hostilities by a mutual restitution of all places taken during the course of the war, and Philip espoused the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of France, formerly betrothed to his son, Don Carlos. The duke of Savoy married Margaret, Henry's sister, and obtained a restitution of all his dominions of Savoy and Piedmont, except a few towns retained by France. And thus general tranquillity seemed to be restored to Europe.

BITTERNESS BETWEEN THE QUEEN AND MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

But though peace was concluded between France and England, there soon appeared a ground of quarrel of the most serious nature, which was afterwards attended with the most important consequences. The two marriages of Henry VIII, that with Catherine of Aragon and that with Anne Boleyn, were incompatible with each other, and it seemed impossible that both of them

could be regarded as valid and legal; but still the birth of Elizabeth lay under some disadvantages to which that of her sister, Mary, was not exposed. Henry's first marriage had obtained the sanction of all the powers, both civil and ecclesiastical, which were then acknowledged in England; and it was natural for Protestants as well as Romanists to allow, on account of the sincere intention of the parties, that their issue ought to be regarded as legitimate. But his divorce and second marriage had been concluded in direct opposition to the see of Rome; and though they had been ratified by the authority both of the English parliament and convocation, those who were strongly attached to the Catholic communion and who reasoned with great strictness, were led to regard them as entirely invalid, and to deny altogether the queen's right of succession.



COURT COSTUME OF THE TIME OF ELIZABETH

The next heir of blood was the queen of Scots,[1] now married to the dauphin; and the great power of that princess, joined to her plausible title, rendered her a formidable rival to Elizabeth. The king of France had secretly been soliciting at Rome a bull of excommunication against the queen, and she had here been beholden to the good offices of Philip, who, from interest more than either friendship or generosity, had negotiated in her favour, and had successfully opposed the pretensions of Henry. But the court of France was not discouraged with this repulse. The duke of Guise, and his brothers, thinking that it would much augment their credit if their niece should bring an accession of England, as she had already done of Scotland, to the crown of France, engaged the king not to neglect the claim, and, by their persuasion, he ordered his son and daughter-in-law to assume openly the arms as well as title of England, and to quarter these arms on all their equipages, furniture, and liveries.[2]

When the English ambassador complained of this injury, he could obtain nothing but an evasive answer; that as the queen of Scots was descended from the blood royal of England she was entitled, by the example of many princes, to assume the arms of that kingdom. But besides that this practice

[1 For details of Scotch affairs, see the history of Scotland in a later volume.]

[2 We have thus the curious and ridiculous situation that Mary, wife of the French dauphin, frequently called herself "queen of England and Ireland," though she had no shred of authority; while Elizabeth, following the style of her father and sister, called herself "queen of France," though she had no authority, and the laws of that country forbade female inheritance of the crown.]

[1559 A.D.]

had never prevailed without permission being first obtained, and without making a visible difference between the arms, Elizabeth plainly saw that this pretension had not been advanced during the reign of her sister Mary; and that therefore the king of France intended on the first opportunity to dispute her legitimacy and her title to the crown. Alarmed at the danger, she thenceforth conceived a violent jealousy against the queen of Scots, and was determined, as far as possible, to incapacitate Henry from the execution of his project. The sudden death of that monarch, who was killed in a tournament at Paris while celebrating the espousals of his sister with the duke of Savoy, altered not her views. Being informed that his successor, Francis II, still continued to assume without reserve the title of king of England, she began to consider him and his queen as her mortal enemies; and the present situation of affairs in Scotland afforded her a favourable opportunity both of revenging the injury and providing for her own safety.[h]

Von Ranke on the Political Meaning of the Rivalry

Elizabeth had not only been the princess of the popular opposition against the policy of her sister Mary; from the very first moment she had come in contact with another opponent whose claims were to determine the conditions of her life. When Henry VIII, in establishing his succession, had passed over in silence the rights of his sister, married in Scotland, these rights, which had now descended to her granddaughter, Mary Stuart, were so much the more vividly remembered after his death by the Catholic party in the country. The religious respect which was paid to the papacy was irreconcilable with the recognition of Elizabeth, whose very existence was in opposition to this sentiment. Likewise a political reason for giving the preference to Mary Stuart was not lacking. The union of England and Scotland, for which Henry VIII and Somerset had worked so zealously, would be thereby accomplished with no further difficulty. A predominance of Scotland was not feared, for Henry VII, to whom this serious possibility had been pointed out at the time of the marriage, had stated the maxim that the greater and stronger party always draws the smaller with it. The indispensable condition for the growth of England's power lay in the unification of the whole island; this would have come about in a Catholic, not a Protestant sense. Was it not probable that this union of political advantage with religious concord would influence the privy council of England, which under Mary was so zealously Catholic again, and also effect Queen Mary Tudor herself?

Great political questions, however, do not appear to mankind with such distinctness, but are seen through the modifying circumstances of the moment. It was decisive, for the time, that Mary Stuart was married to the dauphin of France; she would have united England not alone with Scotland but with France also, and would have brought her forever under the influence of that land. How such a prospect must have outraged every English feeling! England would have become a transmarine province of France, she would gradually have become ruined like Brittany, and in the next place French policy would have gained complete supremacy in the world.[p]

THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND

Elizabeth was fully aware that it was the secret intention of the court of France to endeavour to make good the claim of Mary to the crown of England. She knew that application had been made at Rome to have her excommuni-

cated, which had only been prevented by the influence of King Philip. As it was reckoned that her Catholic subjects would aid her rival, policy suggested the expediency of forming a connection with Mary's Protestant subjects. Hence arose the great interest which the court of England took in the internal affairs of Scotland. We must therefore enter somewhat minutely into the history of that country at the present conjuncture.

The moderate temper of the queen regent of Scotland [1] made her indisposed to persecute. The reformed doctrines therefore gradually advanced, and many of those who had fled from the tyranny of the fanatic queen of England had found a refuge in the northern kingdom. There is a sternness in the Scottish character unknown to the English, and nowhere is this more manifested than in the progress of the Reformation in the two countries. In England it was conducted with mildness, in Scotland it was wild, destructive, and fanatic.

On the 3rd of December, 1557, the earls of Argyll, Morton and Glencairn, and other nobles, met at Edinburgh and entered into a private association, styled the Congregation of the Lord, binding themselves to struggle to the uttermost against "Satan in his members the antichrist of their time." This convention remained for some time a secret. But the lords of the Congregation, emboldened by manifest indications of the popular feeling, and by the tidings of the death of Mary and accession of Elizabeth, ventured to petition the regent for the reformation of the church and of the "wicked, scandalous, and detestable lives" of the prelates and clergy. The regent temporised till she had obtained the matrimonial crown for the dauphin, and might have conceded some of their demands but that she received directions from her brothers, the Guises, who now directed everything at the court of France, to check the new opinions. As usual, she submitted her own good sense to their will. She had the principal reformed teachers cited before the council at Stirling. The people, enraged, resolved on opposing the regent and the clergy with arms.

While matters were in this state the celebrated John Knox returned to Scotland. Knox, a man of stern, unbending nature, actuated by principle alone, far above all sordid, selfish considerations, but narrow in mind and only moderately learned, had adopted in their utmost extent the rigid principles of Calvin, the apostle of Geneva. Gospel truth (in his own sense of the term) he held to be paramount to all considerations, and all the laws of society should yield before it. Hence Knox was found to vindicate even the murder of Cardinal Beaton.

This daring man now (May 11th, 1559) ascended the pulpit at Perth and poured forth a torrent of declamation against the tenets and practices of the church of Rome. When he concluded, a priest had the folly to prepare to celebrate mass; but the people, who had been wrought up to a high degree of fanaticism by the eloquence of Knox, rushed forward, seized and destroyed his holy implements, then tore the pictures, broke the images, and overthrew the altars. They thence proceeded, their numbers increasing as they went, to the convents of the gray, black, and white friars, where they drove out the inmates and pillaged and destroyed the buildings. The precedent was followed at Cupar in Fifeshire, which was "reformed," as the phrase was, in a similar manner.

The regent, on receiving the intelligence, advanced with what troops she had towards Perth. She was joined by Arran (now duke of Chatellerault in

[1] This was Mary of Guise, mother of the Mary who was later called Mary Queen of Scots.]

France), Argyll, James Stuart, prior of St. Andrews, and other lords of the reformed party, while Glencairn and others led their retainers to the support of the Congregation. They were so formidable in numbers and evinced such a determined spirit of fanaticism and intolerance, that the regent, dubious of the event of a conflict, agreed to an accommodation. She was then admitted into Perth. But it was soon asserted that she had violated the conditions; the Congregation, now joined by Argyll and the prior, again took arms; Knox became their animating spirit, and Anstruther, Scone, Stirling and other places were "reformed" as Perth had been. They advanced to Edinburgh, where they were admitted by the people who had already reformed their city. The queen took refuge at Dunbar; but the usual causes having acted to increase her strength and diminish that of her adversaries, a new accommodation was agreed to, and she regained possession of Edinburgh (July 12th). Soon after troops came from France to her support, and she stationed them at Leith, which she had fortified.

Henry II of France, having lost his life by an accident at the tournament celebrated in honour of his sister's marriage with the duke of Savoy, was succeeded by the dauphin under the title of Francis II, and the power of the Guises was now without limits. The young sovereigns styled themselves king and queen of England. The design of making Scotland and eventually England a dependency of France, and of putting down the Reformation, was still retained. Additional troops were collected to be sent to the former kingdom. The Congregation saw that if not supported by England they ran risk of being crushed; they therefore sent Maitland of Lethington and Robert Melville in secret to London. Cecil stated to his royal mistress the various reasons which rendered imperative on her the support of the applicants. Her scruples about treating with the subjects of another prince gave way.[1] She concluded a treaty with the lords of the Congregation, promising never to desist till the French had evacuated Scotland. Admiral Winter was sent with a fleet of fifteen sail to the Firth of Forth, and an army of eight thousand men was assembled on the borders.

The French troops had surprised Stirling and were laying Fifeshire waste when the appearance of Winter's fleet forced them to return to Leith, where they were besieged by the congregationalists. A treaty for peace was now set on foot at Newcastle, whither Elizabeth sent Cecil and Wotton to meet the French ministers. While it was going on, the queen-regent died (June 11th, 1560). It was then removed to Edinburgh, and it was finally agreed [by the so-called Treaty of Edinburgh, July 6th, 1560] that the French should evacuate Scotland; that twelve persons, seven to be selected by the queen, five by the parliament, should govern the kingdom, and that war or peace should not be made without the consent of the parliament. By a separate treaty with Elizabeth, Francis and Mary were to renounce the title of king and queen of England.[r]

The treaty of Edinburgh was so unpalatable to the house of Guise that for nearly a year the queen of Scotland refused to ratify it. The estates of the kingdom, however, assembled at the time stipulated by the treaty without receiving any commission from their queen. It was held that the express words of the treaty provided that such a meeting of the estates should be lawful without being so convoked. There was no doubt what course affairs

[1 Elizabeth also abhorred Calvinism, and had a deep grudge against John Knox for his book, *The Monstrous Regiment of Women*. Gardiner *q* says, "It is therefore almost certain that she would have done nothing for the lords of the Congregation if France had done nothing for the regent."]

would take, for the question of the legality of the parliament was carried by an overwhelming majority. The first proceeding of the estates was to draw up a confession of faith, founded on the reformed doctrines as received by Calvin. The opposition of the bishops and other Romanists was useless. This remarkable summary of doctrine must have been the result of the most careful consideration. The solemn earnestness of its tone was characteristic of the Scottish people and their spiritual leaders in the Reformation. It concludes with this prayer: "Arise, O Lord, and let thy enemies be confoundit; let theme flee fra thy presence that hait thy godly name: Give thy servandis strenth to speik thy worde in baldness, and lat all natiounis cleif to thy trew knawledge. Amen." [1]

The confession of faith was followed up by three acts, which established the reformed religion upon legislative sanction much more rapidly and sweepingly than had been accomplished in England, and with a more signal display of intolerance. The first abolished the power and jurisdiction of the pope in Scotland; the second repealed all statutes in favour of the Roman church; and the third provided that all who should say mass or hear mass, should incur confiscation of goods for the first offence, banishment for the second, and death for the third.

The proceedings in the parliament of Scotland necessarily gave offence to Queen Mary, and she again refused to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh. When urged to do so by Throcmorton, the English ambassador, she thus addressed him: "My subjects in Scotland do their duty in nothing, nor have they performed one point that belongeth unto them. I am their queen, and so they call me, but they use me not so. They have done what pleaseth them, and though I have not many faithful subjects there, yet those few that be there on my party were not present when these matters were done, nor at this assembly. I will have them assemble by my authority, and proceed in their doings after the laws of the realm, which they so much boast of, and keep none of them. They have sent hither a poor gentleman to me, whom I disdain to have come in the name of them all, to the king and me, in such a legation. They have sent great personages to your mistress. I am their sovereign, but they take me not so. They must be taught to know their duty." [2]

BEGINNING OF THE RIVALRY OF MARY AND ELIZABETH

On the 6th of December, 1560, Francis II, the young king of France, died, after a reign of seventeen months.[3] His death prevented the execution of a project for rooting the reformed doctrines out of France by holding an assembly of the States-General at which all should sign a confession of the Catholic faith, which should then be tendered for signature to every person in the kingdom, the refusal to be punished by banishment or death. Mary

[1] "Acts of the Parliament of Scotland," 1560 A.D.

[2] Letter of Throcmorton to Elizabeth, in State Paper Office.

[3] The queen-dowager, Catherine de' Medici, now became regent for the minority of her son Charles IX; the king of Navarre, whom the Guises had thrown into prison, was liberated and made lieutenant-general of the kingdom; the prince of Condé, who had been condemned to death, was also set at liberty; the constable Montmorency was recalled to court, and a counterpoise to the power of the Guises was thus formed. The widowed queen Mary, finding the court where she had ruled no longer an agreeable abode, retired to that of her uncles in Lorraine. She still persevered in refusing to ratify the treaty with Elizabeth. Her subjects sent praying her to return to her own kingdom; her uncles urged her to the same course; the ill-feeling which prevailed between her and the queen-mother assured her that she could never expect happiness in France.]

appears very soon to have determined upon a return to Scotland, hoping, by previous negotiation, to have won over her subjects to a willing obedience. She was admirably fitted by her beauty, her winning manners, and her acute intellect to obtain the homage of all hearts could she have resolved to separate herself from the policy of her family even if she did not choose to conform to the religion which had been so solemnly proclaimed by a vast majority of the Scottish people assembled in parliament. It was determined in Scotland to send as an ambassador to Mary the lord James Murray,[1] the illegitimate son of James V. Murray wisely and bravely stipulated, in opposition to the remonstrances of the reformed ministers, that his sister should be left free to the private exercise of her own religion. After the death of Francis, Elizabeth also sent an ambassador to condole with her, to assure her of the desire of England to remain at peace, but to demand her confirmation of the treaty[2] concluded by her commissioners at Edinburgh.

Again Mary refused to ratify this treaty till she had returned to her own kingdom and submitted the matter to her parliament. In her conferences with Murray, in whom she seems to have firmly trusted, although he was in intimate correspondence with the English government, Mary, according to Tytler,[s] "did not scruple to admit that the amity between England and Scotland was little agreeable to her, and that, considering the terms of the league lately made betwixt the two realms, she was anxious to have it dissolved." "Murray," continues the historian, "having secretly met the English ambassador, insidiously betrayed to him everything that had passed between Mary and himself."

Those who write of the secret transactions of this period, as imperfectly laid open by official letters, have the craft of Elizabeth, the confiding sincerity of Mary, and the treachery of Murray and his associates always ready for argument or illustration. It would be well to consider what the rupture of the amity between England and Scotland, so desired by Mary, really meant. It meant a civil war in Scotland, which the alliance with England kept down. It meant the establishment of the French interest in Scotland under the policy of the Guises, which has been thus described by Tytler[s]: "To put down the Huguenots in France, to encourage the Romanists in England and Scotland, to sow dissensions amongst the Protestant princes of Germany, to support the Council of Trent, now sitting, and, in a word, to concentrate the whole strength of France, Spain, Italy, and the empire against that great moral and religious revolution, by which light and truth were struggling to break in upon a system of long-established error, was the main object to which they directed their efforts."

That Mary Stuart was fully imbued with the desire to support this main object, and that Elizabeth Tudor was equally resolved to oppose it, may more satisfactorily account for the early hostility between these queens than the received theory that the government of England was "constant in nothing, save in a desire to profit by the strifes and embarrassments of the Scottish people." The able writer, Bruce,[t] who has so justly denounced this prevailing fallacy, says, with a distinct knowledge of the historical evidence, that "there were two principles which consistently regulated the English policy in Scotland during the time of Elizabeth. The one was, a determination that no

[1 Many historians spell his name Moray.]
[2 This included a renunciation of Mary's claim on the English crown. Mary might have consented had Elizabeth agreed to name her as her successor, but this Elizabeth would not do. As Gardiner[q] says, "She had a special dislike to fixing on anyone as her successor." This was both a personal eccentricity and a shrewd policy.]

continental power should interfere by force of arms in Scottish affairs; the other, a similar determination to uphold Protestantism and the Protestant party in opposition to that party which befriended Mary." When the queen of Scotland desired to return to her native country, she was assuring the English ambassador that she was most anxious for the friendship of Elizabeth: "I, for my part, am very desirous to have the perfect and the assured amity of the queen, my good sister; and I will use all the means I can to give her occasion to think that I mean it indeed." She was telling Murray, in confidence, that she desired to have the amity dissolved.

Elizabeth, with a perfect knowledge of her real wishes, received the ambassador, D'Oisel, whom Mary had sent to solicit a safe-conduct from the queen, either on her voyage to Scotland, or should she land in the English dominions. He was also to ask for a passport for himself to pursue his journey to Scotland. Elizabeth, with undisguised anger, refused both requests. "Let your queen," she said, "ratify the treaty, and she shall experience on my part, either by sea or land, whatever can be expected from a queen, a



Jervaulx Abbey, Wensleydale

relation, or a neighbour." It was the point of the renunciation of the present claim to the crown of England that made Elizabeth so resolved. Sir James Mackintosh [d] has pointed out that Doctor Robertson [u] "confounded the right of succession with the claim to possession"; and that "the claim to possession, asserted by the arms, supposed Elizabeth to be an usurper; the right of succession recognised her as a lawful sovereign." This most unwise pretension of Mary, thus reasserted by her refusal to ratify the treaty, was a real declaration of hostility, affecting the quiet of the English nation. The refusal of a safe-conduct had undoubtedly the approval of Elizabeth's ministers, who could not forbear to look with apprehension upon the return to Scotland of one so opposed to their general policy. Their conduct might be ungenerous, but it was not inconsistent.

The indignation of Mary at this refusal was such as might have been expected from so high-spirited a woman. Throcmorton has related his interview with her on this occasion, and has reported her address to him, eloquent and slightly sarcastic.[v]

When Mary saw him, she ordered her attendants to retire; "that," said she, "if like the queen of England I cannot command my temper, I may at least have fewer spectators of my weakness." To his reasons she replied: "Your mistress reproaches me with my youth—it is a defect which will soon be cured—but she might reproach me with my folly, if, young as I am, without husband or counsel, I should take on myself to ratify the treaty. When

[1561 A.D.]

I have consulted the estates of my realm I will return a reasonable answer. I only repent that I had the weakness to ask of your sovereign a favour which I did not want. I came here in defiance of Edward VI; I will return to Scotland in defiance of his sister. I want nothing of her but her friendship; if she choose, she may have me a loving kinswoman, and a useful neighbour; for it is not my intention to intrigue with the discontented in her kingdom, as she intrigues with the discontented in mine."

The resolution of the Scottish queen triumphed over the tortuous policy of the English cabinet. Letters in the name of Elizabeth had been sent to the lords of the Congregation, admonishing them of the danger to which they would be exposed by the return of their sovereign, and advising them to divert her from her purpose by some bold demonstration of their hatred to popery and the renewal of their league with England; and at the same time, to alarm the Scottish queen, a squadron of men-of-war was collected in the Downs for the specious purpose of cruising against pirates in the narrow seas. Mary was not ignorant of the intrigues in Scotland, and suspected the object of the naval armament; still she determined to brave the danger, and when Throcmorton waited on her before her departure, said to him, "I trust that I shall not need to come to the coast of England. If I do, then, Mr. Ambassador, the queen, your mistress, will have me in her hands to do her will of me; and if she be so hard-hearted as to desire my end, she may do her pleasure, and make her sacrifice of me. Peradventure that might be better for me than to live. In this matter God's will be done."*i*

MARY ENTERS SCOTLAND (1561 A.D.)

On the 14th of August, 1561, Mary embarked at Calais on her voyage to Scotland. There was an evil omen in the wreck of a vessel before her eyes as she left the harbour. Brantôme *w* has recorded those touching displays of her feelings, which show how reluctantly she quitted the country where she had moved amidst the universal homage of a gay court; where pleasures surrounded her on every side, and where there were no severe religionists to interpret the most innocent actions into evidences of immorality. Yet at that dangerous court—where female purity had ceased to be regarded as a virtue, and female prudence was ridiculed and despised—this fascinating woman might have learned to forget that self-respect which would have shielded her from harm even amongst the most stern judges of human conduct; and thus France might have been to her a cruel stepmother. She could now only look back upon its shores as the seat of past joys and exclaim, "Farewell, France!"

Again, when the evening was drawing on, would she gaze, and say, "It is now, my dear France, that I lose sight of thee. I shall never see thee more." Awakened at the first dawning, as she had desired to be if the coast were still in sight, she exclaimed, "Farewell, France. It is over." On they went to the North Sea, when a fog came on, and they cast anchor in the open sea.

It was this fog, according to some writers,[1] which prevented the galleys of Mary being captured by Elizabeth's cruisers. One vessel was taken and carried into port but, says Tytler,*s* "as soon as it was discovered that the young queen was not on board, the prize was released, and pursued her voyage into Scotland. The incident, however, demonstrated clearly the sin-

[1 Among those who believe that Elizabeth really meant to intercept Mary are Lingard *t* and Creighton,*e* while Froude *x* strongly implies the desire, even if the courage were wanting.]

ister intentions of the English queen." The counter-statement, upon the authority of Cecil, is that the small English squadron was in pursuit of pirates who were then cruising in the Scottish sea; that this squadron saluted the royal galleys, but detained one baggage vessel suspected of having pirates on board. "The conduct of the English commanders towards Mary's vessels," says Mackintosh,[d] "minutely corresponds with the assurance of Elizabeth, in her letter of the 16th of August, that she suspended her displeasure at the refusal to ratify the treaty, and had given orders to her naval officers which were equivalent to a safe-conduct."

Elizabeth says: "It seemeth that report hath been made to you that we had sent out our admiral with our fleet to hinder your passage. Your servants know how false that is. We have only, at the desire of the king of Spain, sent two or three small barks to sea, in pursuit of certain Scottish pirates."

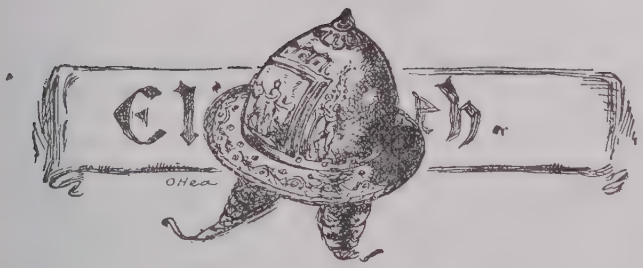
Mary landed at the port of Leith on the 19th of August. She was received by a deputation, and conducted to the palace, or abbey, of Holyrood —that seat of Scottish royalty whose chief interest is associated with her name, but of which a very small portion of the original building remains. Mary had been accustomed to grander pageants than now welcomed her. Mean hackneys, wretchedly caparisoned, waited her arrival. She went on to Edinburgh, having no magnificence to show the French courtiers who surrounded her. Under the windows of Holyrood the citizens sang psalms to discordant three-stringed rebecks, which kept the weary queen from sleeping; and the next morning when a popish priest was about to perform mass in her private chapel, he would have been slain by the master of Lindsay and a furious multitude had not Murray placed himself at the door of the chapel and maintained the principle for which he had contended, that the queen should not be molested in the private exercise of her religion.

The fortunes of Mary Stuart and Elizabeth Tudor suggest the most remarkable contrasts, even up to this period. When Mary was in her girlhood she was married to the heir of one of the greatest monarchies of Europe. When Elizabeth had scarcely reached her twenty-first year she became the object of suspicion to her sister; was a close prisoner under apprehension of immediate death, and passed several years of durance and solitary anxiety. The taint of supposed illegitimacy was upon her, and her succession to the crown was more than doubtful. When she came to the throne she had to decide upon heading an ecclesiastical revolution that would make her the proscribed of Rome and the contemned of Rome's supporters, or to support a system which had become odious in England. She threw herself upon her people—and she triumphed. When Mary became the widowed queen of France and returned to assume the rule of Scotland, she found herself supported by the great Catholic powers, but opposed to her people—and she failed. She had to bear the rough monitions of Knox, the ill-concealed hostility and uncertain support of her nobles, and the secret or proclaimed dislike of an angry nation.

Whilst the government of England was carrying out its resolved policy with regard to Scotland and all there was strife and bitterness, Elizabeth was moving amongst her subjects with the love of the many and the fear of the few. Mary could depend upon no advisers, for the adherents to the old religion were too rash in their weakness and the reformers too harsh in their strength. Elizabeth had the ablest men of the time as counsellors, who held to a settled principle of action without provoking hostility by capricious and passionate exercises of authority. Mary was the sovereign of a people amongst

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whom the feudal tyrannies had not yet been held in subjection by the growth of profitable industry. Elizabeth governed a community in which the strength of the middle classes had asserted itself against monarchical and ecclesiastical tyranny, and new channels of prosperity were being opened wherever commerce developed the energies of capital, and adventurous men went forth for the conquests of peace. The most prosaic record of the first two years of Elizabeth's reign shows how remarkably the tranquillity of England was opposed to the turbulence of Scotland.[v]





CHAPTER IX

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

[1561–1569 A.D.]

A SPECTACLE unparalleled—these two queens in Albion, proud and wonderful creatures of nature and events. Both were of high intellect. From Mary we have verses in French, of a sincerity and directness rare in the literature of that day. Her letters are spontaneous and fervid expressions of passing moods. From Elizabeth, too, we have verses, not especially poetic nor musically expressed, yet full of high feeling and resolution. Her letters are clever, yet, on account of their allusions and antitheses, are far from clear, though concise and weighty; in her expressions there is revealed at times an insight into the inner relations between history and ideas that is astounding.—VON RANKE *b*.

MARY was now in her nineteenth year. She had been brought up in a court where the serpent too frequently lurked beneath the roses; treachery, falsehood, and cruelty hiding themselves under the covert of honeyed words and wreathed smiles, and where dissoluteness of manners prevailed. She had also been reared in adherence to the tenets and practices of the papacy. She was come to a country poor and semi-barbarous, where deeds of violence and treachery were openly enacted; where the Reformation had breathed its sternest spirit, suiting itself to the people, whose struggles for independence had developed a character peculiar to the nation; and where the reformed clergy, led by John Knox, frowned upon the masks, the dances, the banquets, in which the queen naturally took delight, as frivolous practices introduced from the licentious court of France.

Between a sovereign and a people of such opposite characters long-continued harmony could hardly be expected to prevail. Yet Mary's reign was for some years happy and prosperous. For this she was indebted to her following the advice of her uncles and giving her confidence to her half-brother, the

prior of St. Andrews (whom she raised to the dignity of earl of Mar, and soon after to that of Murray or Moray), the head of the Protestant party and a man of ability. She also held occasional conferences with the rugged Knox, and bore his uncourteous animadversions with no little patience.

Yet all the while her fixed design was the overthrow of the reformed religion. In 1562, when some zealots presented a petition for the suppression of the Roman worship, she angrily replied that she hoped before another year to have the mass restored throughout the whole kingdom. On the 10th of May in the following year (1563) her uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, read her letters to the council of Trent, professing her submission to its authority, and promising if she succeeded to the throne of England to subject both kingdoms to the holy see. We are further assured that she was a subscribing party to the famous Holy League concluded at Bayonne in 1565 for the extermination of the Protestants. Surely it is not possible that the intentions of Mary with respect to religion could have escaped the knowledge of Elizabeth and her wise minister Cecil; and was it not therefore their duty to guard against her having the power to carry these designs into effect?

The queen of Scots, we have seen, laid claim to the throne of England; and supposing the divorce of Henry VIII not to have been legal, and the power of parliament to limit the succession not paramount, her claim was irresistible.[1] The Catholics in general took this view of the case. On the other hand Henry, by his will, sanctioned by parliament, devised the crown after his own children to the issue of his younger sister the queen of France by the duke of Suffolk; and many of the Protestants, such as Cecil and Bacon, favoured this line. The general feeling, however, was on the side of the elder or Scottish branch, and Elizabeth herself seems to have viewed the queen of Scots as her true heir, though she was probably secretly determined to keep the matter in uncertainty as long as she lived. By an act of great harshness and even cruelty she at this time put it nearly out of her own power to exclude the queen of Scots.

The lady Catherine Grey,[2] next sister to the lady Jane, had been married to the son of the earl of Pembroke, but on the fall of her family that time-serving nobleman had them divorced. Catherine was afterwards privately married to the earl of Hertford, son of the protector. Her pregnancy revealed the secret, and Elizabeth, who could not bear that others should enjoy those delights of love from which she excluded herself, sent the lovers to the Tower. As they were unable to prove their marriage the primate pronounced a divorce; but their keepers allowing them to meet, the birth of a second child was the result. Hertford was heavily fined, and detained in prison till his unhappy wife sank under the ill-treatment she received, and died. The legitimacy of their children was acknowledged in a subsequent reign.

Shortly after her arrival in Scotland Mary sent Maitland of Lethington to Elizabeth to propose a friendly alliance, but at the same time requiring to be declared successor to the throne. Elizabeth insisted on the execution of the treaty of Edinburgh, she declared that in such case she would do nothing to prejudice the rights of Mary; but she said that her own experience when she was at Hatfield had convinced her how dangerous to the present possessor of power it was to have a designated successor, who would thus become a rallying point for the disaffected. This was a subject on which all through

[1 Furthermore, as we have seen, Elizabeth's own parliament had never specifically reversed the attainder of her blood. The reasons have already been shown.]

[2 Lady Catherine was Elizabeth's heir according to Henry VIII's will in favor of the Suffolk line. But Elizabeth would not name her a successor.]

her reign Elizabeth was remarkably jealous, and though, as we have said, she secretly favoured the hereditary principle, she never would declare herself.

The two queens, notwithstanding, kept up an amicable intercourse by letters, and at one time proposed a personal interview at York, which, however, did not take place in consequence of Elizabeth's vanity and jealousy, according to those writers who take a delight in assigning little paltry motives to the actions of this great princess. To us the conduct of Elizabeth towards Mary at this period seems to have been as cordial and friendly as was consistent with her station as the head of the Protestant party in Great Britain, and the obstinate retention by Mary of her claim to the crown of England.

THE SUITORS OF ELIZABETH

It was a curious circumstance that the rulers of the two British kingdoms should be both young women, both handsome, both single. Their hands were therefore naturally objects of ambition to foreign princes, and the disposal of them matter of solicitude to their subjects. The English parliament were particularly anxious that their sovereign should marry, as her having issue would secure a Protestant succession, and preclude the collision which might ensue between the hereditary claims of the descendants of Margaret and the parliamentary title of those of Mary Tudor, the daughters of Henry VII. But the masculine and arbitrary temper of Elizabeth had early brought her to a secret determination never to give herself a master, and though she gave her parliament fair words, and coquetted with some of her suitors, there does not appear any reason to suppose that she seriously thought of marriage.

When Philip of Spain had given up all hopes of obtaining the hand of Elizabeth himself, he put forward the pretensions of his cousin Charles, archduke of Austria, in the design of counterbalancing the influence of France in the British island. Some of Elizabeth's leading nobles were strongly in favour of this match, and it continued for some years to be the subject of discussion.[c]

The family connections of this prince promised equal support against the rivalry of Francis and Mary, to his person, talents, and acquirements, no objection could be adduced; but his religion opposed, if not in the opinion of the queen, at least in that of her counsellors, an insuperable obstacle to his suit. Elizabeth's vanity was indeed flattered, and she intimated a wish to see the archduke in England. It was generally understood that he had resolved to visit his intended bride under an assumed character in November, 1559, and in foreign courts an idea prevailed that the marriage was actually concluded, but the emperor conceived it beneath his dignity to proceed with so much precipitancy, and opened a negotiation which defeated his own purpose.

Though he was induced to withdraw his first demand of a church for the celebration of the Catholic service in London, though he consented that Charles should, on occasions of ceremony, attend the queen to the Protestant worship; still he insisted that his son should possess a private chapel for his own use and that of his Catholic family. To this it was replied, that the laws of the realm allowed of no other than the established liturgy, and that the conscience of the queen forbade her to connive at the celebration of an idolatrous worship. So uncourteous an answer cooled the ardour of the young prince. The emperor demanded a positive answer, and the queen replied, January 20th, 1560, that she had in reality no wish to marry. Charles imme-

[1559–1560 A.D.]

diately turned his attention towards the widow queen of Scotland, and the subject was dropped without any expression of dissatisfaction by either party.

While the Austrian was thus preferring his suit, John, duke of Finland, arrived in England, September 27th, 1559, to solicit the hand of the queen for his brother Eric, king of Sweden. He was received with royal honours and flattered with delusive hopes. To the queen he paid incessant attention, sought to win the goodwill of her favourites by his affability and presents, and as he went to court, usually threw money amongst the populace, saying that he gave them silver, but the king would give them gold.



English Armour

To Eric, a Protestant, no objection could be made on the ground of religion; finding, however, that his suit made little progress, he grew jealous of his brother, and recalling him, confided his interests to the care of an ambassador. At the same time he sent to Elizabeth, October 3rd, 1561, eighteen piebald horses and several chests of bullion, with an intimation that he would quickly follow in person to lay his heart at her feet. The queen had no objection to the present; but to relieve herself from the expense and embarrassment of a visit she requested him, for his own sake, to postpone his journey till the time when she could make up her mind to enter into matrimony. At length his patience was exhausted, and he consoled himself for his disappointment by marrying a lady who, though unequal in rank to Elizabeth, could boast of superior beauty, and repaid his choice by the sincerity of her attachment.

Jealousy of the power of Eric had induced the king of Denmark to set up a rival suitor in the person of Adolphus, duke of Holstein-Eutin. The prince was young, handsome, and (which exalted him more in the eyes of Elizabeth) a soldier and a conqueror. On his arrival, March 20th, 1560, he was received with honour and treated with peculiar kindness. The queen made him knight of the Garter; she granted him a pension for life, still she could not be induced to take him for her husband.

While Charles, and Eric, and Adolphus thus openly contended for the hand, or rather the crown, of Elizabeth, they were secretly opposed by a rival whose pretensions were the more formidable as they received the united support of the secretary and of the secretary's wife. This rival was the earl of Arran, whose zeal for the glory of God had been stimulated with the hope of an earthly reward in the marriage of the queen. During the war of the Reformation he had displayed a courage and constancy which left all his associates, with the exception, perhaps, of the lord James, far behind him; and as soon as the peace was concluded he presumed to apply for the expected recompense of his services.

To the deputies of the Scottish convention who urged his suit Elizabeth, with her usual affectation, replied that she was content with her maiden state, and that God had given her no inclination for marriage. Yet the sudden

departure of the ambassadors deeply offended her pride. She complained that while kings and princes persevered for months and years in their suit, the Scots did not deign to urge their requests a second time. As for Arran, whether it were owing to his disappointment or to some other cause, he fell into a deep melancholy which ended in the loss of his reason.

From foreign princes we may turn to those among the queen's subjects who, prompted by their hopes or seduced by her smiles, flattered themselves with the expectation of winning her consent. The first of these was Sir William Pickering. He could not boast of noble blood, nor had he exercised any higher charge than that of a mission to some of the petty princes of Germany. But the beauty of his person, his address, and his taste in the polite arts, attracted the notice of the young queen; and so lavish was she of her attention to this unexpected favourite that for some weeks he was considered by the courtiers as her future consort.



Old Houses at Rye

But Pickering was soon forgotten; and if disparity of age could have been compensated by political experience and nobility of descent, the earl of Arundel had a better claim to the royal preference. For some years that nobleman persevered in his suit, to the disquietude of his conscience and the disparagement of his fortune. He was by persuasion a Catholic, but, to please the queen, voted in favour of the Reformation; he possessed considerable estates, but involved himself in debt by expensive presents, and by entertainments given to his sovereign and her court.

When at length he could no longer serve her politics or minister to her amusements, she cast him off, and treated him not only with coldness, but occasionally with severity.[1] The man who made the deepest and most lasting impression on her heart was the lord Robert Dudley [better known by his later title, earl of Leicester], who had been attainted with his father, the duke of Northumberland, for the attempt to remove Elizabeth as well as Mary from the succession.*f*

MOTLEY'S PORTRAIT OF ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF LEICESTER

There are few personages in English history whose adventures, real or fictitious, have been made more familiar to the world than his have been, or whose individuality has been presented in more picturesque fashion by chron-

[1] He was forty-seven years old at the queen's accession. From papers in Haynes*d* it appears that he was the great rival of Dudley. If we may believe a note preserved by Cam-

[1560 A.D.]

icle, tragedy, or romance. Born in the same day of the month and hour of the day with the queen, but two years before her birth, the supposed synastry of their destinies might partly account, in that age of astrological superstition, for the influence which he perpetually exerted. They had, moreover, been fellow-prisoners together in the commencement of the reign of Mary, and it is possible that he may have been the medium through which the indulgent expressions of Philip II were conveyed to the princess Elizabeth.

His grandfather, John Dudley, that "caterpillar of the commonwealth," who lost his head in the first year of Henry VIII as a reward for the "grist which he brought to the mill" of Henry VII; his father, the mighty duke of Northumberland, who rose out of the wreck of an obscure and ruined family to almost regal power, only to perish, like his predecessor, upon the scaffold, had bequeathed him nothing save rapacity, ambition, and the genius to succeed.

But Elizabeth seemed to ascend the throne only to bestow gifts upon her favourite. Baronies and earldoms, stars and garters, manors and monopolies, castles and forests, church livings and college chancellorships, advowsons and sinecures, emoluments and dignities, the most copious and the most exalted, were conferred upon him in breathless succession. Wine, oil, currants, velvets, ecclesiastical benefices, university headships, licenses to preach, to teach, to ride, to sail, to pick and to steal, all brought "grist to his mill."

His grandfather, "the horse leech and shearer," never filled his coffers more rapidly than did Lord Robert, the fortunate courtier. Of his early wedlock with the ill-starred Amy Robsart, of his nuptial projects with the queen, of his subsequent marriages and mock-marriages with Douglas Sheffield and Lettice of Essex, of his plottings, poisonings—imaginary or otherwise—of his countless intrigues, amatory and political—of that luxuriant, creeping, flaunting, all-pervading existence which struck its fibres into the mould and coiled itself through the whole fabric of Elizabeth's life and reign—of all this the world has long known too much to render a repetition needful here.

The inmost nature and the secret deeds of a man placed so high by wealth and station can be seen but darkly through the glass of contemporary record. There was no tribunal to sit upon his guilt. A grandee could be judged only when no longer a favourite, and the infatuation of Elizabeth for Leicester terminated only with his life. Yet he had been charged with crimes sufficient to send twenty humbler malefactors to the gibbet. "I think," said a most malignant arraigner of the man, in a published pamphlet, "that the earl of Leicester hath more blood lying upon his head at this day, crying for vengeance, than ever had private man before were he never so wicked."

Certainly the mass of misdemeanours and infamies hurled at the head of the favourite by that "green-coated Jesuit," Father Parsons,[g] under the title of *Leycester's Commonwealth*, were never accepted as literal verities; yet the value of the precept, to calumniate boldly, with the certainty that much of the calumny would last forever, was never better illustrated than in the case of Robert Dudley. Besides the lesser delinquencies of filling his purse by the sale of honours and dignities, by violent ejectments from land, fraud-

[g] ... in his corrected copy of his *Annals*, the earl introduced the use of coaches into England. In 1565 he travelled to the baths at Padua for relief from the gout. Afterwards he fell into disgrace for his participation in the design of marrying the duke of Norfolk to the queen of Scots, and from that time till his death (February 28th, 1580) was almost always confined by order of the council to his house; not, as far as appears, for any real offence, but as a dangerous person on account of his opposition to the designs of the ministers.

ulent titles, rapacious enclosures of commons, by taking bribes for matters of justice, grace, and supplication to the royal authority, he was accused of forging various letters to the queen, often to ruin his political adversaries, and of plotting to entrap them into conspiracies, playing first the comrade and then the informer.

The list of his murders and attempts to murder was almost endless. "His lordship hath a special fortune," saith the Jesuit, "that when he desireth any woman's favour, whatsoever person standeth in his way hath the luck to die quickly." He was said to have poisoned Alice Drayton, Lady Lennox, Lord Sussex, Sir Nicholas Throcmorton, Lord Sheffield—whose widow he married and then poisoned—Lord Essex, whose widow he also married, and intended to poison, but who was said to have subsequently poisoned him—besides murders or schemes for murder of various other individuals, both French and English. "He was a rare artist in poison," said Sir Robert Naunton,[h] and certainly not Cesare Borgia, nor his father or sister, was more accomplished in that difficult profession than was Dudley, if half the charges against him could be believed. Fortunately for his fame, many of them were proved to be false.

His participation in the strange death of his first wife was a matter of current belief among his contemporaries. "He is infamed by the death of his wife," said Burghley, and the tale has since become so interwoven with classic and legendary fiction, as well as with more authentic history, that the phantom of the murdered Amy Robsart is sure to arise at every mention of the earl's name. Yet a coroner's inquest—as appears from his own secret correspondence with his relative and agent at Cumnor—was immediately and persistently demanded by Dudley. A jury was impanelled—every man of them was a stranger to him, and some of them enemies. Antony Forster, Appleyard, and Arthur Robsart, brother-in-law and brother of the lady, were present, according to Dudley's special request; "and if more of her friends could have been sent," said he, "I would have sent them"; but with all their minuteness of inquiry, "they could find," wrote Blount, "no presumptions of evil," although he expressed a suspicion that "some of the jurymen were sorry that they could not." That the unfortunate lady was killed by a fall down stairs was all that could be made of it by a coroner's inquest, rather hostile than otherwise, and urged to rigorous investigation by the supposed culprit himself. Nevertheless, the calumny has endured for three centuries, and is likely to survive as many more.

Whatever crimes Dudley may have committed in the course of his career, there is no doubt whatever that he was the most abused man in Europe. He had been deeply wounded by the Jesuit's artful publication, in which all the misdeeds with which he was falsely or justly charged were drawn up in awful array, in a form half colloquial, half judicial. The earl himself ascribed these calumnies to the Jesuits, to the Guise faction, and particularly to the queen of Scots. He was said, in consequence, to have vowed an eternal hatred to that most unfortunate and most intriguing princess.

Nevertheless, calumniated or innocent, he was at least triumphant over calumny. Nothing could shake his hold upon Elizabeth's affections. The queen scorned but resented the malignant attacks upon the reputation of her favourite. She declared "before God and in her conscience, that she knew the libels against him to be most scandalous, and such as none but an incarnate devil himself could dream to be true." His power, founded not upon genius nor virtue, but upon woman's caprice, shone serenely above the gulf where there had been so many shipwrecks. "I am now passing into another

world," said Sussex, upon his death-bed, to his friends, "and I must leave you to your fortunes; but beware of the gipsy, or he will be too hard for you. You know not the beast so well as I do."

The gipsy, as he had been called from his dark complexion, had been renowned in youth for the beauty of his person, being "tall and singularly well-featured, of a sweet aspect, but high foreheaded, which was of no discommendation," according to Naunton. The queen, who had the passion of her father for tall and proper men, was easier won by externals, from her youth even to the days of her dotage, than befitted so very sagacious a personage. Chamberlains, squires of the body, carvers, cup-bearers, gentlemen-ushers, porters, could obtain neither place nor favour at court, unless distinguished for stature, strength, or extraordinary activity. To lose a tooth had been known to cause the loss of a place, and the excellent constitution of leg which helped Sir Christopher Hatton into the chancellorship was not more remarkable perhaps than the success of similar endowments in other contemporaries.[i]

SUITORS OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

The hand of the other British queen was also sought by many. The archduke Charles was a suitor to her also; Philip offered her his son Don Carlos; the king of Navarre would, it is said, willingly have divorced his heretical queen Jeanne d'Albret to marry the queen of Scotland, to whom Catherine proposed a union with another of her sons. Some of the petty princes of Italy also aspired to the widowed queen.

Mary was differently situated from Elizabeth; the latter had only her own inclinations to consult, while from the circumstance of differing in religion from the great bulk of her subjects, who looked up to Elizabeth as their protectress, Mary could not safely venture on any match which would not meet the approbation of that princess, who, as well as the Scottish reformers, was extremely adverse to her marrying anyone but a Protestant. It was a delicate matter for Elizabeth to manage, as it seemed an almost unwarrantable interference in the concerns of an independent sovereign.

Still the safety of England and of the Protestant religion was paramount to all considerations. In November, 1563, Cecil drew up instructions on this subject for Randolph, the English minister at Edinburgh, in which he stated the reasons that ought to influence Mary in her choice, viz., the mutual affection of the parties; the approval of her own subjects; the friendship of Elizabeth, who he said would not be satisfied at a foreign match. He was desired to hint that "nothing would content Elizabeth so much as Mary's choice of some noble person within the kingdom of England having the qualities and conditions meet for such an alliance,[1] and therewith be agreeable to both queens and both their nations."

Accordingly Randolph suggested Lord Robert Dudley, accompanied, it would seem, with some favourable prospects respecting the succession. Mary made an evasive reply, alleging that her friends would hardly agree that she should "embase herself so far as that." Dudley himself, who aspired to the hand of Elizabeth, felt no great inclination for the Scottish match; but the negotiations for it still went on, and on the 5th of February, 1565, Randolph wrote that Mary was inclined to marry him. But now Elizabeth began to fluctuate. "I see," writes Cecil, "the queen's majesty very desirous to

[1] At this part is added, in Elizabeth's own handwriting, "Yea, perchance such as she could hardly think we could agree unto."

have my lord of Leicester[1] the Scottish queen's husband; but when it cometh to the conditions which are demanded I see her then remiss of her earnestness." In these words, written from one minister to another where there could be no intention to deceive, we have the key to Elizabeth's conduct in this intricate business.

DARNLEY IN SCOTLAND

In the mean time Mary had turned her thoughts to another English subject. Margaret Tudor, queen of Scots, had by her second husband, the earl of Angus, a daughter, whom Henry VIII gave in marriage, with an estate in England, to Matthew Stuart, earl of Lennox, when he was driven out of Scotland by the regent Arran. Lord Darnley therefore, Lennox's eldest son, was on the father's side of the blood royal of Scotland, on the mother's of that of England, and being a Protestant might prove a formidable rival to Mary for the English crown. Mary with a view to this had kept up a correspondence with the earl and countess of Lennox.



Door of Guild Chapel
(Stratford-on-Avon)

In the autumn of 1564, probably by Mary's invitation, the earl went to Scotland to try to obtain a reversal of his attainder and the restoration of his estates and honours; Elizabeth not merely giving her permission, but recommending him strongly to Mary, whom at the same time she warned to take care of offending the Hamiltons, the present possessors of Lennox's estates. Lennox was received with great distinction by his royal kinswoman; she effected an accommodation between him and Chatellerault, the head of the house of Hamilton; and by inducing Lady Lennox to drop her claim on the earldom of Angus, she prevented any opposition from the potent house of Douglas. In the month of December Lennox was restored by act of parliament to his titles and estates.

A marriage between Mary and Darnley had been for some time in treaty between the former and Lennox; rumours of it were instantly spread, and it

[1] In 1564 Elizabeth, with a view to his marriage with Mary created Dudley earl of Leicester and Baron Denbigh. "It was done," says Melville, "with great solemnity, the queen herself helping to put on his ceremonial (mantle), he sitting upon his knees before her with a great gravity. But she could not refrain from putting her hand in his neck, smilingly tickling him; the French ambassador and I standing by." Could this be anything but playfulness, like her father's putting his arm round Sir T. More's neck, like Napoleon's pinching his favourite's ears? She had said of him to Melville a little before that "she esteemed him as her brother and best friend, whom she would have herself married had she ever minded to have taken a husband; but being determined to end her life in virginity, she wished the queen her sister might marry him as meetest of all others with (for) whom she could find it in her heart to declare her second person."

[1565 A.D.]

may also be that the English ministers and possibly Elizabeth herself were not displeased at it. Mary was desirous of seeing Darnley, and Elizabeth when applied to made no difficulty of letting him go to Scotland. He reached Edinburgh on the 13th of February, 1565, and on the 16th he waited on the queen at Wemyss castle in Fife.

"Her majesty," says Melville, "took well with him, and said he was the lustiest (handsomest) and best-proportioned lang man that she had seen; for he was of high stature, lang and small, even and brent up (straight): well instructed from his youth in all honest and comely exercises." He was in effect a tall, well-made youth of nineteen years,[1] who danced, played the lute, and had the showy accomplishments of the age. He pleased the eye of Mary; she took no time to ascertain the qualities of his mind, but fell violently in love at once. He offered her his hand and heart without delay; she affected anger at his presumption, but secretly determined to espouse him.

There was a man named David Rizzio or Riccio, an Italian, who had come to Scotland in the suite of the ambassador of Savoy. He remained in the queen's service on account of his skill in music; she raised him to the post of her French secretary, and made him her favourite. As the graces of the crown mostly passed through his hands he was courted by the nobility; wealth came to him from various sources, which he displayed with the usual vanity of an upstart, and his insolence augmented in proportion. The nobility therefore hated and despised him at the same time; a suspicion also prevailed that he was a secret agent of the pope.

With this man did Darnley condescend to ally himself in order that he might employ his influence over the queen's mind in his favour. This indisposed the Protestant nobles to Darnley; the open indifference which he manifested on the subject of religion alarmed them. Murray prognosticated that unkindness to England would be the result, and in sorrow withdrew from court. The queen, however, was resolved to persevere; an agent was despatched to Rome for a dispensation, and Maitland of Lethington was sent to inform Elizabeth and ask her consent.

But the knowledge which the council had now of the state of feeling in both kingdoms made them view the match as fraught with peril, and letters of recall were sent (April 23rd) to Lennox and his son, which they treated with neglect, almost with contempt. On the 1st of May the council met and determined that this marriage would be dangerous to the Protestant religion and to the queen's title, and that it was necessary to provide for war with Scotland if need should be. The able Throcmorton was sent to Edinburgh to make known these resolutions, and in case of failure he was to urge the Protestants to oppose the marriage unless Darnley promised to adhere to the reformed religion.

Murray, as we have seen, had withdrawn from court in disgust; but the queen, who knew of what importance it was to gain his approbation of her marriage, ordered him to repair to her at Stirling. She there employed all her arts and eloquence to induce him to sign a paper recommending the marriage. He hesitated to do so, alleging that he feared Darnley would be an enemy to Christianity. "She gave him," says Melville, "many sore words; he answered with humility, but nothing could be obtained from him." A convention of nobles met a few days after (May 14th, 1565); the gifts and blandishments of Mary had more effect on them than on her brother, and many gave their assent to her marriage. As, however, some hesitated, another convention was appointed to meet at Perth.

[1 Mary was now twenty-three.]

Darnley now mortally hated Murray as the chief obstacle to his ambition; and religious and political motives caused Murray to resolve to prevent the marriage if possible. The former is said to have formed a plan to assassinate the latter; Murray is charged with a design, in conjunction with Chatelle-rault, Argyll, and other nobles with whom he was associated, to seize Darnley and his father and deliver them up to the warden of the English marches. Each party, it is added, received information of the designs of the other, and Mary, taking advantage of the popularity which the good government of Murray had procured her, assembled a force, and advancing to Stirling, where the confederate lords were, obliged them to disperse and retire to their homes.

DARNLEY'S MARRIAGE AND THE REBELLION

Mary had conferred on Darnley the titles of earl of Ross and duke of Albany, dignities appropriated to the royal family, and the dispensation being now arrived and the banns duly published, she gave him her hand (July 29th, 1565) in the chapel of Holyrood House. The ceremony was performed according to the rites of the Roman church; Darnley, however, withdrew during the performance of mass. She had agreed to give him the title of king, but wished to defer it till parliament should meet or till he should have attained his twenty-first year; but the vain, headstrong youth would have it then or never, and she was obliged to consent to his being proclaimed the evening[1] before the marriage-day. On the day succeeding it he was again proclaimed, and though all the lords were present no one said Amen; his father alone cried, "God save his queen!"

Immediately after her marriage Mary outlawed Murray; she set at liberty Lord Gordon and made him earl of Huntly, and she recalled Sutherland and Bothwell, who were in exile—all sworn foes to Murray. When Thomworth came, sent by Elizabeth, to insist that she should do nothing against the Reformation in England, she gave an ambiguous reply; she did the same when warned not to make any change in Scotland; and when, as instructed, he urged her to drop her displeasure against Murray, she desired that there might be no meddling in the affairs of Scotland. She was, in fact, inveterate against her brother. She lost no time in collecting a force with which she drove him and the other lords to seek refuge in Argyll. They soon after appeared in arms in the western counties.

The queen in person led her forces against them, riding at the head of her troops with loaded pistols in her girdle. The lords made a rapid march to Edinburgh, but as the people there did not join them as they had expected, and the queen pursued them closely, they retired to Dumfries, still followed by their implacable sovereign, and finding resistance hopeless they crossed the borders and sought refuge in England. Murray and Hamilton Abbot of Kilwinning repaired to London. In the presence of the French and Spanish ambassadors, Elizabeth, it is said, made them declare that she had not excited them to take arms against their sovereign. When they had done so she called them traitors, and ordered them to quit her presence. They retired to the northern marches, where Elizabeth secretly supplied them with money and interceded for their pardon with their queen. Chatellerault was forgiven on condition of his retiring to France, but Mary declared to Randolph that she would rather lose half her kingdom than show mercy to Murray. The king

[1] "She can as much prevail with him in anything that is against his will," writes Randolph to Leicester, "as your lordship may with me to persuade that I should hang myself."

[1566 A.D.]

and her chief counsellors, Huntly, Athol, and Bothwell, were all hostile to him; so also was Rizzio but what most weighed with the queen was a message from her uncles desiring her not to pardon the banished lords. This was brought by Clernau, the bearer of the treaty lately concluded at Bayonne for the extirpation of Protestantism, to which she readily affixed her signature

A parliament was summoned for the 12th of March, 1566, in order to attaint the rebel lords, and to take steps towards the re-establishment of the papacy.

THE MURDER OF RIZZIO (1566 A.D.)

The execution of those projects, however, was prevented by the perpetration of a deed which proved pregnant with calamity to the royal house of Scotland. Mary had now ceased to love her husband; the first fervour of her affection being over, she saw that he was devoid of every estimable quality, brutal in temper, and addicted to the grossest intemperance. She therefore gave no heed to his urgent demand of the crown-matrimonial; she treated him with neglect and even aversion; all her favour was monopolised by Rizzio, with whom the jealous Darnley now suspected her of improper familiarity.[1] "It is a sore case," said he one day (February 10th) to his uncle Douglas, "that I can get no help against that villain David." "It is your own fault," was the reply, "you cannot keep a secret." Soon after a league confirmed by the king's oath and signature was formed between him and the lords Ruthven, Morton, Lindsay, and Maitland of Lethington; they were to put Rizzio to death, and procure him the crown-matrimonial; he was to bear them "scathless," to obtain an amnesty for the banished lords, and to secure the Protestant religion.

This compact was made on the 1st of March, 1566, and on the night of the 9th (Saturday) Ruthven, having risen from his bed of sickness for the purpose, and cased himself in his armour, the associates were brought by Darnley up a private staircase which led to the apartment where Mary, now six months gone with child, was sitting at supper with Rizzio and Lady Argyll. The king went in and stood by her chair with his arm round her waist. Ruthven entered supported by two men. He desired that Rizzio should quit the room; the queen said it was her will he should be there. Rizzio ran behind her for safety; a tumult ensued; the table was overturned; Rizzio was dragged out and despatched in the ante-chamber with fifty-six wounds.

The queen meantime was interceding for him, and a very indelicate conversation took place between her and her husband in the presence of Ruthven respecting his resumption of his conjugal rights.[2] She then sent to learn the fate of Rizzio, and when she found that he was dead, she said, "No more tears; I must think of revenge"; and she never was heard to lament him more. Bothwell and Huntly, when they learned what had occurred [after being overpowered in a fight with superior numbers while trying to come to Mary's rescue], made their escape from the palace by a window.

On Monday (the 11th) Murray and his friends came to Edinburgh. Mary embraced and kissed her brother when she saw him, saying that "if he had been at home he would not have allowed her to be so discourteously handled."

[1 Andrew Lang *k* declares this charge incredible. Froude *l* thinks it possible that Mary was guilty only of great indiscretion with Rizzio.]

[2 He implied that Rizzio was the father of the child she was then carrying, later James I of England. Mary is reported to have called her husband "Judas," and to have said, "I shall never rest till I give you as sorrowful a heart as I have at this present."]

He was affected even to tears. Mary now tried her arts on her weak, unstable husband, and she actually succeeded in prevailing on him to abandon his confederates and make his escape with her the following night out of the palace. They fled to Dunbar.[1] The king issued a proclamation denying all knowledge of the conspiracy. Bothwell, Huntly, and other nobles repaired with their followers to Dunbar, and on the 19th the queen re-entered Edinburgh at the head of eight thousand men. The murderers of Rizzio were obliged to fly into England. The contempt and hatred which Mary felt for her worthless husband she could not conceal · her whole confidence was now given to Bothwell, between whom and Murray she effected a reconciliation.



Ruins of Scarborough Castle

On the 19th of June the queen was delivered of a son [James Stuart, heir presumptive to the crowns of England and Scotland]. Sir James Melville was immediately despatched with the tidings to Elizabeth. When he arrived, the queen, who had just recovered from a severe illness, was at her favourite palace at Greenwich. She was dancing after supper. Cecil whispered the news to her; she instantly stopped and sat down, resting her cheek on her hand. At length she gave vent to her feelings in these words: "The queen of Scots is mother of a fair son, while I am but a barren stock."

The alienation between Mary and her husband increased from day to day. He found himself generally shunned, for to show him any attention was a sure mode of losing the queen's favour. Meantime the queen's visible partiality for Bothwell gave occasion to rumours injurious to her character, and an incident which occurred in the following October added strength to suspicion. She went to Jedburgh to hold a justiciary court for suppressing the disorders of the borders. Bothwell, whom she had made warden of the marches, preceded her by some days, and being wounded in a scuffle with one of the borderers named Elliott, was conveyed to his castle of Hermitage.

The queen, having passed some days in great anxiety on his account, took the sudden resolution of going herself to see him. Though the weather was bad and the roads in a wretched state, she rode with a few attendants to Hermitage, a distance of twenty miles, and having assured herself that his life was in no danger, returned the same day to Jedburgh.[2] Her bodily exertion,

[1 Froude, commenting on this midnight ride of 20 miles by a woman within 3 months of confinement, and her intense zeal in preparing resistance, says, "Whatever credit is due to iron fortitude and intellectual address must be given without stint to this extraordinary woman."]

[2 Historians in general are not good horsemen; they have considered this journey as something much more remarkable than it really was in a spirited, active woman of four-and-twenty, who was a most excellent horsewoman, and they have fancied that no motive short

[1566-1567 A.D.]

combined with mental uneasiness, threw her the next day into a fever, and for some days her life was despaired of; the vigour of her constitution, however, triumphed over the disorder.

THE MURDER OF DARNLEY (1567 A.D.)

After her recovery the queen took up her abode at the castle of Craigmillar, near Edinburgh, and here the measure of a divorce was discussed by Maitland and others; she made no objection but her unwillingness to prejudice her son. On the 17th of December the ceremony of the young prince's baptism[1] was performed at Stirling, and though the king was in the castle, owing to his own caprice or to the coldness of the queen, he was not present at it.

On the other hand, Bothwell was appointed to receive the French and English ambassadors, and to regulate the ceremonial of the christening. Through his influence Morton and the other murderers of Rizzio were pardoned on the 24th, on which day the king left the court[2] and retired to his father's house at Glasgow, where in a few days he was attacked by the small-pox. The queen, when she heard of his illness, sent her own physician to attend him.

On the 20th of January (1567) Bothwell and Maitland of Lethington went to Morton's residence at Whittingham, and Bothwell proposed the murder of the king to him, saying "it was the queen's mind that he should be taken away." Morton objected, being, as he said, but just come out of trouble on a similar account; but finally agreed, provided he had the queen's handwriting for his warrant. This, however, they were unable to procure; either they did not venture to propose such a thing to Mary, or she was too prudent to commit herself.

From the time of Rizzio's murder up to the present date the queen had shown no affection to her husband, and on the 20th she wrote to her ambassador at Paris complaining of him and his father. The next day she set out for Glasgow. While there she feigned the utmost fondness for the king, yet her letters at the same time to Bothwell display the most ardent love for that nobleman. Her object was to get her husband into her power; in this she succeeded, and January 31st she brought him back with her to Edinburgh.[c]

The king's infectious illness was assigned as an imperative reason for lodging him out of the close and crowded palace of Holyrood, where his wife and his child resided. A lonely house called the Kirk of Field, situated near where the college of Edinburgh now stands, but which was then in the suburbs of the town, had been chosen for him by the queen's physician, who is said to have preferred it on account of its open, airy situation, and to have fitted it up for the king's reception.

Here the queen visited him daily, and several times slept in a chamber under that of the king. "But many," says Melville,[j] "suspected that the earl of Bothwell had some enterprise against him (Darnley)." Upon the fatal day Murray—who, be it observed, invariably managed to be out of the way when anything doubtful and dangerous was to be done—absented himself from the

of an amorous one could possibly make the queen ride forty statute miles in one day!—MACFARLANE.[m]]

[[1] The baptism was according to Catholic rites, and, says Lang,[k] "Scotland saw for the last time the ecclesiastics in their splendid vestments."]

[[2] According to certain rumours, Darnley planned to seize the prince and the sceptre, and put Bothwell to death. Either his discovery that his plot was known, or his discovery of a counterplot to arrest and degrade him, and kill him if he resisted, may account for his sudden departure.]

court under pretence that his wife had fallen sick in the country. This opportune absence is certain, and if we are to believe more questionable authority —the zealous advocates of the queen—Murray, upon his journey, speaking of Darnley's behaviour, told a person in whom he reposed his chief confidence that the king would not live to see another day. This same evening the queen with several of the nobles spent with her husband, whom she only left[1] at eleven o'clock at night in order to be present at an entertainment in Holyrood House, which was given on occasion of the marriage of Sebastian Auvergnac, one of her servants.

About three hours after her departure, at two o'clock in the morning of the 10th of February, the ancient palace and the city were shaken by a violent explosion, and when people went forth to see, they found the house of Kirk-a-Field utterly destroyed, and the bodies of Darnley and his valet lying in the garden without any marks of violence on their persons. The body of Darnley was carried to a house close at hand, was laid within a chamber, and kept by one Sandy (or Alexander) Drurem.

Melville relates that on the morning of February 10th he went to the palace and found that the queen was keeping her chamber. He says: "The earl Bothwell came forth and told me he saw the strangest accident that ever chanced—to wit, the thunder came out of the sky and had burned the king's house, and himself found lying dead a little distance from the house under a tree."

In this story of horror nearly every point is still a mystery.[2] It has never been ascertained how Darnley was killed. According to one account, he was blown up in the house; but this seems to be disproved by the fact (witnessed by hundreds) that the body bore no marks of violence or outward hurt. According to another account, he was strangled in his bed and the house was then blown up to conceal the deed; but if so, why was the body removed to some distance, and placed under a tree in a perfectly sound state? And then the previous strangling would be a useless process with a sick man in his bed and a train of gunpowder under him. Bothwell, unless he was absolutely crazed, could never fancy that the people would believe that the lightning had carried Darnley out of a window and deposited him, without a bone broken, under the tree, and had then reduced the house to a heap of ruins, in which everything was buried except Darnley and his attendant! [It has even been suggested that a secondary plot was at work, and while Bothwell was preparing his murder other conspirators blew up the house.]

Never was an atrocious murder more clumsily executed. The elements had been quiet that night, and even an ignorant eye could detect the effects of a mine of gunpowder. Suspicion immediately fell upon Bothwell, but not so immediately either upon the queen or upon Morton and Maitland, and the others who were afterwards proved to have been accessories and in part active participants in the deed with Bothwell. Some light will be thrown on the horrid mystery by our narration of succeeding events, and the reader will weigh the preceding facts which we have endeavoured to state clearly and without bias. In truth, our own mind is not made up as to the long and hotly debated question of the queen's innocence or guilt in regard to her husband's murder.

Notwithstanding the popular accusation of Bothwell as being the chief murderer, Secretary Maitland, Morton, Huntly, Argyll, in fact all her minis-

[1 Those who believe her guilty say that this was by preconcerted signal.]

[2 Lang *k* ironically observes that if discrepancies could be made to discredit an historical event as they do a ghost story, we might maintain that Darnley never was murdered at all.]

[1567 A.D.]

ters, and nearly every person that approached her, not excepting even her brother Murray, continued their close friendship with that desperate man and joined together in maintaining his innocence. But several of them could not admit his guilt without proclaiming their own. There is, at least, a doubt in favour of the queen—perhaps even in favour of Murray—but there is none as to the rest having taken part, more or less actively, in the murder.

These very men, however, acting as the queen's ministers, issued a proclamation on the 12th of February, offering a reward of two thousand pounds for the discovery of the murderers. On the 16th of the same month placards were set up in the public places of Edinburgh designating the earl of Bothwell and three of his servants as the murderers. No person, either of high or low degree, had courage to come forward in the face of the government. But in the dead of night fierce voices were heard in the streets of Edinburgh charging Bothwell as a principal, and the queen as an accomplice.

Other persons, however, were named in the like manner; and no one pressed any specific charge, till Darnley's father, the earl of Lennox, at the beginning of the month of March, sent from Glasgow, where he was collecting his friends, to request the queen that such persons as were named in the placards should be arrested. He was answered that if he or any would stand to the accusation of any of the persons so named it should be done, but not by virtue of the placards or at his request.

On the 17th of March the earl of Lennox made a more formal accusation of Bothwell and others. On the 21st Bothwell was allowed by Mary and her ministers to get into his own hands the strong castle of Edinburgh. On the 28th of the same month an order was issued by the privy council for Bothwell's trial to take place on the 12th of April.[1] Lennox, who is more than suspected of having had a principal share in the murder of Rizzio and in other dishonourable plots, complained of violence and injustice; and he wrote not only to Mary, but to Queen Elizabeth, to obtain a postponement of the trial, stating with some reason that the time was too short to allow him to collect his witnesses, and that he could not safely present himself where the murderers of his son were not only at large but in possession of power and favour. But it was determined in spite of this remonstrance that the court of justiciary should proceed to trial on the day fixed.

Elizabeth, in a letter which does her honour, entreated of Mary not to precipitate the proceedings in this manner: "For the love of God, madam," says she, "use such sincerity and prudence in this matter, which concerns you so nearly, that the whole world may have reason to declare you innocent of so enormous a crime; which if you committed it you would be justly cast out of the ranks of princesses, and not without reason made the reproach of the vulgar; and sooner than that should befall you I would wish you an honourable grave than a spotted life. You see, madam, that I treat you as my daughter."

Lennox advanced from Glasgow to Stirling, on his way to Edinburgh, but here his fears overcame him; he wrote his excuses, and then fled with all haste into England, where he was kindly received by Elizabeth. On the 9th of April, before the trial came on, Murray, having with great difficulty obtained the queen's permission, set out from Edinburgh for France. He took his journey through England, where he also was well received; and he took care not to return until the course of events left all but the throne

[1 This gave Lennox but fourteen instead of forty days the usual time, to prepare for the prosecution. The accused meanwhile were at liberty, and Bothwell himself actually sat as a member of the privy council which arranged the trial.—KEIGHTLEY.c]

open to his ambition. Yet his absence could hardly exonerate him from suspicion of treacherous dealing, for the cunning Maitland was his sworn ally and coadjutor, and he, and others equally devoted to the earl, remained quietly at their posts till the vessel of the state was fairly driven upon the rocks.

On the appointed day when the justiciary court opened Bothwell appeared at the bar, supported on the one hand by Maitland, on the other by Morton. No evidence was produced, no prosecutor appeared, and Bothwell was necessarily acquitted; though by this time there was scarcely a man in the kingdom but felt assured of his guilt.

On the 14th of April, two days after this acquittal, a parliament assembled in a regular manner at Edinburgh. It was opened by the queen's commissioners; but on the 16th her majesty appeared in person, Bothwell carrying the sceptre before her. The parliament confirmed to the murderer all the estates and honours he had recently received, and at the same time all their estates and honours to the nobles who had acted with him or were willing to aid him in his ambitious designs.

No Scottish parliament at this time could overlook the great question of religion. The present drew up a bill for the renouncing of all foreign jurisdiction in ecclesiastical affairs, and for confirming and ratifying the Protestant doctrines and church government; and the queen readily gave the royal assent to this bill which bestowed a constitutional sanction upon the reformed church, and proclaimed a total renunciation of the authority of Rome.[1] Bothwell was indefatigable in this parliament, evidently hoping to conciliate the preachers. During the sitting of the parliament reports got abroad of an intended marriage between the queen and Bothwell.

If some remarkable details in Melville *i* are honestly and correctly given, Mary was evidently at this moment coerced by the ruffianly audacity of Bothwell, who was still in close alliance with Maitland and all her ministers, and who was permitted by them to menace her true friends in her own palace. Immediately after the rising of parliament Bothwell invited the leading members of that body, lay and ecclesiastic, to an entertainment in an Edinburgh tavern,[2] and declared to them his purpose of marrying the queen. Hereupon he drew out a bond from his pocket, wherein, after a full recognition of his innocence of the late king's murder, he (Bothwell) was warmly recommended as a suitable match to her majesty in case she should condescend to marry with a subject; and the bond further stated that the subscribers thereto pledged themselves to advance the said marriage at the risk of life and goods. Voluntarily, or through fear, eight bishops, nine earls, and seven lords subscribed the paper, which Bothwell then returned to his pocket.

Four days after the signing of this bond Bothwell collected about a thousand horse, under pretext of Border service, and lay in wait for the queen, who was then returning from Stirling castle, whither she had been to visit her infant son.[2] Between Linlithgow and Edinburgh Bothwell rode up to her

[1 The strongest possible proof of Bothwell's influence over the queen's mind was given at this time. Mary, who never for a moment had swerved from her purpose of destroying the Protestant religion, who had lately subscribed the treaty of Bayonne, assented to an act of parliament repealing all laws adverse to the reformers, and giving their religion the safeguard of law.—KEIGHTLEY. *c*]

[2] The house was kept by one Ainslie. Hence the famous transaction was called "Ainslie's Supper"—a name which was afterwards applied to the house or tavern itself. [The bond was called "Ainslie's Bond."]

[3 To poison him, according to an outrageous charge made in the recently discovered Lennox papers. It has been well said that Mary's defence has been best served by her rabid accusers, who stop at nothing.]

[1567 A.D.]

and took her majesty's horse by the bridle. His men took the earl of Huntly, the secretary Maitland of Lethington, and Melville, and letting all the rest go free, carried them with the queen as captives to the strong castle of Dunbar. Huntly (though brother to Bothwell's wife) and Maitland were certainly willing prisoners—were plotters in the dark business; but after all that has been said and written, there is some doubt whether the queen were not taken by surprise and force; and this is the point most decisive of Mary's character, far more so than the subsequent act of marriage with Bothwell.

If she went knowingly and willingly she loaded herself with a crushing weight of guilt and folly; but if she were carried away by violence, the marriage would appear, in the eyes of most women of that time, as the only means of covering her honour. Melville,[i] who was, as we have seen, with the queen when she was taken, is not very clear on this point, he says, however, that Bothwell, after taking the queen's bridle, "boasted to marry the queen, who would or who would not; yea, whether she would herself or not."

Bothwell kept the queen five days in that fortress, during which none of her subjects made any efforts for her release—a remarkable fact, susceptible of at least two interpretations: either they believed that she was there willingly, or they wished to see her utterly defamed and ruined by a marriage with Bothwell. The most active of the nobles had conspired to bring this about: Maitland, who remained with her in the castle, continued to urge her to this step. Mary afterwards complained that, while under this thraldom, not a sword was drawn for her relief; but after their marriage a thousand swords flew from their scabbards to drive Bothwell from the country and herself from her throne. On the 29th of April the daring man brought the queen back to Edinburgh castle and placed her in seeming liberty, but she was in fact still in a snare, entirely surrounded by crafty and remorseless men. "Afterwards," says Melville,[i] "the court came to Edinburgh, and there a number of noblemen were drawn together in a chamber within the palace, where they subscribed, all, that the marriage between the queen and the earl Bothwell was very meet, he being well friended in the Lothians and upon the Borders, to cause good rule to be kept; and then the queen could not but marry him, seeing he had ravished her and lain with her against her will. I cannot tell how nor by what law he parted with his own wife, sister to the earl of Huntly."

This hurried parting with his wife was one of the most revolting features of Bothwell's conduct; and yet, in this respect, he was scarcely more infamous than his high-born wife herself, or her brother the earl of Huntly, chancellor of the kingdom and guardian of the purity of the laws! He commenced a process in the consistory court of the popish archbishop of St. Andrews for a divorce, on the plea of consanguinity; and his wife, in collusion with him, sued her husband in the Protestant court of commissaries of Edinburgh for a divorce on a charge of adultery. She had been previously gratified by Bothwell with a grant for life of the lands and town of Nether Hailes in Haddingtonshire; and Huntly, her brother, continued in the closest intimacy with Bothwell, and was even present at his marriage with the queen. Both the ecclesiastical courts proceeded with as much speed as Bothwell could have required, and on different grounds passed sentence of divorce.

A few days after the queen appeared in the court of session and there declared before the chancellor, the judges, and several of the nobility, that though she had been carried off and detained against her will in Dunbar, and greatly injured by the earl of Bothwell, yet considering his former great services, and all that might be hereafter expected from his bravery and

ability, she was disposed not only to forgive him, but also to exalt him to higher honours. Bothwell, of course, had made the best use of his bond signed by the bishops and earls and lords at "Ainslie's Supper"; and it is generally admitted that this document had great weight with Mary, who, it should appear, did not see it until she was at Dunbar. And now the said great lords, spiritual and temporal, who had signed the deed, got from the queen a written assurance that neither they nor their descendants should ever be accused on that account.

Resolving to have his new marriage performed in a strictly Protestant and Presbyterian manner, Bothwell commanded that the banns should be published in the regular parish church at Edinburgh. John Knox was then absent, but his place was supplied by his friend and colleague Craig, who after some hesitation published the banns as required, and then protested from the pulpit that he abhorred and detested the intended marriage as unlawful and scandalous, and solemnly charged the nobility to use their influence to prevent the queen from taking a step which would cover her with infamy. But the nobles were far indeed from any disposition to make efforts in this way, the influence of the greater part of them being engaged to promote the match, and no complaint on their part being made against it until it was completed and the queen irretrievably lost.

Bothwell was now created duke of Orkney, and on the 15th of May, only eight days after the dissolution of his former marriage, he was united to the queen, according to the order of the reformed religion, and not in the chapel of the mass, as was the king's marriage. On the same day, however, the ceremony was also performed in private according to the Catholic forms. At the public celebration there was a great attendance of nobles. A few days after, Du Croc, the French ambassador, represents Mary as being in the extremity of grief and despair. "On Thursday the queen sent for me, when I perceived something strange in the mutual behaviour of her and her husband. She attempted to excuse it, and said, 'If you see me melancholy, it is because I do not choose to be cheerful—because I never will be so, and wish for nothing but death.'" [1] This does not look like an amorous bride who had eagerly thrown herself into the arms of her lover. Envoys were sent to England and to France to communicate the queen's marriage, and to counteract the rumours which were afloat.

Elizabeth, who had certainly been warned beforehand by Morton and Maitland—the very men who were most active in bringing about the match—now prepared to lend her assistance to them in taking up arms against the queen. Morton, as has been observed, was aware that by ruining Mary he should gratify Elizabeth, and raise his own party to the management of affairs; and after the lapse of a few short years, when Murray, who was the first to step to greatness by Mary's fall, was laid in a bloody grave, we shall see this same Morton, one of the murderers of Rizzio as of Darnley, made regent of Scotland, under the protection of the English queen.[m]

Swinburne on Mary's Infatuation for Bothwell

Bothwell as a conscientious Protestant refused to marry his mistress according to the rites of her church; and she, the chosen champion of its cause,

[1 According to Melville[i] she called for a knife to kill herself, and threatened to drown herself. She was "the most changed woman of face that in so little time without extremity of sickness we have seen." According to some, this was dejection at her captivity and the rape upon her person by Bothwell; according to others, it was greatly conscience; according to Lang,[k] it was jealousy of Bothwell's wife, who was still near.]

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agreed to be married to him not merely by a Protestant, but by one who before his conversion had been a Catholic bishop, and should therefore have been more hateful and contemptible in her eyes than any ordinary heretic, had not religion as well as policy, faith as well as reason, been absorbed or superseded by some more mastering passion or emotion. This passion or emotion, according to those who deny her attachment to Bothwell, was simply terror—the blind and irrational prostration of an abject spirit before the cruel force of circumstances and the crafty wickedness of men.

Hitherto, according to all evidence, she had shown herself on all occasions, as on all subsequent occasions she indisputably showed herself, the most fearless, the most keen-sighted, the most ready-witted, the most high-gifted and high-spirited of women; gallant and generous, skilful and practical, never to be cowed by fortune, never to be cajoled by craft; neither more unselfish in her ends nor more unscrupulous in her practice than might have been expected from her training and her creed. But at the crowning moment of trial there are those who assert their belief that the woman who on her way to the field of Corrichie had uttered her wish to be a man, that she might know all the hardship and all the enjoyment of soldier's life, riding forth "in jack and knapscull"—the woman who long afterwards was to hold her own for two days together without help of counsel against all the array of English law and English statesmanship, armed with irrefragable evidence and supported by the resentment of a nation—showed herself equally devoid of moral and of physical resolution; too senseless to realise the significance and too heartless to face the danger of a situation from which the simplest exercise of reason, principle, or courage must have rescued the most unsuspicious and inexperienced of honest women who was not helplessly deficient in self-reliance and self-respect.



FINIAL ON WELL HALL (GABLE)
(Sixteenth century)

The famous correspondence produced the next year in evidence against her at the conference of York may have been, as her partisans affirm, so craftily garbled and fasified by interpolation, suppression, perversion, or absolute forgery as to be all but historically worthless. Its acceptance or its rejection does not in any degree whatever affect, for better or for worse, the national estimate of her character. Even in the existing versions of the letters, translated from the lost originals and retranslated from this translation of a text which was probably destroyed in 1603 by order of King James on his accession to the English throne—even in these possibly disfigured versions, the fiery pathos of passion, the fierce and piteous fluctuations of spirit between love and hate, hope and rage and jealousy, have an eloquence apparently beyond the imitation or invention[1] of art.[n]

[1 Von Ranke[b] says: "I would not say that every word is genuine, but on the whole they are genuine beyond doubt; they contain circumstances which none else could have known at that time, but have since transpired; no human being could have invented them."]

MARY TAKEN PRISONER BY THE LORDS (1567 A.D.)

As soon as the queen's honour was inseparably connected with Bothwell, then Morton, Maitland, and the rest began to talk against the marriage, to revive the mournful fate of Darnley and to intimate that Bothwell was guilty of that murder. At first all this was said cautiously and secretly; but as soon as they had seen the effects of such discourses and the great force they could rely upon, they openly declared themselves; and three weeks after the marriage they flew to arms, ostensibly only to punish their colleague and brother assassin, Bothwell, to secure the person of the young prince, and to liberate the queen from the control of her husband.

The confederacy of the lords was, in fact, explicitly declared to be for the protection of the queen and her son against the guilty Bothwell; but they had already determined to dethrone Mary and crown the infant James. On the 6th of June, before any declaration was made, they attempted to seize the queen and Bothwell in Borthwick castle, about eight miles southeast of Edinburgh; but the earl easily escaped, and after him the queen, disguised in male attire, rode without stopping, on a common saddle, to the castle of Dunbar. The confederates countermarched upon Edinburgh, where the populace joined them. It was still reported that the life of Prince James was in danger, though the earl of Mar, who had joined the confederacy, had him in perfect safety in Stirling castle.

The confederates assumed the power of government, issuing proclamations as if the queen had been already dethroned. Still, with the exception of the lower orders, few flocked to their standard.

The queen in the mean while summoned her faithful subjects in the adjoining counties, and by the end of two days two thousand fighting men from the Lothians and the Merse gathered round her standard at Dunbar. Here she ought to have remained—for the castle was almost impregnable, the confederates had little or no artillery, and their force was not increasing so rapidly as her own. But the queen, who was always bold and decisive in the face of such dangers as these, and who could not have forgotten how the lords fled before her in the Round-about Raid, marched out of Dunbar towards Edinburgh on the 14th of June. She halted at Gladsmuir, where she caused a proclamation to be read to her little army, exposing the professions of the insurgents, declaring that her late marriage with Bothwell had been contracted and solemnised with the consent and at the persuasion of the chiefs of the insurrection, as their own handwritings testified, and affirming that though they affected to fear for the safety of her son (who was in their own possession), yet they only aimed at overthrowing her and her posterity in order that they themselves might enjoy the supreme power. That night she lay at Seton.

On the following morning, Sunday, the 15th of June, exactly one month after her marriage, she advanced to Carberry Hill. The insurgents had advanced from Edinburgh to meet her and stood in battle array in two divisions, the one commanded by the earl of Morton, the other by the earl of Athol. While the two armies stood thus in presence of each other, the aged Du Croc advanced to the insurgents and endeavoured to effect a peaceful accommodation. Bothwell sent a herald offering to prove his innocence by the old ordeal of single combat. Two of the insurgents successively accepted the challenge, but Bothwell objected to both as being of inferior rank.

During this idle bravadoing the force of the confederates was increased by arrivals from Edinburgh, which was only about five miles in their rear, and

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symptoms of disaffection were observed among the queen's troops. The crisis is described in very different ways. Some say that Bothwell's heart failed him—that after demanding a promise of fidelity from the queen he mounted his horse and galloped away for Dunbar castle, leaving her to fall into the hands of her enemies: and Camden[e] adds, that the nobles, with Morton, gave him secret notice to provide for himself by flight, lest being taken he might impeach them of the part they had had in the Darnley murder. Bothwell passed away with the consent of the insurgent lords.[m]

Mary took leave of her first and last master with passionate anguish and many parting kisses; but in face of his enemies and in hearing of the cries which burst from the ranks demanding her death by fire as a murderess and harlot, the whole heroic and passionate spirit of the woman, represented by her admirers as a spiritless imbecile, flamed out in responsive threats to have all the men hanged and crucified in whose power she now stood helpless and alone. She grasped the hand of Lord Lindsay as he rode beside her and swore "by this hand" she would "have his head for this." In Edinburgh she was received by a yelling mob, which flaunted before her at each turn a banner representing the corpse of Darnley with her child beside it invoking on his knees the retribution of divine justice. From the violence of a multitude in which women of the worst class were more furious than the men, she was sheltered in the house of the provost, where she repeatedly showed herself at the window, appealing aloud with dishevelled hair and dress to the mercy which no man could look upon her and refuse.[n]

When she arose in the morning the first object that met her eyes was the same dismal banner. As soon as she was able she sent Maitland to request that the estates of the realm might be summoned forthwith, as she was willing to submit to their determination—she being present and heard in defence of her own cause. But it did not suit Morton and his confederates to adopt this legal course; and on the following evening they hurried her under a strong guard to the castle of Lochleven, situated on an islet in the loch or lake which bears that name, in Kinross-shire. Mary was treated with excessive harshness in this her first place of captivity, and the whole conduct of the confederate lords was contrary to the agreement upon which the queen placed herself in their hands at Carberry Hill.

It was not long before Bothwell had fled the kingdom forever. On the 26th of June there was issued an act of the privy council for apprehending him, he being charged with the murder of Darnley and with ravishing the queen's person and enforcing her to marry him (this was in a manner declaring the queen innocent); and they offered a reward of a thousand crowns to anyone that should bring the traitor and ravisher to Edinburgh. If they had really wished to have Bothwell there they would have pursued a very different course and left him much less time. Some twenty days after the queen's imprisonment in Lochleven Bothwell quietly retired by water from Dunbar castle into Morayshire, where he stayed some time. He next sought shelter in his dukedom of Orkney, but he was refused admittance into his own castle there by his own keeper or lieutenant. But he fled to the coast of Norway, where he was after a few months taken by the Danish government, who considered him as a pirate, and threw him into the castle of Malmö, where he is said to have gone mad.

At the point of death, nearly ten years after (1576), he is said to have solemnly declared upon his oath that he himself committed the murder of Darnley by the counsels of Murray, Morton, and others; but this point, like most of the rest, is involved in doubt and obscurity, and Bothwell's dying

declaration or testament, as it was called, was purposely kept out of sight by Elizabeth, into whose hands it fell.

The insurgent nobles seized all the queen's plate, jewels, and other movables without anything like a legal authority. The confederates now assumed the title of the "lords of the secret council." They seized Captain Blackadder and a few very obscure persons. The captain was condemned and executed for Darnley's murder, but at his death he would no ways confess himself guilty. Four others by orders of the lords of the secret council were "ironed and tormented," then tried and executed; but the lords did not find it convenient to publish either their trials or their confessions.

At the same time these cunning workmen threatened the French court that if it made any effort in favour of the captive queen they would throw themselves wholly into the arms of the English and, peradventure, make Mary taste of sharper pangs. Thus abandoned by all, and beset with dangers and threats of death and worse, the captive queen, on the 24th of July, put her hand to a deed by which she resigned the crown in favour of the baby James, then about fourteen months old. At the same time she was forced to sign a commission appointing her half-brother Murray to be regent during the minority of her son.

Now was the time for the earl of Murray to return to Scotland; but he was careful to take London on his way. Murray left London on the 31st of July, about a week after his sister had been made to sign the deeds in Lochleven castle. When he reached Berwick he was met by a deputation from the lords; when he reached Edinburgh on the 11th of August he was received with all honour and joy by Morton, Ruthven (son of the murderer of Rizzio), Maitland, John Knox and all the preachers. It was evidently not without calculation that the astute Murray did not arrive till after the coronation of his nephew. That previous ceremony had been performed at Stirling on the 29th of July. About the middle of August Murray, with others, went to Lochleven, where he held a "long conference with Mary in which he told her all her bad government, and left her that night with no hopes of life and desired her to seek God's mercy, which was the only refuge she could expect."

On the 22nd of August he was proclaimed regent. On the 30th of September, being aided by Morton, the regent got possession of the strong castle of Dunbar. Soon after, he heaped fresh honours and emoluments upon the murderer Morton. He restored him to the office of chancellor, which he had forfeited by keeping the door while Ruthven and his satellites murdered Rizzio; and to this high legal office, by a curious combination, he added that of lord high-admiral, which was left vacant by the flight and attainder of Bothwell. Morton, chancellor and high-admiral, was also made sheriff of the shires of Edinburgh and Haddington, and received sundry other emoluments. He accompanied the regent on an expedition to the south, where, under pretense of punishing the moss-troopers on the Borders, they took vengeance on several districts which had manifested an affection for the captive queen.

If this curious revolution had been conducted with any attention to constitutional forms, a parliament would have been called at least six months earlier; but at last Murray assembled one at Edinburgh on the 15th of December in order to legalise the recent changes. All the acts which had been passed in 1560 against the papacy were revived, and new statutes in accordance with the spirit of the times were added to them.

On the 3rd of January four obscure men, servants and retainers of Bothwell, were executed for assisting in the murder of Darnley: it is said that they all acknowledged their guilt and acquitted the queen.[m]

MARY'S FLIGHT TO ENGLAND (1568 A.D.)

It may be asked, How did the queen of England act all this time? The reply is highly to her honour. Elizabeth's notions of the majesty of kings were high, and she was little pleased with the example of subjects rising up against their sovereigns. She moreover regarded Mary as a kinswoman and as the presumptive heiress of her crown. On the intelligence, therefore, of her captivity she despatched Throcmorton to Scotland to exert himself in her behalf; she menaced; she even proposed to the French government to put a stop to all traffic with the rebels, as she styled them, and their abettors. "No council," writes Cecil, "can stop her majesty from manifesting her misliking of the proceedings against the queen of Scots." She ran the risk of seeing the lords throw themselves into the arms of France; and when the Hamiltons, Huntly and others confederated against the regent and in favour of the queen, she gave them encouragement through Throcmorton.

But though Huntly and several of Mary's partisans had attended the Scottish parliament and supported the measures introduced, their jealousy of the regent soon arrayed them again in arms. They opened a communication with Mary, who appointed the duke of Chatellerault to be her lieutenant. Murray meantime visited her again, and she proposed, in order to quiet all fears respecting Bothwell, to marry his half-brother George Douglas, son to the lady of Lochleven, a youth of eighteen years of age, for whom she had begun to spread her snares. Murray objected to his humble birth, so far beneath her rank. It was all, however, but a scheme of Mary's to conceal her real design. She had given amorous encouragement to Douglas to induce him to aid her to escape. On the 25th of March, 1568, having changed clothes with the laundress who used to come from a village near the lake, she got into the boat; she had nearly reached the shore when one of the boatmen went to raise her muffler, saying, "Let us see what sort of a dame this is!" She put up her hand to prevent him; its whiteness raised their suspicions; they refused to land her and carried her back to the island, but did not betray her.

On the 2nd of May she was more fortunate: while Lady Douglas and her eldest son were at supper, a youth called the little Douglas stole the keys of the castle. Mary hastened to a boat that lay ready; Douglas locked the castle gate on the outside and flung the keys into the lake as they rowed across it. On the shore Mary was met by George Douglas, Lord Seton, and others. She mounted a horse and rode to Lord Seton's house of Niddry, and having rested there for three hours she mounted again and rode to Hamilton, where she was received by the nobles of her party at the head of three thousand of their followers. Her first act was to protest against the instruments she had been compelled to sign when in prison, which were pronounced illegal by the nobles present, many of whom had declared the direct contrary in the late parliament.

Murray was meantime at Glasgow with only his ordinary train; some of his friends advised him to fly to Stirling, but he was too prudent to take such a course. He amused the queen for a few days by negotiation, during which time he assembled a force of about four thousand men with which he resolved to give her battle. Though the royal troops were double the number, their leaders wished to wait the return of Huntly and Ogilvie, who were gone to the north to assemble their vassals. Meantime they proposed to place the queen for security in the castle of Dumbarton; but on their way thither

(May 13th) the regent brought them to action at a place named Langside Hill and routed them in the space of a quarter of an hour.

Mary, who from an adjacent eminence viewed the fight, saw at once that all was lost; she turned, urged her horse to speed, and having failed in an attempt to reach Dumbarton, rode without halting to Dundrennan abbey near Kirkcudbright on the Solway Firth, a distance of sixty Scottish miles. Lord Herries and a few others, among whom was the French ambassador, accompanied her flight.

What was this wretched princess now to do? To make her escape to the Highlands was difficult, if not impossible, and the toils and privations she might have to undergo when she reached them were not easy to appreciate; to escape to France was equally difficult, and pride forbade to appear as a fugitive where she had reigned a queen, and the prospect of being shut up in a nunnery (the course which the French government had proposed for her) was probably not an agreeable one; an ignominious death in all probability awaited her if she fell into the hands of her enraged subjects.



Mt. Orgueil Castle, Jersey

There remained but one course, a flight into England. Elizabeth had of late exerted herself warmly in her favour and might be disposed to assert her cause; she therefore directed Herries to write (May 15th) to Lowther, the governor of Carlisle, to know if she might come thither in safety. She did not, however, venture to wait for a reply; fearing to fall into the power of her enemies, she embarked next day with Lord Herries and about twenty attendants in a fishing boat and landed at Workington. The gentry of the vicinity conducted her with all due respect to Cockermouth, whence Lowther brought her to Carlisle. She had little or no money, and not even a change of clothes,[1] when she landed in England.

Mary lost no time in writing to Elizabeth; she required to be admitted to the queen's presence and to be restored to her authority by force. The English council took the case into most grave and solemn consideration; they weighed the arguments on all sides; they viewed the dangers likely to arise to England and to Protestantism in general; they saw equal peril in suffering Mary to go to France or Spain or return to Scotland; they decided that she should be detained for the present in England.[c]

The great uneasiness of Elizabeth as to any communication between her royal prisoner and her own subjects professing the ancient religion is a very

[1 When Elizabeth heard of her condition she sent her some clothing. When the parcel was opened it contained "two torn shifts, two pieces of black velvet, two pair of shoes, and nothing else." Sir Francis Knollys, who brought this munificent gift, was driven by shame to say "that her highness' maid had mistaken and sent such things necessary for such a maid-servant as she was herself." Was it insolence, or parsimony, or carelessness, which led to such an extraordinary breach of courtesy? Whichever it might be, it betokened ill for Elizabeth's hospitality.—Creighton, *dd*]

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significant feature in the history. Lord Scrope, the warden and governor of Carlisle, was despatched from Cork nearly at the same time as Knollys, and they both waited upon Queen Mary in Carlisle castle, apparently on the 28th or 29th of May. They delivered their sovereign's letter, in which Mary was told that Elizabeth could not honourably receive her into her presence until she was cleared of all suspicion of being concerned in Darnley's murder. Mary had expected a different treatment. She solemnly affirmed to Scrope and Knollys, that both Maitland of Lethington and the lord Morton had been concerned in the murder of her husband, as could well be proved, although now they would seem to prosecute the murderers.

Lord Herries did little good with Elizabeth, who induced him, in a manner, to appoint her judge or arbitrator between Mary and her subjects. At his solicitation, however, the English queen thought fit to send an agent, Middlemore (or Meddlemore), into Scotland, to stop the civil war there; for Mary's partisans, though sorely pressed and persecuted, were not wholly discouraged by the battle of Langside, and the earls of Huntly and Argyll were up in arms in her favour. But as soon as Middlemore got across the Borders he hastened rather than retarded Murray's business and encouraged the regent in his energetic measures against those who favoured the queen.

On the 21st of June the Scottish queen wrote a striking letter to her sister and cousin, which was forwarded to London by means of a gentleman who had been despatched by the French court to ascertain the real situation of the fugitive and the manner in which she was treated in England. Here the captive complains that Middlemore, who was sent as was pretended as a safeguard to her faithful subjects, had allied himself with her enemies, who in her presence had destroyed the house of one of her principal barons, and who were now treating her friends and adherents more harshly than ever. "And I entreat you, as you see what are the effects, do not make an unequal combat, they being armed and I destitute; on the contrary, seeing the dishonour they do me, make up your mind to assist me or let me go; for, without waiting for their giving me a third assault, I must supplicate both the king of France and the king of Spain, if you will not have regard to my just quarrel; and they, restoring me to my place, then will I make you know their falsehood and my innocence: for if you let them conquer the country first, and then come to accuse me after, what shall I have gained by submitting my cause to you? I blame no one; but the very worm of the earth turns when it is trodden upon."

Sir Henry Norris wrote from Paris to warn Cecil, on the authority of an anonymous informer, that the queen's majesty "did now hold the wolf that would devour her," and that "it is conspired betwixt the king of Spain, the pope and the French king that the queen's majesty should be destroyed, whereby the queen of Scots might succeed her majesty."

This alarm, considering where Mary then was, was rather ridiculous, yet scarcely more so than some of the hundred other stories which followed in a crescendo of horrors, and which never ceased till Elizabeth had brought her rival to the block.

It was soon resolved to carry her farther into the realm to some place of greater safety, being "well moated round." Mary made a spirited protest that was of no avail, and on the 16th of July she was carried under a strong escort to Bolton castle, a house of Lord Scrope's in the north riding of Yorkshire, not far from Middleham. By this removal Mary was cut off from all communication with her subjects excepting such as Elizabeth chose to admit.

Murray on his side had a confident reliance on Cecil, and he sent up his secretary, John Wood, to London, to show the minister and the queen copies of sundry secret papers. The regent was not so ready as his imprisoned sister to bring matters to an issue; and though Elizabeth wrote to him to come into England with a commissioner to treat and to answer to the Scottish queen's complaint, he found it very easy to delay so doing till the month of October; and during all that time he was allowed to establish his own authority in Scotland, and was even assisted by Elizabeth in so doing.

Elizabeth declared that if Mary would "commit her cause to be heard by her highness's order, not to make her highness judge over her, but rather as committing herself to the council of her dear cousin and friend," her highness would treat with the Scottish nobles and bring things to a happy conclusion. Elizabeth would, for example, restore the queen of Scots to her royal seat by honourable accommodation, the queen of Scots agreeing that the lords and all her other subjects should continue in their honours, states, and dignities; and this was the promise in case of Murray making out "some reason against her"; but if Murray and his party should fail in proving anything against the queen, then her majesty Elizabeth would replace Mary absolutely by force of arms, Mary agreeing in this case, and as a reward for Elizabeth's assistance, to renounce all claims to England; to convert her close alliance with France into a league with England; and to use the counsel of her dearest sister and her estates in parliament in abolishing papistry, encouraging Protestantism, and in establishing in her dominion the Episcopal and Anglican church—an order of things considered by John Knox and the whole body of the Puritans as only a few degrees less idolatrous than the church of Rome.

Thus in all cases Mary was promised her liberty and her restoration to her kingdom. But very different language had been held in secret with Murray; to him it had been declared that if he could establish his sister's guilt she should never return to Scotland; and it had also been intimated that he could easily prove what he desired.

The famous commission met at York on the 4th of October. On the 8th of October the friends of Mary, as the plaintiff, were allowed to open the charges against Murray and his associates. Elizabeth's commissioners, who, against the spirit of the agreement, had allowed Murray to refuse his sister the title of sovereign and to advance the coronation of the infant James as a constitutional act, now departed still more widely from the promises which had been given to Mary and her agent, Lord Herries. They said that, indeed, their mistress's desire "hath always been, from the beginning, that the said queen might be found free, specially from the crime of her husband's murder; nevertheless, if her majesty shall find to be plainly and manifestly proved (whereof she would be very sorry) that the said queen of Scots was the deviser and procurer of that murder, or otherwise was guilty thereof, surely her majesty would think her unworthy of a kingdom, and would not stain her own conscience in maintenance of such a detestable wickedness by restoring her to a kingdom." Murray then declared that it was set forth and published in Scotland that Mary should be either amply restored, or otherwise by some degrees restored, and sent home amongst them by the queen of England. Elizabeth's commissioners with a bold face denied that any such promise had ever been made. But Murray was not fully satisfied. A letter was, therefore, despatched to Elizabeth, to request additional instructions.

THE CASKET LETTERS AND MURRAY SONNETS.

But Murray and Maitland certainly did not wait for an answer to charge Mary with such things as, to use their own words, they had "hitherto been content rather to conceal than publish to the world to her infamy and dishonour." They secretly laid before the English commissioners translations of certain letters in French, said to have been written by Mary to Bothwell, some just before the murder of her husband, others before the seizure of her person; two contracts of marriage; and a collection of love sonnets described as being the queen's composition and as sent by her to Bothwell.[1]

On the 11th of October, before any answer could have possibly been received from court, the English commissioners made an abstract from these papers which might tend to Mary's condemnation for "her consent and procurement of the murder of her husband as far forth as they could by their reading gather." They had evidently read the letters and the amorous rhymes with great attention; but they omitted altogether making any inquiry touching the authenticity of these papers, which from first to last Mary and her friends maintained were forgeries. They assumed "from plain and manifest words contained in the said letters, that the inordinate and filthy love between Mary and Bothwell" was proved; that she had hated and abhorred her husband Darnley; that she had taken her journey from Edinburgh to Glasgow to visit him when sick with the intent of inveigling him to Edinburgh, where he was murdered, etc.

These sweeping conclusions as well as the documents upon which they were founded were carefully concealed from Mary's commissioners, who were requested to seek an enlargement of their commission, or, in other words, to ask their mistress to agree, in the dark, to acknowledge Elizabeth's authority. Mary, however, maintained the perfect independence of her crown, while Murray and her enemies now showed themselves ready to acknowledge Elizabeth's supremacy over Scotland that as "superior lady and judge over that realm she might determine in this case." In order to consume time, Murray presented to the commissioners an answer to the charges of his queen, in which he alleged that his friends had never taken up arms but against Bothwell; that they had afterwards sequestrated their queen because she adhered to Bothwell; and that they had at last accepted her resignation, which was willingly given merely from her disgust at the vexations attending power, and never extorted from her.

To this Mary's commissioners replied, that the queen had no means of knowing the atrocities of Bothwell, who had been acquitted by a Scottish jury and recommended to her as a husband by the Scottish nobility; that she had ever been desirous that Bothwell should be arrested and brought to trial; that the resignation of the crown was extorted from her; and that Throcmorton, the English ambassador, had advised her to sign that paper as the only means of saving her life; assuring her at the same time that under the circumstances such an act could never be considered binding on her part. Mary had by far the best in the controversy, but she did not know that she was only fighting with shadows.

We profess our utter inability to understand the complex game; we do not believe that it ever has been or ever will be clearly understood; but the words of the earl of Sussex, one of Elizabeth's commissioners, contained an undis-

[1] "A casket, containing a correspondence purporting to be carried on by Mary with Bothwell, which, if genuine, establishes her guilt."

puted fact, which is that these parties tossed between them the crown and public affairs of Scotland, caring neither for the mother nor the child, but seeking to serve their own turns without any reference either to Mary's guilt or innocence. Maitland, whose ways were always inscrutable, suggested a marriage between Mary and the duke of Norfolk, her divorce from Bothwell being effected; and he had the address to bring Norfolk, perhaps Mary herself, into this scheme.

But what seems the most extraordinary part of this story is that the regent Murray himself entered into the project, and professed a great earnestness for the marriage with Norfolk, whose favour with Elizabeth, he pretended, would enable him to procure tranquillity to Scotland and place the Protestant religion in security. It is barely possible to understand how Murray could fall in with such a scheme even for the moment; but he may have been spellbound by the superior craft and audacity of Maitland, whose whole soul was an intrigue, and who, since his late arrival in England, may have even proposed to himself the daring scheme of overthrowing Elizabeth and of placing Mary on her throne. It did not require his talent to see that the whole Catholic population of England was oppressed; that many Protestants were averse to Elizabeth's government, and that the duke of Norfolk, who was both rich and brave, had an immense party in the north, counting among his friends the great earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, who upon many grounds were dissatisfied with the queen and with Cecil.

Maitland of late had not been eager to press the question of Mary's guilt, and even if he had done so it would cost little to a supple man like him to change his tack and hold her up as the model of queens and women. And he certainly assured Norfolk that Mary was innocent of her husband's murder. But Maitland was watched with vigilant eyes; his intrigues with the duke of Norfolk were discovered, and an order came suddenly down from London for the instant removal of the conference from York to Westminster.

THE COMMISSION AT WESTMINSTER

Elizabeth now openly declared that Mary should never be restored to the crown of Scotland if Murray could make good his accusations; and she assumed as a right that she and her privy council should proceed to sentence. At the same time Elizabeth joined Leicester, Cecil, Bacon, and others to the commission. Mary's commissioners were coldly received, and the opposite party were not only encouraged but excited by Elizabeth and Cecil to urge publicly their charges. At the end of November Murray declared that Mary had been "persuader and commander" of the murder of her husband; and here he ought to have stopped; but he went on to add the incredible charge (which cast a doubt on all the rest) that she had also intended to cause the death of the innocent prince her own son, "and so to transfer the crown from the right line to a bloody murderer and godless tyrant."

Mary's steadfast friends, the bishop of Ross and Lord Herries, then demanded of Elizabeth that as she had admitted Murray and his associates into her presence to accuse their queen, she would also be pleased to admit into the same presence Mary herself to prove her own innocence; and they represented at the same time that the accusers of their sovereign ought to be detained in the country. Elizabeth replied that this was a difficult subject, which required long deliberation, and she would never give any other answer to their requests.

At last came the decisive moment, and on the 14th of December the earl of Murray produced a silver box or casket full of the so-called original love-letters, sonnets, etc.; and he contended that these unproved and unsifted documents, together with a previous decree of the Scottish parliament, were quite sufficient to establish the queen's guilt. Elizabeth had had copies of these documents long before, but she was desirous that there should be an open and unreserved production of the originals.

The papers were laid before the privy council and all the great earls, and letters written by Mary to Elizabeth were laid beside them that the handwritings might be compared. But instead of asking the council to pronounce on the authenticity of the documents, Elizabeth merely told them that Mary had demanded to be allowed to answer to the charges in the royal presence, and that she now thought it inconsistent with her modesty and reputation as a virgin queen to admit her.

Mary, though labouring under every difficulty, would not sit down in silence like a convicted criminal, and she rejected with scorn a proposal made to her by Knollys, at Elizabeth's orders, that she should ratify her resignation of the crown and so save her honour—her enemies upon that condition agreeing not to publish their proofs against her. She immediately wrote to her commissioners, bidding them declare to Elizabeth and her council, that "where Murray and his accomplices had said that she knew, counselled, devised, persuaded, or commanded the murder of her husband, they had falsely, traitorously, and wickedly lied, imputing unto her the crime whereof they themselves were authors, inventors, doers, and some of them the proper executioners."

She solemnly denied that she had stopped inquiry and due punishment. "And," she continued, "they charge us with unnatural kindness towards our dear son, alleging we intended to have caused him to follow his father hastily; howbeit the natural love a mother beareth to her only child is sufficient to confound them, and merits no other answer; yet considering their proceedings by-past, who did him wrong in our womb, intending to have slain him and us both, there is none of good judgment but they may easily perceive their hypocrisies, with how they would fortify themselves in our son's name till their tyranny be better established."

She then revoked her order for breaking up the conference, saying, "And to the effect our good sister may understand we are not willing to let their false invented allegations pass over in silence (adhering to our former protestations), we shall desire the inspection and doubles of all they have produced against us; and that we may see the alleged principal writings, if they have any, produced. And with God's grace we shall first make such answer thereto that our innocence shall be known to our good sister and all other princes, so that we but have our good sister's presence, as our adversary has had, and reasonable space and time to get such verification as pertains thereto."

Elizabeth took no notice of this remonstrance, and Murray's silver box was never submitted to examination. The bishop of Ross put into Elizabeth's own hands a plain and striking defence to the charges which had been produced, affirming: (1) That nothing was alleged but presumptions. (2) That it could not be proved that the letters in Murray's box had been written with her own hand; "and she was of too much honour to commit such a fact, and of too much wit to have conceived such matter in writing." (3) That neither her hand, nor seal, nor date was to the letters, nor any direction to any. (4) That her hand might easily be counterfeited. (5) That for the marriage with Bothwell the nobility solicited and advised it, and sub-

scribed thereto, especially some of the adversaries, as by a writing under their hands would be testified.

On the 11th of January, 1569, Elizabeth put a strange end to the conference, which of late had been carried on at Hampton Court. She told the regent Murray, before her court and ministers—in private her conversation was different—that nothing had been proved against the honour and loyalty of him and his adherents, but that they, on the other hand, had shown no sufficient cause why she should conceive any evil opinion against the queen her good sister.

She assured Murray that he might safely go back to Scotland and rely upon her goodwill. Escorted by an English guard, the earl reached the city of Edinburgh on the 2nd of February, 1569, after an absence of nearly five months. But before he got there—before he began his journey from London—Elizabeth sent down strict orders to her unhappy vice-chamberlain Knollys, and to Lord Scrope, to move the queen of Scots with all haste to Tutbury, as a place farther in the realm and more secure. Mary had protested that she would not move farther from the Border except by force; and many unnecessary pains were taken to make it be believed that no force was used.

On the 3rd of February the captive queen reached Tutbury castle, a strong place upon the river Dove, in Staffordshire, the property of the earl of Shrewsbury, under whose charge she was now placed.

Elizabeth was soon made to feel that in resolving to keep Mary in captivity in the heart of England she had done that which cast a threatening cloud over her own liberty and greatness, and deprived her of her peace of mind; in fact for many years she was incessantly haunted with the fears of plots, escapes, and bloody retaliation; no castle seemed strong enough, no keepers sure enough for her hated rival, who in many respects had become more dangerous to her than ever. From time to time these jealousies and apprehensions were stirred up by zealous Protestants and the friends of Cecil.

Meanwhile some of Elizabeth's noblest subjects were secretly devising how they might liberate the prisoner—perhaps how they might revolutionise the whole country, and place Mary upon the throne of England; and foreign princes were openly complaining of the English queen's cruel and unseemly treatment of a crowned head—of one who was as much an independent princess as herself. But no foreign power was at the time either in a condition or in a disposition to hazard a war with the powerful queen of England for the weak and ruined queen of a weak, poor, and anarchic country. To their remonstrances Elizabeth replied, that they were all labouring under a great mistake; that she was the dear sister of Mary, the best friend she ever had; that she had given her an asylum when her subjects drove her from her kingdom and sought her life; that she had been delicately watchful of her reputation, and had suppressed, and was still suppressing, documents which would render her infamous to her contemporaries and to all future ages.[m]

WAS MARY GUILTY?

Perhaps there is no more ardent controversy in history than the problem of this beautiful woman's collusion in the murder of the husband whom she admittedly despised, and with admittedly good cause. We have followed our plan of giving as impartial an account as possible, leaning rather to her side, though it is not, of course, practicable to present all the evidence for and against Mary; this would require volumes. The reader should be warned

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against making up his mind too definitely one way or the other. It is easy to do this in Mary's favour in hearing part of the evidence arranged by one of her partisans; it is equally easy to decide against her when her accusers manage the case. But when one goes further and reads deeply into the evidence, the result is bewildering, and it is hardly safe to say more than this: while there are abundant evidences of indiscretion on Mary's part, and while there is strong circumstantial evidence to implicate her in Darnley's murder, yet the conduct of her enemies was so lawless and ruthless, their testimony so conflicting and suspicious and their intriguing so unscrupulous, that the whole accusation against Mary rests upon testimony which the modern bench would probably throw out of court at once.

Andrew Lang,[b] who has most recently sifted the evidence and with characteristic calm, has said that a jury of to-day would feel compelled to acquit the queen even if convinced at heart of her guilt.

He has examined the casket letters and sonnets. He finds strong reasons for believing them partly of Mary's composition, he finds equally strong reasons for believing that they were tampered with and that forgery was used at least to strengthen the weak points. But if the accusers would stoop to forge one word, why not all? On this theory, the modern bench inclines to disregard tainted evidence entirely, except where it is strongly corroborated. In seeking corroboration we find the circumstances of Mary's behaviour arranged by different partisans to prove either her guilt or her innocence.

The casket letters are the focus of controversy. If Mary wrote them as they stand in their extant copies, she was undoubtedly guilty of a great passion for Bothwell during her husband's life, of encouraging the plot to put him out of the way (a divorce in those days would have illegitimatised the prince James), of pretending to marry his murderer reluctantly when she was really eager for the match—and, in short, of being a beautiful and bold but complete hypocrite accessory to a foul crime. Nobody is more positive than Hume of Mary's guilt. He states many of the arguments on both sides.[a]

Hume's Estimate of Mary's Guilt

We shall not enter into a long discussion concerning the authenticity of these letters; we shall only remark in general that the chief objections against them are that they are supposed to have passed through the earl of Morton's hands, the least scrupulous of all Mary's enemies; and that they are to the last degree indecent and even somewhat inelegant, such as it is not likely she would write. But to these presumptions we may oppose the following considerations: (1) Though it be not difficult to counterfeit a subscription, it is very difficult, and almost impossible, to counterfeit several pages so as to resemble exactly the handwriting of any person. These letters were examined and compared with Mary's handwriting by the English privy council and by a great many of the nobility, among whom were several partisans of that princess. They might have been examined by the bishop of Ross, Herries, and others of Mary's commissioners. The regent must have expected that they would be very critically examined by them; and had they not been able to stand that test, he was only preparing a scene of confusion to himself. Bishop Leslie expressly declines the comparing of the hands, which he calls no legal proof, according to Goodall.

(2) The letters are very long, much longer than they needed to have been in order to serve the purposes of Mary's enemies—a circumstance which increased the difficulty and exposed any forgery the more to the risk of a

detection. (3) They are not so gross and palpable as forgeries commonly are, for they still left a pretext for Mary's friends to assert that their meaning was strained to make them appear criminal. (4) There is a long contract of marriage, said to be written by the earl of Huntly and signed by the queen before Bothwell's acquittal. Would Morton without any necessity have thus doubled the difficulties of the forgery and the danger of detection?

(5) The letters are indiscreet; but such was apparently Mary's conduct at that time: they are inelegant; but they have a careless, natural air, like letters hastily written between familiar friends. (6) They contain such a variety of particular circumstances as nobody could have thought of inventing, especially as they must necessarily have afforded her many means of detection. (7) We have not the originals of the letters, which were in French.[1] We have only a Scotch and Latin translation from the original and a French translation professedly done from the Latin. Now it is remarkable that the Scotch translation is full of Gallicisms, and is clearly a translation from a French original: such as make fault, *faire des fautes*; make it seem that I believe, *faire semblant de le croire*; make brek, *faire breche*; this is my first journey, *c'est ma première journée*; have you not desire to laugh, *n'avez vous pas envie de rire*; the place will hald unto the death, *la place tiendra jusqu'à la mort*; he may not come forth of the house this long time, *il ne peut pas sortir du logis de long tems*; to make me advertisement, *faire m'avertir*; put order to it, *mettre ordre cela*; discharge your heart, *décharger votre cœur*; make gud watch, *faites bonne garde*, etc.

(8) There is a conversation which she mentions between herself and the king one evening; but Murray produced before the English commissioners the testimony of one Crawford, a gentleman of the earl of Lennox, who swore that the king, on her departure from him, gave him an account of the same conversation. (9) There seems very little reason why Murray and his associates should run the risk of such a dangerous forgery, which must have rendered them infamous if detected; since their cause, from Mary's known conduct, even without these letters, was sufficiently good and justifiable. (10) Murray exposed these letters to the examination of persons qualified to judge of them: the Scotch council, the Scotch parliament, Queen Elizabeth and her council, who were possessed of a great number of Mary's genuine letters.

(11) He gave Mary herself an opportunity of refuting and exposing him, if she had chosen to lay hold of it. (12) The letters tally so well with all the other parts of her conduct during that transaction that these proofs throw the strongest light on each other. (13) The duke of Norfolk, who had examined these papers, and who favoured so much the queen of Scots that he intended to marry her, and in the end lost his life in her cause, yet believed them authentic and was fully convinced of her guilt. This appears not only from his letters above mentioned to Queen Elizabeth and her ministers, but by his secret acknowledgment to Bannister, his most trusty confidant. (14) I need not repeat the presumption drawn from Mary's refusal to answer.

(15) The very disappearance of these letters is a presumption of their authenticity. That event can be accounted for in no way but from the care of King James's friends, who were desirous to destroy every proof of his mother's crimes. The disappearance of Morton's narrative, and of Crawford's evidence, from the Cotton library, Calig. c. i., must have proceeded from a like cause.

According to Jebb the sonnets are inelegant; insomuch that both Brantôme and Ronsard, who knew Queen Mary's style, were assured when they

[1 The subsequent discovery of certain French originals only tends to confirm the authenticity of the letters.]

saw them that they could not be of her composition. But no person is equal in his productions, especially one whose style is so little formed as Mary's must be supposed to be. Not to mention that such dangerous and criminal enterprises leave little tranquillity of mind for elegant poetical compositions.

In a word, Queen Mary might easily have conducted the whole conspiracy against her husband without opening her mind to any one person except Bothwell, and without writing a scrap of paper about it; but it was very difficult to have conducted it so that her conduct should not betray her to men of discernment. In the present case her conduct was so gross as to betray her to everybody, and fortune threw into her enemies' hands papers by which they could convict her. The same infatuation and imprudence, which happily is the usual attendant of great crimes, will account for both. It is proper to observe, that there is not one circumstance of the foregoing that is taken from Knox,[r] Buchanan,[s] or even De Thou,[t] or indeed from any suspected authority.

There are, indeed, three events in our history which may be regarded as touchstones of party men. An English Whig, who asserts the reality of the popish plot, an Irish Catholic, who denies the massacre in 1641, and a Scotch Jacobite, who maintains the innocence of Queen Mary, must be considered as men beyond the reach of argument or reason, and must be left to their prejudices.[o]

Various Opinions of Mary's Guilt

Mackintosh[q] says: "There is a species of secondary, but very important, evidence as to Mary's criminality, on which a few additional sentences may be excused. The silence of Castelnau on the subject, who was friendly to her, and who had opportunities of knowing the facts, is very significant; that of Melville also, her personal attendant and confidential servant, whose brother was with her to her last moments; and lastly, that of Spotswood, her grandson's chancellor and head of the Scottish church. That of the archbishop is singularly conclusive, because accompanied by admissions irreconcilable with the supposition of her innocence, and evidently showing that he did not entertain any doubt of her guilt."

Among those who believe Mary to have been innocent have been Chalmers,[u] Sir John Skelton,[v] and Samuel Cowan.[w] Lingard admits that Mary wrote the letters, though he thinks they were not necessarily to Bothwell.

Among those convinced of her guilt are De Thou,[t] Hume,[o] Robertson,[p] Keightley,[c] Laing,[x] Mackintosh,[q] Mignet,[y] Von Raumer,[z] Froude,[l] Swinburne,[n] Aubrey,[bb] and Lang.[k]

Lang, after stating his belief that the letters were tampered with between the time of their discovery and their presentation, still casts his opinion for the authenticity of considerable and compromising portions. The sonnets he thinks even less likely to have been forged than the letters. He thinks that the recent discoveries of documents and evidence tends rather to strengthen the case against Mary.

This is perhaps the most acceptable theory: Mary, disgusted with her husband, and fearing his plots to deprive her of the crown and act as regent for their son, fell under the influence of Bothwell. To a proud and fearless woman like Mary it was a strange luxury to find a man who was not afraid of her, who dared to bully and overawe her and even to frighten her, and keep her tenure of his affections uncertain by still treating his neglected wife as a rival for his favour. Before so masterful a man, her high spirits fell in

abject submission. The letters, if genuine, show that she delighted even to apologise when he was wrong. It was the *Taming of the Shrew* to the life, and a commonplace in the psychology of the sexes.

Having become the slave of this brute and realising that her husband was jealous of him, she remembered that once before Darnley's jealousy of her favourite, Rizzio, had led him to invade her room with a band of assassins and drag the man from her very skirts to his death. Bothwell had been one of the few who had drawn sword in her defence. He had been overpowered by numbers then. What was to prevent another such scene? She had ridden twenty miles when Bothwell was wounded once before. How was she to preserve her beloved from her husband's assassins? Only by being the first to slay.

She entered into the plot, though she loathed her treachery. Her husband fell ill of the small-pox and weakly implored reconciliation. She was touched so deeply that, as she wrote Bothwell, only her love for Bothwell could have hardened her heart. Poison was suggested. She was afraid of it, she said. Perhaps her statement that Darnley suspected everyone but her and preferred to take his meat from her hand gives the explanation of the choice of the clumsy method of blowing up the house in her absence. Her heart revolted at administering poison to one who so helplessly put himself at her mercy. In the words of the Scottish translation: "Ze gar me dissemble so far, that I haif horring thairat; and ye caus me do almaist the office of a traitores. Remember how gif it wer not to obey zow, I had rather be deid or I did it: my hart bleidis at it. Allace! I never dissavit ony body: Bot I remit me altogidder to zour will."

The infatuated and wretched victim of an overwhelming passion consented to the scheme of exploding powder under the house. She courageously dwelt there till all was ready. Then she went away for a few hours. Once the deed was finished her big heart was overcome with horror and remorse. She dissembled as best she could, but her mourning for Darnley was a feeble pretence. The reward for his murderers was a necessary formality: the farce of the trial followed by the allegedly compulsory marriage with Bothwell was another sham concession to appearances. The honeymoon of the guilty pair was not happy. She was remorseful to the point of threatened suicide, especially when she found her husband still the hard-hearted brute. She tried to appease him and cheer him in every way.

Then the lords revolted. Bothwell fled the country and she was left to her own devices. In this situation, as always, her courage rose with the danger. When her troops were defeated she fled to a foreign court for aid against the rebels. Finding there only suspicion and greed of political power, she conducted herself with all possible diplomacy except where her pride was touched. To have confessed her guilt publicly would have ended her career. She could not reach Elizabeth to make a personal appeal. She therefore counterfeited innocence with such skill that she has never ceased to find believers.

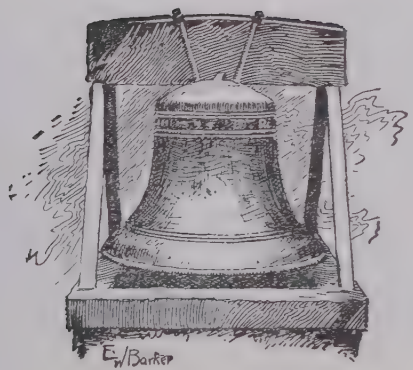
The conduct of her enemies, the evil methods of the times, the baser elements in Elizabeth's character, are no proof of Mary's innocence, though they have been used as arguments. They are, however, of this value, that they somewhat palliate Mary's offence, seeing that she was no worse than her enemies, and was overcome only by their jealousy and the combination of the Scottish regency with the English crown. In the words of Mr. Lang[k]: "Mary at worst, and even admitting her guilt (guilt monstrous and horrible to contemplate), seems to have been a nobler nature than any of the persons

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most closely associated with her fortunes. She fell, if fall she did, like the Clytemnestra to whom a contemporary poet compares her, under the almost demoniacal possession of passion."

In a word, one is tempted to reproduce for Mary the curious verdict of the French judges in the famous second trial of Captain Dreyfus: "Guilty, with extenuating circumstances." There will still always remain abundant grounds to justify intelligent and scholarly men in believing that under the law of holding a person innocent until guilt is clearly proved, and in view of the contemptible nature and behaviour of the witnesses against her, Mary, Queen of Scots, must be acquitted of the charge of murdering her husband. Safer still is the attitude of Hermann Cardauns,[cc] who believes that we cannot hope to arrive at a final and irreproachable decision.

Our description of Mary's fortunes has led us to postpone the chronicle of English affairs. It is in order now to retrace our steps to the year 1562 and the beginning of the great alignment of all Europe into the two divisions of Catholic and Protestant, both intolerant and both militant.[a]





CHAPTER X

RELIGIOUS FEUDS

[1562–1578 A.D.]

THE contemporaries of Elizabeth regarded the first ten years of her reign as her halcyon days. The transition from the fiery Catholicism of Mary Tudor to the temperate Protestantism of her sister Elizabeth had been accomplished without bloodshed or convulsion. In the parliament of 1563 measures of a stronger character were adopted against papists. But still there was no outbreak produced either by supineness or persecution. The parliament of 1566 passed no new law that in any matter of importance touched the subject of religion. Differences of opinion as to ceremonial observances had arisen amongst the English Protestants themselves, and those who were called Puritans were fast becoming an organised power. But at the time when Mary Stuart had crossed the Solway, and the great question of policy had been raised as to her detention, the state of Protestantism in Europe, upon the maintenance of which in England the government of Elizabeth was to stand or fall, was one of great insecurity and alarm. The halcyon days were fast passing away.—KNIGHT.[b]

THE STATE OF EUROPE IN 1562

AFTER the commencement of the religious wars in France, which rendered that flourishing kingdom during the course of near forty years a scene of horror and devastation, the great rival powers in Europe were Spain and England; and it was not long before an animosity, first political, then personal, broke out between the sovereigns of these countries.

The tyranny by which Philip II of Spain was actuated, with the fraudulent maxims which governed his councils, excited the most violent agitation among his own people, engaged him in acts of the most enormous cruelty, and threw all Europe into combustion.

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In his unrelenting zeal for orthodoxy he spared neither age, sex, nor condition. He issued rigorous orders for the prosecution of heretics in Spain, Italy, the Indies, and the low countries. By placing himself at the head of the Catholic party he converted the zealots of the ancient faith into partisans of Spanish greatness; and by employing the powerful allurement of religion he seduced, everywhere, the subjects from that allegiance which they owed to their native sovereign.

The course of events, guiding and concurring with choice, had placed Elizabeth in a situation diametrically opposite, and had raised her to be the bulwark and the support of the numerous, though still persecuted, Protestants throughout Europe. More moderate in her temper than Philip, she found, with pleasure, that the principles of her sect required not such extreme severity in her domestic government as was exercised by that monarch; and having no object but self-preservation, she united her interests in all foreign negotiations with those who were everywhere struggling under oppression and guarding themselves against ruin and extermination. The more virtuous sovereign was thus happily thrown into the more favourable cause, and fortune in this instance concurred with policy and nature.

During the lifetime of Henry II of France, and of his successor, the force of these principles was somewhat restrained, though not altogether overcome, by motives of a superior interest; and the dread of uniting England with the French monarchy engaged Philip to maintain a good correspondence with Elizabeth. Yet even during this period he rejected the garter which she sent him; he refused to ratify the ancient league between the house of Burgundy and England; he furnished ships to transport French forces into Scotland; he endeavoured to intercept the earl of Arran, who was hastening to join the malcontents in that country; and the queen's wisest ministers still regarded his friendship as hollow and precarious. But no sooner did the death of Francis II put an end to Philip's apprehensions with regard to Mary's succession than his animosity against Elizabeth began more openly to appear, and the interests of Spain and those of England were found opposite in every negotiation and transaction.

The two great monarchies of the Continent, France and Spain, being possessed of nearly equal force, were naturally antagonists; and England, from its power and situation, was entitled to support its own dignity as well as tranquillity by holding the balance between them. Whatever incident therefore tended too much to depress one of these rival powers, as it left the other without control, might be deemed contrary to the interests of England; yet so much were these great maxims of policy overruled during that age by the disputes of theology that Philip found an advantage in supporting the established government and religion of France, and Elizabeth in protecting faction and innovation.

CIVIL WARS OF FRANCE

The queen-regent of France, when reinstated in authority by the death of her son Francis, had formed a plan of administration more subtle than judicious, and balancing the Catholics with the Huguenots, the duke of Guise with the prince of Condé, she endeavoured to render herself necessary to both and to establish her own dominion on their constrained obedience. An edict had been published granting a toleration to the Protestants; but the interested violence of the duke of Guise, covered with the pretence of religious zeal, broke through this agreement, and the two parties after the fallacious

tranquillity of a moment renewed their mutual insults and injuries. Fourteen armies were levied and put in motion in different parts of France. Each province, each city, each family, was agitated with intestine rage and animosity.

Wherever the Huguenots prevailed the images were broken, the altars pillaged, the churches demolished, the monasteries consumed with fire. Where success attended the Catholics, they burned the Bibles, rebaptised the infants, constrained married persons to pass anew through the nuptial ceremony, and plunder, desolation, and bloodshed attended equally the triumph of both parties. It was during this period, when men began to be somewhat enlightened, and in this nation renowned for polished manners, that the theological rage which had long been boiling in men's veins seems to have attained its last stage of virulence and ferocity.

Philip, jealous of the progress which the Huguenots made in France, and dreading that the contagion would spread into the low country provinces, had formed a secret alliance with the princes of Guise, and had entered into a mutual concert for the protection of the ancient faith and the suppression of heresy. He now sent six thousand men, with some supply of money, to reinforce the Catholic party; and the prince of Condé, finding himself unequal to so great a combination countenanced by the royal authority, was obliged to despatch the vidame of Chartres and Briguemaut to London, in order to crave the assistance and protection of Elizabeth.

Most of the province of Normandy was possessed by the Huguenots, and Condé offered to put Havre de Grâce into the hands of the English on condition that, together with three thousand men for the garrison of that place, the queen should likewise send over three thousand to defend Dieppe and Rouen, and should furnish the prince with a supply of a hundred thousand crowns.

HAVRE DE GRÂCE PUT IN POSSESSION OF THE ENGLISH

Elizabeth, besides the general and essential interest of supporting the Protestants and opposing the rapid progress of her enemy the duke of Guise, had other motives which engaged her to accept of this proposal. When she concluded the peace at Cateau-Cambrésis she had good reason to foresee that France never would voluntarily fulfil the article which regarded the restitution of Calais; and many subsequent incidents had tended to confirm this suspicion. The queen therefore wisely concluded that, could she get possession of Havre, a place which commanded the mouth of the Seine and was of greater importance than Calais, she should easily constrain the French to execute the treaty, and should have the glory of restoring to the crown that ancient possession so much the favourite of the nation.

No measure could be more generally odious in France than the conclusion of this treaty with Elizabeth. Men were naturally led to compare the conduct of Guise, who had finally expelled the English and had debarred these dangerous and destructive enemies from all access into France, with the treasonable politics of Condé, who had again granted them an entrance into the heart of the kingdom. The prince had the more reason to repent of this measure, as he reaped not from it all the advantage which he expected.

Three thousand English immediately took possession of Havre and Dieppe under the command of Sir Edward Poynings; but the latter place was found so little capable of defence that it was immediately abandoned. The siege of Rouen was already formed by the Catholics under the command of the king

of Navarre and Montmorency, and it was with difficulty that Poynings could throw a small reinforcement into the place. Though these English troops behaved with gallantry, and though the king of Navarre was mortally wounded during the siege, the Catholics still continued the attack of the place, and carrying it at last by assault put the whole garrison to the sword. The earl of Warwick, eldest son of the late duke of Northumberland, arrived soon after at Havre with another body of three thousand English, and took on him the command of the place.

The duke of Guise, overtaking the Huguenots at Dreux, obliged them to give battle. The action was distinguished by this singular event, that Condé and Montmorency, the commanders of the opposite armies, fell both of them prisoners into the hands of their enemies. The appearances of victory remained with Guise; but the admiral, whose fate it ever was to be defeated, and still to rise more terrible after his misfortunes, collected the remains of the army and subdued some considerable places in Normandy. Elizabeth, the better to support his cause, sent him a new supply of a hundred thousand crowns, and offered, if he could find merchants to lend him the money, to give her bond for another sum of equal amount.

THE PARLIAMENT OF 1563

The expenses incurred by assisting the French Huguenots had emptied the queen's exchequer, and in order to obtain supply she found herself under a necessity of summoning a parliament, January 12th, 1563, an expedient to which she never willingly had recourse. A little before the meeting of this assembly she had fallen into a dangerous illness, the small-pox; and as her life during some time was despaired of, the people became the more sensible of their perilous situation, derived from the uncertainty which, in case of her demise, attended the succession of the crown. The partisans of the queen of Scots and those of the house of Suffolk already divided the nation into factions; and everyone foresaw that though it might be possible at present to determine the controversy by law, yet if the throne were vacant, nothing but the sword would be able to fix a successor.

The commons, therefore, on the opening of the session, voted an address to the queen in which, after enumerating the dangers attending a broken and doubtful succession, and mentioning the evils which their fathers had experienced from the contending titles of York and Lancaster, they entreated the queen to put an end to their apprehensions by choosing some husband whom they promised, whoever he were, gratefully to receive and faithfully to serve, honour, and obey; or, if she had entertained any reluctance to the married state, they desired that the lawful successor might be named, at least appointed, by act of parliament. They remarked that during all the reigns which had passed since the conquest the nation had never before been so unhappy as not to know the person who, in case of the sovereign's death, was legally entitled to fill the vacant throne. And they observed that the fixed order which took place in inheriting the French monarchy was one chief source of the usual tranquillity as well as of the happiness of that kingdom.

This subject, though extremely interesting to the nation, was very little agreeable to the queen, and she was sensible that great difficulties would attend every decision. A declaration in favour of the queen of Scots would form a settlement perfectly legal; but she dreaded giving encouragement

to the Catholics. On the other hand, the title of the house of Suffolk was supported by the more zealous Protestants only, and it was very doubtful whether even a parliamentary declaration in its favour would bestow on it such validity as to give satisfaction to the people.

The queen, weighing all these inconveniences, which were great and urgent, was determined to keep both parties in awe by maintaining still an ambiguous conduct; and she rather chose that the people should run the hazard of contingent events than that she herself should visibly endanger her throne by employing expedients which, at best, would not bestow entire security on the nation. She gave therefore an evasive answer to the applications of the commons. She only told them, contrary to her declarations in the beginning of her reign, that she had fixed no absolute resolution against marriage.

The most remarkable law passed this session was that which bore the title of "Assurance of the queen's royal power over all states and subjects within her dominions." By this act, the asserting twice by writing, word, or deed,



Elizabeth Castle, Jersey

the pope's authority, was subjected to the penalties of treason. All persons in holy orders were bound to take the oath of supremacy; as also all who were advanced to any degree, either in the universities or in common law; all schoolmasters, officers in court, or members of parliament. The penalty of their second refusal was treason. The first offence, in both cases, was punished by banishment and forfeiture. This rigorous statute was not extended to any of the degree of a baron.

There was likewise another point, in which the parliament this session showed more the goodness of their intention than the soundness of their judgment. They passed a law against fond and fantastical prophecies, which had been observed to seduce the people into rebellion and disorder; but at the same time they enacted a statute which was most likely to increase these and such like superstitions: It was levelled against conjurations, enchantments, and witchcraft. Witchcraft and heresy are two crimes which commonly increase by punishment, and never are so effectually suppressed as by being totally neglected. After the parliament had granted the queen a supply of one subsidy and two fifteenths, the session was finished by a prorogation. The convocation likewise voted the queen a subsidy of six shillings in the pound, payable in three years.

[1563 A.D.]

THE LOSS OF HAVRE

While the English parties exerted these calm efforts against each other in parliamentary votes and debates, the French factions, inflamed to the highest degree of animosity, continued that cruel war which their intemperate zeal, actuated by the ambition of their leaders, had kindled in the kingdom. The admiral was successful in reducing the towns of Normandy which held for the king, but he frequently complained that the numerous garrison of Havre remained totally inactive and was not employed in any military operation against the common enemy. The leaders of the Huguenots were persuaded to hearken to terms of a separate accommodation, and soon came to an agreement. A toleration under some restrictions was anew granted to the Protestants; a general amnesty was published; Condé was reinstated in his offices and governments.

By the agreement between Elizabeth and the prince of Condé it had been stipulated that neither party should conclude peace without the consent of the other; but this article was at present but little regarded by the leaders of the French Protestants. They only comprehended her so far in the treaty as to obtain a promise that on her relinquishing Havre her charges, and the money which she had advanced them, should be repaid her by the king of France, and that Calais on the expiration of the term should be restored to her. But she disdained to accept of these conditions; and thinking the possession of Havre a much better pledge for effecting her purpose, she sent Warwick orders to prepare himself against an attack from the now united power of the French monarchy.

The earl of Warwick, who commanded a garrison of six thousand men, besides seven hundred pioneers, had no sooner got possession of Havre than he employed every means for putting it in a posture of defence; and after expelling the French from the town he encouraged his soldiers to make the most desperate defence against the enemy. The constable commanded the French army; the queen regent herself, and the king, were present in the camp; even the prince of Condé joined the king's forces and gave countenance to this enterprise. The plague crept in among the English soldiers, and being increased by their fatigue and bad diet (for they were but ill supplied with provisions), it made such ravages that sometimes a hundred men a day died of it, and there remained at last not fifteen hundred in a condition to do duty. The French meeting with such feeble resistance carried on their attacks successfully; and having made two breaches, each of them sixty feet wide, they prepared for a general assault which must have terminated in the slaughter of the whole garrison. Warwick, who had frequently warned the English council of the danger, and who had loudly demanded a supply of men and provisions, found himself obliged to capitulate, July 28th, 1563, and to content himself with the liberty of withdrawing his garrison.

The articles were no sooner signed than Lord Clinton, the admiral, who had been detained by contrary winds, appeared off the harbour with a reinforcement of three thousand men, and found the place surrendered to the enemy. To increase the misfortune, the infected army brought the plague with them into England, where it swept off great multitudes, particularly in the city of London. Above twenty thousand persons there died of it in one year.

Elizabeth, whose usual vigour and foresight had not appeared in this transaction, was now glad to compound matters; and as the queen regent

desired to obtain leisure in order to prepare measures for the extermination of the Huguenots she readily hearkened to any reasonable terms of accommodation with England.[c] A peace signed at Troyes on the 11th of April, 1564, was shortly after proclaimed with sound of trumpet before the queen's majesty in her castle of Windsor, the French ambassadors being present. By this new treaty Elizabeth delivered up the hostages which the French had given for the restitution of Calais; but she received two hundred and twenty thousand crowns for their liberation. The questions of the restitution of Calais and other matters were left in the state they were in before the late hostilities, each party retaining its claims and pretensions, which were to be settled by after negotiation.[d]

In 1564 Elizabeth's friend the prince of Condé was disgusted by being refused the post of lieutenant-general of the realm, left vacant by the death of the king of Navarre; and as the Protestants saw that the treaty of peace made in the preceding year in order to expel the English from Havre was not kept, and that the court was revoking the liberty of conscience, it was easy for the prince to assemble once more a formidable army. But for some time the Huguenots were kept in awe in the north of France by a large force, which the court had collected to guard the frontier from any violation that might arise out of the disturbed state of the Netherlands, whose discontent, which became in the end another war of religion, was at first common to both Protestants and Catholics.

The powerful prince of Orange and the counts of Egmont and Hoorn placed themselves at the head of their countrymen, and a confederacy, in which the Catholics acted with the Protestants, was formed in the spring of 1566 with the avowed object of putting down the Inquisition and with the more secret design of recovering the constitutional rights of the country.[1] The duchess of Parma, who governed the provinces in the name of Philip, yielded to the storm, and declared that the Inquisition should be abolished. At this point the Catholics and Protestants separated.

Philip had determined that no clemency should be shown to men who were doubly damned as heretics and rebels. He recalled the duchess of Parma, and despatched the famous duke of Alva, who was as admirable as a military commander as he was detestable as a bigot, or as a passive instrument to despotism, with an army still more formidable from its discipline than from its numbers, to restore obedience and a uniformity of belief in the low countries.

The success of Alva alarmed the Protestants everywhere; in England and in Scotland it cast a cloud which was never to be removed over the fortunes of Mary, but it was in France that it excited the wildest panic. The Huguenots, who were always a minority, saw that they must be crushed, and maintained that Alva was specially appointed to carry into effect the secret treaty of Bayonne for the forcible restoring of all Protestants to the obedience of the church. With this conviction the Huguenots resolved to anticipate their enemies. The prince of Condé renewed an old correspondence with the prince of Orange, with the English court, and with others interested in opposing the Bayonne treaty; and he, with Coligny and other chiefs of the party, laid a plot for surprising the king—the contemptible and wretched Charles IX—and all his court at Monceaux.

King Charles was saved from the hands of his Protestant subjects by the fidelity and bravery of his Swiss mercenaries. Elizabeth had sent Condé

[1 For full details of the affairs of the Netherlands see Volume XIII.]

money and advice; and it has been asserted that she was privy to this plot, and that her ambassador, Sir Henry Norris,[1] was deeply implicated in its arrangement.

In the following spring (1568) three thousand French Protestants crossed the northern frontier to join the prince of Orange, who had taken the field against the Spaniards. But at the end of the campaign the prince of Orange was obliged to recross the Rhine and disband what remained of his army.

These Protestant troops had been in a good measure raised by English money secretly supplied by Elizabeth, who at the same time was at peace with Philip, and in public took care to proclaim her respect for the Spanish monarch and her dislike of all rebellions; nor did she relax her efforts or despair of success to the insurgents, either in the Netherlands or in France. The government of the latter country had given in the preceding year what might have been considered a provocation to war, but she and Cecil were determined to have no open war. When, at the expiration of the term fixed by the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, Sir Henry Norris demanded the restitution of Calais, the French chancellor quoted an article of the treaty by which Elizabeth was to forfeit all claim to that town if she committed hostilities upon France; and further told Norris that as she had taken possession of Havre she had brought herself within the scope of that clause.

In 1567 Elizabeth had entered anew into matrimonial negotiations. Her old suitor the archduke Charles wrote her a very flattering letter; but Elizabeth fell back upon the fears and the strong religious feelings of her Protestant subjects, protesting to the Austrian that they would never tolerate a Catholic prince.

NORFOLK'S PLAN TO WED MARY

But intrigues for an obnoxious marriage—that of the duke of Norfolk with the queen of Scots—were now in full activity. In that dishonourable age it was a common practice (as it has been in some later times) for people to enter into plots for the sole purpose of betraying them to the government and reaping a suitable reward. There were too many engaged in the present scheme to allow of any hope of secrecy. Even before Murray had returned to Scotland, or Queen Mary had been removed to Tutbury Castle, Elizabeth had alternately reproached and tempted the duke of Norfolk, who assured her that if there had been a talk of his marrying the Scottish queen the project had not originated with him and had never met his wishes—"and if her majesty would move him thereto, he would rather be committed to the Tower, for he meant never to marry with such a person where he could not be sure of his pillow."

The allusion to the fate of Darnley gratified the queen, and she accepted Norfolk's excuses. But it is said that only a day or two after his making this protestation the duke conferred in secret, in the park at Hampton Court, with the earl of Murray, and then with the bishop of Ross and Maitland of Lethington, when he agreed that if Mary could be restored to her liberty and her throne he would marry her; they, on the other hand, assuring him that such a nobleman as himself, courteous, wealthy, and a Protestant, could not fail of restoring tranquillity to Scotland and maintaining peace and a perfect understanding between the two countries.

[1] He was son to the Norris who suffered death on account of Anne Boleyn. One of Elizabeth's first cares had been to promote this family.*e*]

It should appear, however, that Norfolk did not commit himself very seriously until he was propelled by the insidious favourite Leicester, by the earls of Arundel and Pembroke, and by Sir Nicholas Throcmorton, the experienced diplomatist and plotter, who had suddenly coalesced with Leicester in the hope of throwing Cecil into the Tower, and changing that minister's system for one that would more promote his own interests.

At last the duke agreed to be the husband, and then a letter, subscribed by the earls of Leicester, Arundel, and Pembroke, and the lord Lumley, was privately addressed to Mary in her prison, urging her to consent to the marriage, but requiring her at the same time "to relinquish all such claims as had been made by her to the prejudice of the queen's majesty; and that religion might be stablished both in Scotland and England; and that the league of France might be dissolved, and a league made betwixt England and Scotland; and that the government of Scotland might be to the contentation of the queen of England." Norfolk and his friends said afterwards that they had assured themselves, from the letter being written by the earl of Leicester, there would be nothing in it "but for the queen's majesty's security." Norfolk, in his own name, wrote letters to the fair captive as a lover and liberator. These letters were conveyed to the queen by the bishop of Ross.

The consent of the French and Spanish courts to the match was asked through their ambassadors; everything seemed to favour the project and flatter the ambition of Norfolk. Many of the principal nobility of England encouraged him, and none remonstrated save the earl of Sussex, who saw clearly the real nature of the plot and the ruin it would bring upon his friend the duke.

The regent pretended to recommend his sister's liberation to a Scottish parliament which he had assembled; but at the same time he was taking all the measures in his power to keep her a closer prisoner in England than ever. Here Maitland and he quarrelled; for the astute secretary, dissatisfied with Murray's government and full of his grand state intrigue—which embraced England as well as Scotland—was now more anxious for the restoration of Mary than he had been two years before for her deprivation. But Maitland for the moment was overmatched, and fearing for his life, and cursing what he called the double dealing and perfidy of Murray, he fled from Edinburgh, to seek an asylum in the mountains of the north.

Leicester now found it convenient to fall very sick — sick, it was said, unto death! Alarmed—and, as is generally represented, still amorous—Elizabeth flew to the bedside of her unworthy favourite, who, with many sighs and tears, began to disclose every particular of the plot into which he had inveigled Norfolk. Leicester received a fond pardon, Norfolk a severe reprimand. The duke protested that he had never meant ill to her majesty, and readily promised to let the project drop. But Elizabeth could not conceal her anger against him and Leicester began to treat him rudely.

Murray now undertook the odious office of informer and forwarded all the duke of Norfolk's letters to the English queen, humbly protesting that he had not devised the project and that he would never have given his feigned assent to it had it not been to preserve his own life. On the 9th of October the duke was committed to the Tower. On the 11th of the same month the bishop of Ross, who in vain pleaded his privilege as the agent and ambassador of a crowned head—the helpless prisoner Mary—was sharply examined at Windsor, and then committed to prison. At the same time the lord Lumley and some others of less note were placed under arrest.

ELIZABETH AIDS THE NETHERLANDS

The alarm of the English Protestant court was the greater on account of the successes which had recently attended the Catholic arms on the Continent, notwithstanding the encouragement and assistance sent to the French Huguenots by Elizabeth.

At the same time Elizabeth, by a measure of very questionable morality, had given a deadly provocation to the powerful Philip. In the course of the preceding autumn (1568) a Spanish squadron of five sail, carrying stores and money for the payment of Philip's army in the Low Countries, took refuge on the English coast to escape a Protestant fleet which had been fitted out by the prince of Condé. For a while the queen hesitated; she was at peace with Spain—a Spanish ambassador was at her court, and her own ambassador, Mann, was at Madrid—but the temptation was very strong; the money was destined for the support of those who were mercilessly bent on destroying a people who professed the same religion as her own subjects; and besides, Elizabeth much wanted money, for she had spent, and was then spending, a great deal to support the Protestant religion abroad. In the end it was resolved to seize the specie, upon pretence that it in truth belonged not to the king of Spain, but to certain Italian bankers and money-lenders who had exported it upon speculation.

The duke of Alva presently retaliated by seizing the goods and imprisoning the persons of all the English merchants he could find in Flanders. But according to La Mothe-Fénélon,[1] the narrow seas were already swarming with English privateers—the Frenchman calls them pirates—and with armed vessels manned by French and Flemish Protestants. The English cruisers of course offered no molestation to the Protestant privateers of the Low Countries, but assisted them in landing troops on the French coast for the service of the Huguenots.[2] The French court and the court of Spain were almost equally incensed; but they had both so many troubles on their hands that they resolved to avoid for the present a declaration of war. At the end of January, however, the French government, after remonstrating against the supplies sent in English ships to the Huguenots, seized all the English merchandise in Rouen.

There was a loud outcry in England at this seizure, and some of the lords of the council advised an immediate declaration of war against France.[3] A double war with France and Spain was unpromising, however, and the queen declared that it was her full intention to be at peace with France.

In a very few days after Elizabeth's pacific declarations, it was found that her ambassador at Paris, Sir Henry Norris, was again intriguing with the Huguenots and promising them assistance. Upon this the French government made a fresh seizure of English merchandise at Rouen, Calais, and

[1] According to the French ambassador, La Mothe-Fénélon, *f* the money seized amounted to four hundred and fifty thousand ducats, and the five ships were Biscayans.—*Correspondance Diplomatique de Bertrand de Salignac de La Mothe-Fénélon.* Publiée pour la première fois sous la direction de Monsieur Charles Purton Cooper.

[2] A great quantity of arms and ammunition had recently been landed at La Rochelle for the French insurgents, from four English men-of-war.

[3] Alva sent over the Sieur d'Assoleville to treat about the money. The queen sent orders to arrest him at Rochester, and to detain him there two days, that he might see and hear in that principal arsenal what a vast number of workmen she had employed on her great ships of war. This old diplomatist might well complain of the little respect shown by Elizabeth to the character of ambassadors.

Dieppe. Elizabeth's privateers retaliated on the French coast; but she again negotiated, and promised to put an end to that kind of warfare upon condition that the French should recall their commissions, for they also had begun to fit out swarms of privateers.

But again within a few weeks Elizabeth gave audience to envoys from the Huguenots and to envoys from the prince of Orange, and the other leaders of the Protestants in the Low Countries, who all wanted from her loans of money, arms, and gunpowder. She held a grand review of her troops, horse and foot; and inflamed at this aspect of war, many gentlemen bought themselves swords and pikes and went over to join the Huguenots. Elizabeth denied that this last was done by her permission, but presently a fleet of ships, armed for war and escorted by the largest vessels in the queen's service, set sail for La Rochelle, which was, and long continued to be, the principal port and stronghold of the French Protestants. But this fleet was detained by contrary winds; the Huguenots were defeated in the interval, and then



Robin Hood Bay, Whitby

Elizabeth made fresh protestations, and issued a proclamation against privateers and all such as made war without her license upon the French king.

Her conduct had irritated the French court to the extreme, and as the power of the Protestants in France seemed to be broken, it was resolved, by parties as crafty as herself, to give encouragement, if not more, to the Catholics in England, and to excite an interest in all the papistical countries of the Continent in favour of the captive Mary. The duke of Alva entered into this scheme; a Florentine, named Rudolfi, well acquainted with England, acted as agent for the pope; and sanguine hopes were entertained, if not of restoring England to the bosom of the church, of distracting and weakening her by internal dissensions.

THE NORTHERN INSURRECTION (1569 A.D.)

The penal statutes against the professors of the old religion had gradually increased in severity, and as the Catholics triumphed on the Continent, their religion became more and more an object of suspicion and of persecution in England. Elizabeth cared little for the dogmas of either church. She was

altogether free from intolerance as to speculative opinions in religion, unless they went to weaken the royal prerogative. Her intolerance was all of a political kind, and she persecuted, not because men believed in the real presence, but because she believed that no Catholic could possibly be a loyal subject.[1] In the month of October, immediately after the duke of Norfolk's arrest, the counties of York, Durham, and Northumberland betrayed symptoms of open insurrection.

At the same time Queen Mary had found means to establish a correspondence with the Catholic earl of Northumberland, with the earl of Westmoreland, whose wife was the duke of Norfolk's sister, with Egremont Ratcliffe, brother of the earl of Sussex, and Leonard Dacre. Most of these noblemen were excited by many motives, the chief of which was the restoration of the Catholic faith in England. Their ostensible leader was the earl of Northumberland, a very munificent but a very weak lord. He talked imprudently and did nothing; and when at last, in the middle of November, he put himself in motion, it was only because he was frightened out of bed at the dead of night in his house at Topcliffe in Yorkshire by a panic-fear that a royal force was approaching to seize him. He then rode in haste to the castle of Branspeth, where he found Norfolk's brother-in-law, the earl of Westmoreland, surrounded with friends and retainers all ready to take arms for what they considered a holy cause.

On the morrow, the 16th of November, they openly raised their banner. If an ingenious stratagem had succeeded that banner would have floated over the liberated Mary. The countess of Northumberland had endeavoured to get access to the captive queen in the disguise of a nurse, in the intention of exchanging clothes with her that she might escape. But as this device had miscarried, the insurgents proposed marching to Tutbury castle to liberate the queen by force of arms.[d]

A manifesto was immediately put forth in the usual style, expressive of the utmost loyalty to the queen, but declaring their intentions to rescue her out of the hands of evil counsellors, to obtain the release of the duke and other peers, and to re-establish the religion of their fathers. They marched to Durham (November 16th), where they purified the churches by burning the heretical Bibles and prayer-books. At Ripon they restored the mass; on Cliffordmoor they mustered seven thousand men. Richard Norton, a venerable old gentleman who had joined them with his five sons, raised in their front a banner displaying the Saviour with the blood streaming from his five wounds. Finding that the Catholics in general were loyal to the queen, and that Sussex was collecting an efficient force at York, they fell back to Hexham (December 16th). Here the footmen dispersed; the earls, with the horse, about five hundred in number, fled into Scotland.[e]

The earl of Northumberland was sent by the regent to the castle of Lochleven, the old prison of Queen Mary. When Elizabeth pressed him to deliver up his captive that she might do justice on him, Murray offered to exchange Northumberland for Mary. Thus Northumberland remained in captivity in Lochleven. After a while the other refugees were conveyed to the Spanish Netherlands. But the vengeance of the law, unmitigated by any royal mercy, fell upon the retainers and friends of the fugitives. On the 4th and 5th of January threescore and six individuals were executed in Durham alone; and thence Sir George Bowes, with his executioner, traversed the

[1] There were, however, occasional exceptions. Matthew Hammond, a Unitarian, was burned alive in the castle ditch of Norwich! But this poor man had also spoken what were called "words of blasphemy against the queen's majesty and others of her council."—Stow.[g]

whole country between Newcastle and Netherby, a district sixty miles in length and forty miles in breadth, "and finding many to be fautors in the said rebellion, he did see them executed in every market-town and in every village, as he himself (says Stow) reported unto me." All that country was dotted in every direction with gibbets, Elizabeth imitating pretty closely the conduct of her sanguinary father on the suppression of the Pilgrimage of Grace.

THE RISING OF DACRE (1570 A.D.)

Among the Catholic gentlemen whose loyalty had been suspected by Sadler was Leonard Dacre, the representative of the ancient family of the Dacres of Gilsland. This bold man had resolved to risk his life and fortunes in the cause of the captive queen, whom he regarded with a romantic devotion. He raised a gallant troop to join Northumberland and Westmoreland; but when those two weak earls fled so hastily, he endeavoured to make Elizabeth believe that he had taken up arms not for, but against the insurgents.

But Elizabeth and her council were seldom overreached or deceived, and an order was sent down to the earl of Sussex to arrest Dacre, cautiously and secretly, as a traitor. He fled, but he resolved to try his good sword before he submitted to the hard doom of exile and beggary. Within a month from the flight of Northumberland, Dacre was at the head of three thousand English borderers; but before a body of Scots could join him he was attacked on the banks of the river Gelt, February 22nd, 1570, by a far superior force commanded by Lord Hunsdon.[1] Leonard Dacre, however, was not defeated without a desperate battle. He fled across the Borders, where he was received and honourably entertained by some noble friends of Mary, and he soon after passed over to Flanders.

THE ASSASSINATION OF MURRAY (1570 A.D.)

Before this rising of Leonard Dacre the regent Murray had gone to his account: and it has been reasonably conjectured that the hopes of the English insurgent had been excited by this event in Scotland. On his return from Elizabeth's court and the mock trial of his sister, Murray had encountered many difficulties; but he had triumphed over them all by means of English money and his own wondrous caution and dexterity. On the 22nd of January, 1570, he was shot through the body.[2] On the very night of the murder the Scotts and the Kers dashed across the English frontiers with unusual fury and apparently with the purpose of producing a breach between the two nations, or of giving fresh encouragement to the malcontents of Northum-

[1 Hunsdon was the son of Mary Boleyn.]

[2 "The fate of Murray's name is singular even among conspicuous and active men, in an age torn in pieces by contending factions. Contemporary writers agree in nothing, indeed, but his great abilities and energetic resolution. Among the people he was long remembered as 'the good regent,' partly from their Protestant zeal, but in a great measure from a strong sense of the unwonted security of life and property enjoyed in Scotland during his vigorous administration. His Catholic countrymen abroad bestowed the highest commendations on his moral character, which are not impugned by one authenticated fact. But a powerful party has for nearly three centuries defamed and maligned him, in order to extract from the perversion of history an hypothetical web to serve as a screen for his unhappy sister; in the formation of which they are compelled to assume that she did nothing which she appeared to have done; and that he did all that he appears to have cautiously abstained from doing."
—Sir James Mackintosh.*h*

[1570 A.D.]

berland and Westmoreland. It is said that when intelligence of this untimely death of her half-brother was conveyed to the captive queen she wept bitterly, forgetting for the moment all the injuries which he had done her.

On Murray's death, the duke of Chatellerault and the earls of Argyll and Huntly assumed the government as the lieutenants of Queen Mary. But the opposite faction, or the king's men as they were called, from their pretended adherence to the infant James, under the guidance of the earl of Morton, flew to arms, denied the authority of Mary, and invited Elizabeth to send a strong English army to their support.

This was precisely what Elizabeth intended to do for her own interests. In the month of April, under the pretence of chastising those who had made the raid in her dominions on the night of Murray's murder, she sent two armies into Scotland. The lord Scrope entered on the west, the earl of Sussex with Lord Hunsdon on the east. According to no less an authority than Secretary Cecil's diary, Sussex and Hunsdon, entering into Teviotdale, gave three hundred villages to the flames and overthrew fifty castles—mostly, no doubt, mere Border peels. Nor was the raid of the lord Scrope in the west less destructive.

After a week's campaign of this sort the two armies returned from Scotland. Elizabeth having lately taken into favour the earl of Lennox, the father of Darnley and the grandfather of the young king, now sent him down from England to be ruler over Scotland. But Lennox presently found that he could do nothing without an English army at his back, and on the 26th of April Sussex and Hunsdon entered Scotland anew and laid siege to Hume castle and Fast castle, both belonging to the earl of Hume, who was doubly obnoxious for his friendship to Mary and for his having given an asylum to Elizabeth's rebels. Both castles were taken, but none of the English refugees of any note were found in them.

On the 11th of May Sir William Drury, the marshal of Berwick, penetrated into Scotland with another force consisting of twelve hundred foot and four hundred horse. Having received hostages from the king's men, Drury marched to co-operate with the earl of Lennox, who was engaged in laying waste the vale of the Clyde and destroying the castles of the duke of Chatellerault and the houses of all that bore the name of Hamilton. Their vengeance was so terrible that that great family, with nearly the entire clan, was brought to the verge of ruin.[d]

THE EXCOMMUNICATION OF ELIZABETH AND THE PARLIAMENT OF 1571

When Pius IV had ascended the papal throne he had sought by letters and messengers to recall Elizabeth to the communion of the Roman church, and afterwards he invited her, like other princes, to send ambassadors to the council at Trent, May 5th, 1550. The attempt was fruitless; but though her obstinacy might provoke, his prudence taught him to suppress, his resentment. To the more fervid zeal of his successor, Pius V, such caution appeared a dereliction of duty. Elizabeth had by her conduct proclaimed herself the determined adversary of the Catholic cause in every part of Europe; she had supported rebels against the Catholic sovereigns in the neighbouring kingdoms; and had thrown into prison the fugitive queen of Scots, the last hope of the British Catholics.

A bull was prepared in which the pope was made to pronounce her guilty of heresy, to deprive her of her "pretended" right to the crown of England,

and to absolve her English subjects from their allegiance. Still, forcible objections were urged against the proceeding, and Pius himself hesitated to confirm it with his signature. At length the intelligence arrived of the failure of the insurrection; it was followed by an account of the severe punishment inflicted on the northern Catholics, of whom no fewer than eight hundred were said to have perished by the hands of the executioners; and the pontiff, on the 25th of February, 1570, signed the bull and ordered its publication. Several copies were sent to the duke of Alva with a request that he would make them known in the seaports of the Netherlands; and by the duke some of these were forwarded to the Spanish ambassador in England.[1]

Early in the morning of the 15th of May one was seen affixed to the gates of the bishop of London's residence in the capital. The council was surprised and irritated; a rigorous search was made through the inns of law; and another copy of the bull was found in the chamber of a student of Lincoln's Inn, who acknowledged, on the rack, that he had received it from a person of the name of Felton. Felton boldly confessed that he had set up the bull; refused, even under torture, to disclose the names of his accomplices and abettors; and suffered the death of a traitor, August 8th, glorying in the deed, and proclaiming himself a martyr to the papal supremacy. But though he gave the queen on the scaffold no other title than that of the pretender, he asked her pardon if he had injured her; and in token that he bore her no malice sent to her as a present, by the earl of Sussex, a diamond ring, which he drew from his finger, of the value of four hundred pounds.

If the pontiff promised himself any particular benefit from this measure the result must have disappointed his expectations. The time was gone by when the thunders of the Vatican could shake the thrones of princes. By foreign powers the bull was suffered to sleep in silence; among the English Catholics it served only to breed doubts, dissension, and dismay. All agreed that it was in their regard an imprudent and cruel expedient which rendered them liable to the suspicion of disloyalty, and afforded their enemies a pretence to brand them with the name of traitors. To Elizabeth, however, though she affected to ridicule the sentence, it proved a source of considerable uneasiness and alarm. She persuaded herself that it was connected with some plan of foreign invasion and domestic treason.[2] She complained of it by her ambassadors as an insult to the majesty of sovereigns, and she requested the emperor Maximilian to procure its revocation.

To the solicitations of that prince Pius answered by asking whether Elizabeth deemed the sentence valid or invalid. If valid, why did she not seek a reconciliation with the holy see? If invalid, why did she wish it to be revoked? As for the threat of personal revenge which she held out, he despised it. He had done his duty, and was ready to shed his blood in the cause.[i]

On the 2nd of April, 1571, a Parliament met at Westminster, wherein was granted a subsidy of five shillings in the pound by the clergy, besides two-fifteenths and a subsidy of 2s. 8d. in the pound on the laity, "towards re-

[1] It has been supposed that this bull was solicited by Philip; but in a letter to his ambassador in England (June 30th) he says that he never heard of its existence before it had been announced to him by that minister, and attributes it to the zeal rather than the prudence of the pontiff.—*Memorias*, 351

[2] A conspiracy was detected in Norfolk, about the same time when Felton set up the bull, but there does not appear any connection between the two. Three gentlemen were accused of a design to invite Leicester, Cecil, and Bacon to dinner, to seize them as hostages for the duke of Norfolk, who was still in the Tower, and to expel the foreign Protestants, who had lately been settled in the county. They had a proclamation ready, inveighing against the wantonness of the court and the influence of new men. All three were hanged, drawn, and quartered.

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imbursing her majesty for her great charges, in repressing the late rebellion in the north, and pursuing the rebels and their faitours into Scotland." But there was other business of a more remarkable nature than this liberal voting of supplies. A bill was brought in with the object of crushing the pretensions and the partisans of the Scottish queen, and isolating the English Catholics more than ever from the pope and their co-religionists on the Continent.

It was declared to be high treason to claim a right to the succession of the crown during the queen's life, or to say that the crown belonged to any other person than the queen, or to publish that she was an heretic, a schismatic, a tyrant, an infidel, or usurper, or to deny that the descent of the crown was determinable by the statutes made in parliament. It was further enacted that any person that should, by writing or printing, mention any heir of the queen, except the same were "the natural issue of her body,"[1] should, for the first offence, suffer a year's imprisonment; and for the second, incur the penalty of præmunire. Another bill enacted the pains of high treason against all such as should sue for, obtain, or put in use any bull or other instrument from the bishop of Rome.

By another bill, all persons above a certain age were bound not only to attend the Protestant church regularly, but also to receive the sacrament in the form by law established. Besides the unfortunate insurgents of the north, many individuals of rank, among whom was Lord Morley, had retired to the Continent in order to avoid persecution, or a compliance with forms of worship which they believed to be erroneous and sinful; another bill was therefore brought in, commanding every person who had left, or who might hereafter leave the realm, whether with or without the queen's license, to return in six months after warning by proclamation, under the pain of forfeiting his goods and chattels and the profits of his lands.

By these enactments the Catholics could neither remain at home without offence to their consciences, nor go abroad without sacrificing their fortunes. There was talk of a remonstrance, but the house of commons[2] and the people were most zealously Protestant; and the Catholic lords in the upper house, though forming a considerable party, had not courage to do much. Elizabeth, however, voluntarily gave up her bill for the forced taking of the sacrament—a thing horrible in Catholic eyes.

THE PURITANS

But it was not every class of Protestants that was to rejoice and be glad. There was one class of them, great and constantly increasing, dangerous from their enthusiasm, odious from their republican and democratic notions, that were feared equally with the Catholics and hated much more by the queen. These were the Puritans—men who had imbibed the strict notions of

[1] Camden *i* says that an incredible number of indecent jokes and reports rose out of this clause. Some said that the queen was actually with child, and the report spread the wider soon after when she became liable to swoonings and fainting fits. There is a passage in a letter from the favourite Leicester to Walsingham (then at Paris), written in the month of November of the following year, which, if nothing more, is very oddly expressed. "We have no news here," says Leicester, "only her majesty is in good health; and though you may hear of bruits of the contrary, I assure you it is not as hath been reported. Somewhat her majesty hath been troubled with a spice or show of the mother, but, indeed, not so—the fits that she hath had have not been above a quarter of an hour, but yet this little in her hath bred strange bruits here at home."—DIGGES.*k*

[2] By the statute 5 Eliz. c. 1, § 16, Roman Catholics had been excluded from the house of commons.

Calvin—a sect which Elizabeth, however much she hated it herself, had forced upon Queen Mary in Scotland. This sect had always taught that the church of Christ ought to be separate from and independent of the state—a doctrine that went to overthrow the queen's supremacy.

But there was another heinous offence which Elizabeth could never forgive: they fraternised with the Puritans of Scotland; they regarded John Knox as an inspired apostle—Knox, who had written against "the monstrous regiment of women."

The first striking instance of actual punishment inflicted upon any of them was in June, 1567, when a company of more than a hundred were seized during their religious exercises, and fourteen or fifteen of them were sent to prison. They behaved with much rudeness and self-sufficiency on their examination; but these defects became worse and worse under the goads of persecution.

Yet at this very moment, unknown to Elizabeth, three or four of her bishops were favourable to the non-conforming ministers, in whose scruples touching many ceremonies and practices in the Church they partook; and in her very council the earls of Bedford, Huntingdon, and Warwick, the lord-keeper Bacon, Walsingham, Sadler, and Knollys, inclined from conviction to the Puritans, while Leicester, who saw that their numbers were rapidly increasing—that in the great industrious towns, the strength of the people, or *tiers état*, they were becoming strongest—intrigued with them underhand, in the view of furthering his own ambitious projects.

In the preceding year Thomas Cartwright, the lady Margaret professor of divinity at Cambridge, and a man of virtue, learning, and a ready eloquence, had electrified numerous audiences by inculcating the unlawfulness of any form of church government except the Presbyterian, which he maintained to have been that instituted by the first apostles; and the same powerful Puritan soon began to make a wider and more lasting impression by his polemical writings. In the house of commons, which was so very anti-Catholic, there was a large and powerful section who agreed with Cartwright, and who were bold enough to show their discontent at the queen's church.

In this present parliament they introduced seven bills for furthering the work of reformation and for extirpating what they considered as crying abuses. Elizabeth was furious; and in her own way she commanded Strickland, the mover of the bills, to absent himself from the house and await the orders of her privy council. But Strickland's friends, who were beginning to feel their strength, moved that he should be called to the bar of the house and there made to state the reason of his absence. And as this reason was no secret to them, they proceeded to declare that the privileges of parliament had been violated in his person; that if such a measure was submitted to it would form a dangerous precedent; that the queen, of herself, could neither make nor break the laws. This house, said they, which has the faculty of determining the right to the crown itself, is certainly competent to treat of religious ceremonies and church discipline. The ministers were astounded, and after a consultation apart the speaker proposed that the debate should be suspended. The house rose, but on the very next morning Strickland reappeared in his place and was received with cheers! Elizabeth's caution had prevailed over her anger; but she felt as if her royal prerogative had been touched, and her antipathy to the Puritan party increased.

In a political sense this was a great revival, and the base servility of parliament would hardly have been cured but for the religious enthusiasm. The case of Strickland was the first of many victories obtained over the despotic principle—the first great achievement of a class of men who, in their

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evil and in their good, worked out the cause of constitutional liberty to a degree which very few of them, even at a later period, foresaw.

At the end of the session not all Elizabeth's prudence could restrain her wrath. At her command the lord-keeper Bacon informed the commons that their conduct had been strange, unbecoming, and undutiful; that as they had forgotten themselves they should be otherwise remembered; and that the queen's highness did utterly disallow and condemn their folly in meddling with things not appertaining to them nor within the capacity of their understanding. But this only confirmed the Puritans' suspicion that Elizabeth, in conjunction with some of her bishops, really thought of creating herself into a sort of Protestant pope, that was to decide as by a divine inspiration and legation in all matters relating to the next world.

Notwithstanding the omissions made by parliament, the bishops continued to exact a subscription to the whole thirty-nine articles, and to deprive such ministers as refused to subscribe them. Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, also persevered in his persecutions, which only wanted an occasional burning to render them a tolerable imitation of the doings in the days of Queen Mary. The Puritan ministers were hunted out of their churches and seized in their conventicles; their books were suppressed by that arbitrary will of the queen which would allow of nothing being published that was offensive to her; they were treated harshly in all civil matters; they were constantly called before the detestable Star Chamber; they were treated with contumely and ridicule, and the members of their congregations were dragged before the high commission for listening to their sermons and forms of prayer; and whenever anyone refused to conform to the doctrines of the establishment, he was committed to prison.

There were not wanting instances of persons being condemned to imprisonment for life, and numerous were the cases in which whole families of the industrious classes were reduced to beggary by these persecutions. This court of high commission has been compared to the Inquisition; and in fact there was a great family likeness between them. It consisted of bishops and delegates appointed by the queen—Parker, the primate, being chief commissioner. They were authorised to inquire into all heretical opinions, to enforce attendance in the established church, and to prevent the frequentation of conventicles; to suppress unorthodox and seditious books, together with all libels against the queen and her government; to take cognisance of all adulteries, fornications, and other offences liable to the ecclesiastical law, and to punish the offenders by spiritual censures, fine, and imprisonment. Parker always maintained that bold measures would terrify the Non-conformists into his orthodoxy; "for," said he in a letter to Cecil, "I know them to be cowards." He never made a greater mistake!

A very slight knowledge of history might have taught him that people excited by religious enthusiasm are always brave. What was to come he might hardly have foreseen, even if he had made a juster estimate of their spirit; for the struggle, now begun, never ceased till the Puritans laid both mitre and crown in the dust at their feet.

THE MARRIAGE PLANS OF ANJOU

A report had got abroad that the queen of Scots was sought in marriage for the duke of Anjou, one of the brothers of the French king, and though Elizabeth held Mary in a close prison, she was alarmed at this news. In

order to prevent any such scheme, she entered into negotiations with Charles IX, or rather with his mother Catherine de' Medici, once more pretending to offer herself as a bride. But there were other causes which rendered the friendship of the French court very desirable. The Huguenots seemed crushed and powerless after their defeat at Moncontour; there appeared no hope of their renewing the civil war in the heart of the kingdom; and if France, at peace within herself, should throw her sword on the side of Spain and zealously take up the Catholic cause the result might be dangerous, particularly at this moment when there was great discontent in England, and when the Protestants at home seemed almost on the point of drawing the sword against one another.

After many months had been consumed it was said that the duke of Anjou declined the match because Elizabeth insisted, as a *sine quâ non*, that he should change his religion.

THE RUDOLFI PLOT AND NORFOLK'S EXECUTION

While these negotiations had been in progress the case of Mary had been still further complicated, the hatred of Elizabeth increased, and the whole Protestant party in England thrown into agonies of alarm, by revelations of plots and conspiracies. In the month of April one Charles Bailly, a servant of the queen of Scots, was seized at Dover as he was returning from the duke of Alva with a packet of letters. The bishop of Ross ingeniously contrived to exchange these letters for others of an insignificant kind, which were laid before the council; but Elizabeth and her ministers sent Bailly to the Tower and to the rack.

Under torture Bailly confessed that he had received the packet from Rudolfi, formerly an Italian banker in London, and that it contained assurances that the duke of Alva entered into the captive queen's cause, and approved of her plan for a foreign invasion of England; that, if authorized by the king of Spain, his master, he should be ready to co-operate with forty and thirty. Bailly said he did not know the parties designated by the ciphers forty and thirty, but that there was a letter in the packet for the bishop of Ross, desiring him to deliver the other letters to the proper parties.

Suspicion immediately fell upon the duke of Norfolk. That nobleman had lain in the Tower from the 9th of October, 1569, till the 4th of August, 1570 (the day on which Felton was arraigned for the affair of the bull of excommunication), when he was removed in custody to one of his own houses in consequence of the plague having broken out in the Tower. Some time before this delivery he made the most humble submission to the queen.

Cecil had long since assured the queen that it would be very difficult to make high treason of anything Norfolk had done as yet. He requested that he might be permitted to attend in his place in parliament; but this was refused, and illegally, for he had been convicted of no treason, no crime by law. If Norfolk had been ever so well inclined to keep his engagement, this was certainly the way to make him break it in sheer desperation. Upon the arrest of Bailly he was more closely looked to; but some months elapsed before the matter was brought to his own door.

On the 7th of September he was committed to his old apartment in the Tower. In the mean while Bannister, and Barker, another secretary of the duke's, had been arrested; and as the bishop of Ross had long been in custody with the bishop of London, the bishop of Ely, and others, it was easy to lay

hold of him. Hickford, Norfolk's secretary, confessed many things against his master the duke, without much pressing. As the rest of Norfolk's servants were much attached to their master and would confess nothing till they were tortured, or threatened with torture, it has been supposed by many that this Hickford had been for some time in the pay of the court.

The duke had continued to deny everything, as at first; but when the commissioners showed him the confession of Barker and his other servants, the letters of the queen of Scots, of which they had obtained possession through Hickford and Barker, and the deposition of the bishop of Ross, he exclaimed that he was betrayed and undone by his confidence in others, and began to confess to sundry minor charges; for he never allowed that he had contemplated treason against his sovereign.

But the rumours which were sent abroad beyond the dungeon-cells and the walls of the Tower, and industriously spread among the people, were of a terrific nature. The duke of Alva was coming with an army of bloody papists to burn down London, and exterminate the queen, the Protestant religion, and all good Protestants; and the pope was to send the treasures of Rome to forward these deeds, and was to bless them when done. Every wind might bring legions of enemies to the British coast; every town in England, every house, might conceal some desperate traitor and crüel papist, bound by secret oaths to join the invaders, and direct their slaughter and their burning. A wonderful alarm was excited by one Herle, who disclosed what was called a plot for murdering some of her majesty's privy council. Kenelm Barney and Edmund Mather, men as obscure as himself, were put upon their mettle in the Tower.

Little confidence can be placed in the revelations of such men, whose imaginations were stretched by the rack and the dread of death. But on the trial Mather and Barney were convicted on the strength of their joint confessions and on the evidence of Herle. They were drawn from the Tower to Tyburn, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered, for treason. Herle received a full pardon.

Much time had been spent in preparing for the public trial of the duke of Norfolk; but at length, on the 14th of January, 1572, nearly a month before the executions last alluded to, the queen named the earl of Shrewsbury, the keeper of Queen Mary, to be lord high-steward; and Shrewsbury summoned twenty-six peers, selected by Elizabeth and her ministers, to attend in Westminster Hall on the 16th day of the same month. Among these were included, with other members of Elizabeth's privy council, Burghley,[1] who had been active in arranging the prosecution, and the earl of Leicester, who had originally excited Norfolk to attempt a marriage with the Scottish queen, who had signed the letter to Mary, and who was now athirst for the blood of the unfortunate prisoner, his miserable dupe.

On the day appointed, January 16th, 1572, the peers met in Westminster Hall at an early hour in the morning, and the duke was brought to the bar by the lieutenant of the Tower and Sir Peter Carew. When the trial had lasted twelve hours, the peers unanimously returned a verdict of guilty.[2]

[1] Cecil was created Baron of Burghley [or Burleigh] in 1571. In 1572 he received the order of the Garter, and in the same year succeeded the Marquis of Winchester as lord high-treasurer, which office he held till his death.

[2] The duke of Norfolk himself, greater and richer than any English subject, had gone such lengths in this conspiracy that his life became the just forfeit of his guilt and folly. It is almost impossible to pity this unhappy man, who, lured by the most criminal ambition, after proclaiming the queen of Scots a notorious adulteress and murderer, would have compassed a union with her at the hazard of his sovereign's crown, of the tranquillity and even independence

We are not informed as to the countenance and behaviour of Leicester, who sat through the trial and voted the death of his confiding victim.

But, though thus condemned, Elizabeth hesitated to inflict capital punishment on so popular a nobleman, who was her own kinsman, and who had been for many years her tried friend. She was evidently most anxious to lighten the odium of the execution, or to shift it from herself. The preachers, who had of late received regular political instructions from her council, took up the matter, and unmindful of the evangelical forbearance, clamoured for vengeance on the duke.



TURRET OF THE CHAPEL OF ST. JOSEPH'S
(Oldest part of Glastonbury Abbey)

In the mean while parliament had assembled. On the 16th of May the commons communicated with the lords and then drew up a petition to the throne, representing that there could be no safety till the duke was dead. Every Protestant seemed to echo their call for blood, and at last Elizabeth put her hand to a death warrant, which was not revoked. Out of regard to his high rank, the brutal punishment awarded by the sentence was commuted into beheading on the 2nd of June, 1572. The duke made a dying speech, which was nearly always expected, if not forcibly exacted, on such occasions. He proceeded to confess neither more nor less than he had done on his trial.

"It is incredible," says Camden, a spectator of the sad scene, "how dearly he was loved by the people, whose goodwill he had gained by a princely munificence and extraordinary affability. They called likewise to mind the untimely end of his father,[1] a man of extraordinary learning and famous in war, who was beheaded in the same place five-and-twenty years before."

SCOTCH AFFAIRS

But the Protestants, whose wild alarms had not yet subsided, were eager for a still greater sacrifice, and they turned a ready ear to an anonymous casuist, who proved, in his own way, that it stood not only with justice, but with the honour and safety of Elizabeth, to send the unfortunate queen of Scots to the scaffold; and to another writer, who supported his arguments with numberless texts of Scripture, all made to prove that Mary had been

of his country, and of the reformed religion. There is abundant proof of his intrigues with the duke of Alva, who had engaged to invade the kingdom. His trial was not indeed conducted in a manner that we can approve (such was the nature of state proceedings in that age); nor can it, we think, be denied that it formed a precedent of constructive treason not easily reconcilable with the statute; but much evidence is extant that his prosecutors did not adduce, and no one fell by a sentence more amply merited, or the execution of which was more indispensable.—HALLAM.

[1] The accomplished earl of Surrey, the last noble victim of Elizabeth's father.

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delivered into the hands of Elizabeth by a special providence, and deserved to die the death, because she was guilty of adultery, murder, conspiracy, treason, and blasphemy, and because she was an idolater, and led others to idolatry.

Both houses would have proceeded against the captive by bill of attainder, but Elizabeth interfered and they were obliged to rest satisfied with passing a law to make her unable and unworthy to succeed to the crown of England.[1] The captive queen had been restored to her old prison in Tutbury castle immediately after the defeat of the earl of Northumberland, and after some hurried removes to Chatsworth and other places, she was now at Sheffield castle, in the tender keeping of Sir Ralph Sadler and my lady Shrewsbury, who both wished her in her grave, and seized the opportunity afforded by the trial and condemnation of Norfolk to exult over her sufferings and insult her to her face.

But Mary had soon to weep for more blood. The earl of Northumberland, after lying more than two years a prisoner in Lochleven castle, was basely sold to Elizabeth by the execrable Morton, who during his own exile in England had tasted largely of the northern earl's hospitality and generosity. This transaction was the finishing touch to the character of the murderer of Rizzio. Northumberland was landed at Berwick, the first English port; from Berwick he was conducted to York, and there beheaded without a trial. The earl, in the parlance of those times, continued obstinate in religion, and declared he would die a Catholic of the pope's church.

In Scotland many had forfeited their lives for their passionate attachment to Mary. Encouraged and assisted by Elizabeth, the father of Darnley, the imbecile Lennox, had established himself in the regency. One of the Hamiltons shot him and another regent was now wanting. The lords nominated the earl of Mar—a man far too honourable for those men and those times. Morton had more power than the new regent, and was the devoted friend and servant of Elizabeth, whom he obeyed in all particulars. But in spite of Morton and Elizabeth, the banner of Mary still floated over the walls of Edinburgh castle; and in the mountains of the north the Gordons and other Highlanders kept her cause lingering on.

TREATY WITH FRANCE AND ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S DAY

Under the able management of Walsingham and Sir Thomas Smith, the treaty with France had been concluded in the month of April, 1572, about six weeks before the duke of Norfolk's execution. The French king bound himself to give Elizabeth aid in all cases of invasion whatsoever; but Elizabeth did not show any readiness in proceeding with the matrimonial treaty, which was interrupted and renewed several times and altogether ingeniously prolonged for the space of ten years.[d]

The English cabinet, amid the alarms with which it was continually perplexed, rested with much confidence on the treaty lately concluded with France. To cultivate the friendship between the two crowns, Elizabeth had been advised to listen to a new proposal of marriage, not with her first suitor, the duke of Anjou, but with his younger brother, the duke of Alençon. The

[1] Burghley was disappointed and angry that Elizabeth did not now send Mary to the block. In a letter dated 21st May, 1572, addressed to Walsingham, who was at Paris, he says that there was "soundness" in the commons, and "no lack" in the higher house, but the queen had spoiled all.—DUDLEY DIGGES.[k]

former was the leader of the Catholic party; the latter was thought to incline to the tenets of Protestantism. There were, indeed, two almost insuperable objections: the disparity of age, for the duke was twenty-one years younger than the queen, and the want of attraction in a face which had suffered severely from the small-pox, and was disfigured by an extraordinary enlargement of the nose. Still Elizabeth, with her usual irresolution, entertained the project; and her ministers, supported by the French Protestants, urged its acceptance.

But their hopes were unexpectedly checked by an event which struck with astonishment all the nations of Europe, and which cannot be contemplated without horror at the present day. The reader has already seen that the ambition of the French princes had marshalled in hostile array the professors of the old and new doctrines against each other. In the contests which followed, the influence of religious animosity was added to those passions which ordinarily embitter domestic warfare. The most solemn compacts were often broken; outrages the most barbarous were reciprocally perpetrated without remorse; murder was retaliated with murder, massacre with massacre.

The young king of Navarre was the nominal, the admiral Coligny the real, leader of the Huguenots. He had come to Paris to assist at the marriage of the king of Navarre, and was wounded by an assassin. The public voice attributed the attempt to the duke of Guise, in revenge of the murder of his father at the siege of Orleans; it had proceeded in reality (and was so suspected by Coligny himself) from Catherine, the queen-mother. The wounds were not dangerous; but the Huguenot chieftains crowded to his hotel; their threats of vengeance terrified the queen; and in a secret council the king was persuaded to anticipate the bloody and traitorous designs attributed to the friends of the admiral. The next morning, by the royal order, the hotel was forced; Coligny and his principal counsellors perished; the populace joined in the work of blood; and every Huguenot, or suspected Huguenot, who fell in their way was murdered. The massacre of Paris was imitated in several towns, principally those in which the passions of the inhabitants were inflamed by the recollection of the barbarities exercised amongst them by the Huguenots during the late wars.

This bloody tragedy had been planned and executed in Paris with so much expedition that its authors had not determined on what ground to justify or palliate their conduct. In a long audience, La Mothe-Fénélon assured Elizabeth that Charles had conceived no idea of such an event before the preceding evening, when he learned, with alarm and astonishment, that the confidential advisers of the admiral had formed a plan to revenge the attempt made on his life, by surprising the Louvre, making prisoners of the king and the royal family, and putting to death the duke of Guise and the leaders of the Catholics; that, having but the interval of a few hours to deliberate, he had hastily given permission to the duke of Guise and his friends to execute justice on his and their enemies; and that if, from the excited passions of the populace, some innocent persons had perished with the guilty, it had been done contrary to his intention, and had given him the most heartfelt sorrow.

The insinuating eloquence of Fénélon made an impression on the mind of Elizabeth; she ordered her ambassador to thank Charles for the communication, trusted that he would be able to satisfy the world of the uprightness of his intention, and recommended to his protection the persons and worship of the French Protestants. To the last point Catherine shrewdly replied

[1572 A.D.]

that her son could not follow a better example than that of his good sister the queen of England; that, like her, he would force no man's conscience, but, like her, he would prohibit in his dominions the exercise of every other worship besides that which he practised himself.

The news of this sanguinary transaction, exaggerated as it was by the imagination of the narrators and the arts of politicians, excited throughout England one general feeling of horror. It served to confirm in the minds of the Protestants the reports so industriously spread, of a Catholic conspiracy for their destruction; and it gave additional weight to the arguments of Burghley and the other enemies of the queen of Scots. They admonished Elizabeth to provide for her own security; the French Protestants had been massacred; her deposition or murder would follow. If she tendered her own life, the weal of the realm, or the interest of religion, let her disappoint the malice of her enemies by putting to death her rival, and their ally, Mary Stuart.[1]

NEGOTIATIONS WITH SCOTLAND

The queen did not reject the advice; but that she might escape the infamy of dipping her hands in the blood of her nearest relative and presumptive heir, Killigrew was despatched to Edinburgh, September 7th, ostensibly to compose the difference between the regent Morton on the one part and the earl of Huntly on the other, respecting the terms of an armistice which had been lately concluded between them.

Three days later other instructions informed him that he was employed "on a matter of farr greter moment, wherein all secrecy and circumspection was to be used." That matter was to bring about the death of the queen of Scots, but from the hands of her own subjects. He was, however, warned not to commit his sovereign, as if the proposal came from her.

He was then authorised to negotiate a treaty on the following basis: that Elizabeth should deliver Mary to the king's lords, "to receave that she had deserved ther by ordre of justice"; and that they should deliver their children, or nearest kinsmen, to Elizabeth, as securities, "that no furder perill should ensue by hir escapying, or setting hyr up agen; for otherwise to have hir and to keep hir was over all other things the most dangerous."

Such was the delicate and important trust confided to the fidelity and dexterity of Killigrew. In Morton he found a willing coadjutor; of Mar, the regent, it has been said that he was too honest a man to pander to the jealousies or resentments of the English queen, and resolutely turned a deaf ear to the hints and suggestion of the envoy. Recent discoveries have, however, proved that if at the first he affected to look upon the project as attended with difficulty and peril, he afterwards entered into it most cordially, and sought to drive a profitable bargain with Elizabeth.

By the abbot of Dunfermline he required that she should take the young James under her protection, and conclude a defensive league with Scotland; that an English army of two or three thousand men should conduct the captive queen across the borders, and after her death should join with the Scots in the siege of the castle of Edinburgh; and that the arrears of pay due to the Scottish forces should be discharged by the queen of England. On these terms he was willing to engage that Mary Stuart should not live

[1] The death of Mary was advised on the 5th of September, by Sandys, bishop of London. "Furthwith to cutte off the Scottish quene's heade: *ipsa est nostri fundi calamitas.*"

four hours after she should arrive in Scotland. But the regent himself hardly lived four days after he had made these proposals.[1] He died, October 8th, after a short illness at Stirling, and, as his friends gave out, of poison.

At the election of the next regent, Killigrew employed the English interest in favour of Morton, the most determined enemy of Mary, and the tried friend of the English ministers, November 9th, 1572. From the moment he was chosen he made it his chief object to bring about a pacification between the rival parties in Scotland. Killigrew did not forget the great matter for which he had been sent into Scotland; but now to his hints Morton could reply that to execute Mary on account of the murder would be to unsettle all that he had so happily accomplished.

The lords in the castle of Edinburgh refused to subscribe the articles which had been accepted by their friends; the regent applied for aid to Elizabeth; and she, after much angry expostulation and many delays, gave her consent. In spring, Drury, marshal of Berwick, arrived in the port of Leith with an English army and a battering train, to enforce submission. It was in vain that the besieged by a messenger, and Mary by her ambassador, solicited aid in men and money from the French king. Charles replied that circumstances compelled him to refuse the request. Should he grant it, Elizabeth would immediately send a fleet to the relief of La Rochelle.

After a siege of thirty-four days the castle was surrendered, June 9th, not to Morton but to Drury and the queen of England, on condition that the fate of the prisoners should be at her disposal. In a few days Maitland died of poison, whether it was administered to him by order of Morton, as the queen of Scots asserts, or had been taken by himself to elude the malice of his enemies. His gallant associate Kirkcaldy suffered soon afterwards, August 3rd, the punishment of a traitor. The latter was esteemed the best soldier, the former the most able statesman, in Scotland; but both, according to the fashion of the age, had repeatedly veered from one party to the other without regard to honesty or loyalty; and Maitland had been justly attainted by parliament as an accomplice in the murder of Darnley.[i]

The apprehended storm did not burst upon England. The Huguenots quickly recovered from the stupor into which the St. Bartholomew massacre had thrown them, and resumed their arms; Elizabeth connived at money and men being sent to them out of England. In a similar underhand manner she aided the prince of Orange and the Protestants of the Netherlands. Charles IX died May 30th, 1574; the duke of Anjou, who had been elected king of Poland, succeeded him under the name of Henry III; the king of Navarre and prince of Condé made their escape, resumed the Protestant religion and became the heads of the Huguenots; they were joined by the duke of Alençon, now Anjou, and the king gave them most favourable terms (1576); the Catholics in return formed the league headed by the Guises in concert with the king of Spain.

During all this time the queen of Scots, hopeless of aid from her own country (where the regent Morton merely ruled under Elizabeth) or from the Catholic princes, seems to have abstained from her machinations, and the Catholics in general, connived at in their private worship, remained at rest.

[1] These particulars were discovered by Tytler[l] in the official correspondence, partly in the State Paper Office and partly in the British Museum. It appears that the queen's consent to this project was extorted from her by the representations of Burghley and Leicester. She was plainly ashamed of it. She told them and Killigrew that as they were the only persons privy to it, if it ever became known they should answer for having betrayed the secret; and Burghley, the moment he received intelligence of the regent's death, wrote to Leicester:

THE ANJOU MARRIAGE PLAN

The treaty for a marriage with the duke of Anjou still went on. In 1578 this prince sent over one Simier, a man of wit and capacity, as his agent; and Simier made himself so agreeable to Elizabeth that Leicester began to fear that she would overcome her aversion to marriage and he himself thus lose his influence with her. He therefore, to injure Simier in her opinion, gave out that he had bewitched her by magic arts. Simier in revenge informed the queen of a matter which Leicester had studiously concealed from her, namely, that he had been privately married to the widow of Lord Essex.

Elizabeth, who had such a strange aversion to marriage in others as well as in herself, was so enraged that, but for the intercession of Lord Sussex, his personal enemy, she would have sent him to the Tower. Leicester was then accused of having employed one Tudor of the queen's guard to assassinate Simier. It happened, too, that as the queen was rowing one day in her barge on the Thames in company with Simier and some others, a shot was fired by a young man in a boat, which wounded one of her bargemen. A design to murder herself or Simier was at once supposed; but the young man having proved that the piece went off by accident he was pardoned at the gallows. Elizabeth said on this, as on several other occasions, that she would believe nothing of her people which parents would not believe of their own children.

Anjou himself came over soon after and had a private interview with Elizabeth at Greenwich; and it is rather curious that though she was such an admirer of personal beauty, and the duke's face had been sadly disfigured by the small-pox, she was so far pleased with him that she seems to have had serious thoughts of marrying him.[1] After a month or two she directed Burghley, Sussex, Leicester, Hatton, and Walsingham to confer with Simier on the subject.

The acquisition of the crown and dominions of Portugal by Philip of Spain in 1580 made the court of France most anxious for a close connection with that of England. A splendid embassy was sent thither (1581) to treat of the marriage. Elizabeth's heart was certainly in favour of the duke; marriage articles were actually agreed on and the union was to take place in six weeks. A clause, however, was added which would enable her to recede if she pleased.

The truth is, there was a violent struggle in the queen's breast between prudence and inclination. Anjou had certainly made an impression on her heart, and her pride was gratified at the prospect of an alliance with the royal house of France. On the other hand, her good sense suggested to her the folly of a woman in her forty-ninth year marrying a young man, and her subjects in general and several of her ministers were averse to a connection with the blood-stained house of Valois; and now indeed, as there was so little prospect of her bearing children, they were little anxious for her marriage at all.

"I now see the queen's majesty has no surety but as she hath been counselled" (the private execution of Mary Stuart). "If her majesty will continue her delays, she and we shall vainly call upon God when calamity shall fall upon us." He then complains again of her delays.

[1 Her conduct gave rise to the most scandalous tales. The French author of the memoir tells us that they spent their time together, and that she proved her affection to him by *"baisers, privautéz, caresses, et mignardises ordinaires entre omans."*—NEVERS.*m* The countess of Shrewsbury speaks still more plainly: *"Qu'il vous avoit esté trouvée une nuit à la porte de vostre chambre, ou vous l'aviez rencontré auvec vostre seulle chemise et manteau de nuit; et que par après vous l'aviez laissé entrer, et qu'il demeura auvecques vous pres de troys heures."* See MURDIN.*n*]

An honest but hot-headed Puritan of Lincoln's Inn, named Stubbs, wrote a book entitled *The Discovery of a Gaping Gulf wherein England is like to be Swallowed by Another French Marriage.* The queen caused him and the printer, and one Page who circulated it, to be prosecuted, under an Act passed in her sister's reign, and they were sentenced to lose their right hands. The sentence was executed on Stubbs and Page; and the former, loyal in the face of injustice and cruelty, instantly took off his hat with his remaining hand and waving it over his head, cried, "God save the queen!" Burghley often afterwards employed Stubbs in answering the popish libellers As he was obliged to write with his left hand he always signed himself Scæva. A person of much higher rank than poor Stubbs also wrote against the marriage; Sir Philip Sidney, the gallant warrior and accomplished scholar, addressed an able and elegant letter to the queen on the subject.

Anjou was at this time in the Netherlands. The people of the provinces in revolt had some years before (1575) offered the sovereignty—of which they declared Philip deprived—to the queen of England; she had prudently declined it at that time, and when it was again offered to her (1580) she persisted in her resolution. It was then proffered to the duke of Anjou; his brother permitted him to accept it and secretly supplied him with money. He entered the Netherlands with about fifteen thousand men, and he forced the Spaniards to raise the siege of Cambrai; Elizabeth had on this occasion proved her regard for him by sending him a present of one hundred thousand crowns. At the close of the campaign he came over to England, where his reception from the queen was most flattering. A few days after the anniversary of her accession (November 22nd), she, in the presence of her court, drew a ring from her finger and placed it on his in token of pledging herself to him.

The affair was now regarded as decided; the envoy from the Netherlands wrote off instantly, and public rejoicings were made at Antwerp and other towns. But Leicester, Hatton, and Walsingham, who were strongly opposed to the match, remonstrated earnestly with the queen, and when she retired her ladies of the bed-chamber fell on their knees and with sighs and tears conjured her to pause, representing the evil consequences that might ensue. She passed a sleepless and uneasy night; next morning she had a long conversation with the duke, in which she exposed her reasons for sacrificing her inclinations to her duty to her people. He withdrew deeply mortified to his apartments, where he flung away the ring, exclaiming against the fickleness of women and islanders. He, however, remained in England till the following year (1582), the queen still giving him hopes. When he departed (February 8th) she made him promise to return in a month, accompanied him as far as Canterbury, and sent Leicester and a gallant train to attend him even to Brussels. He was now made duke of Brabant and earl of Flanders; but attempting some time after to make himself absolute, he was driven out of the country, and died in France (1584) after a tedious illness, mourned by Elizabeth, who appears to have really loved him, though his character seems to have been as vicious as those of the rest of his family. A union with him would certainly have been productive of neither advantage nor happiness to the queen or her people.

THE PERSECUTION OF RECUSANCY

The laws against *recusants*, as the Catholics were now called, were at this time put into more rigorous execution than heretofore, and by a new act (1581) a penalty of twenty pounds a month was imposed on those who

absented themselves from church, unless they heard the English service at home.

There were two classes of Romanist priests who sought the glory of martyrdom in England, the Jesuits and the seminary priests. The former society, the most able support of the pretensions of the papacy, had been founded in the time of Charles V. Fearing that when Queen Mary's priests, as the Catholic clergymen who still lingered in England were called, should die off, the people there would conform to the Protestant religion for want of teachers of their own, William Allen, who had been a fellow of Oxford, conceived the design of forming seminaries on the Continent for the education of missionaries to be sent to England. The pope approved of the project and contributed money. Allen opened the first seminary at Douai in 1568; others were afterwards established at Rome, Valladolid, and elsewhere. Zealous English Catholics secretly sent their children to be educated at them, in order that they might return as missionaries to teach the doctrines of their church, and inculcate what the English government regarded as rebellion, that the queen should be deposed as a heretic.

The first who suffered was a priest named Maine, in Cornwall (1577). He was charged with having obtained a bull from Rome, denied the queen's supremacy, and said mass in a private house. He was executed at Launceston as a traitor. Tregian, in whose house he was taken, suffered the penalty of a præmunire, his estate was seized, and he remained in prison till his death. The next year, Nelson, a priest, and Sherwood, a layman, were executed for denying the supremacy.

In 1580 the Jesuits made their first appearance in England. Parsons and Campion, both formerly members of the university of Oxford, where they had professed Protestantism, but who were now members of the society of Jesuits, came over, and under various disguises, as soldiers, as Protestant ministers and so forth, went through the country confirming the Catholics in their religion. A chief part of their commission was to quiet the minds of the scrupulous by giving them the sense put by Gregory XIII on the bull of Pius V, namely, that it was always binding on Elizabeth and the heretics, but not on the Catholics till they could put it in execution, that is to say, they were to obey the queen until they were able to dethrone her. The notions on this head, however, advanced by Parsons were so offensive to many Catholics that they had thoughts of seizing him and giving him up to the government. Campion, a far better man, put forth papers offering to dispute on the points in controversy before the universities.

A diligent search was set on foot, and after a year's pursuit Campion was taken and committed to the Tower. According to the barbarous practice of the age, he was put to the rack, and he revealed the names of several of those who had received him into their houses. Campion and twelve other priests were indicted on the 25th Edward III. According to the printed trial, nothing could be more unfair than the manner in which the trial was conducted, nothing more feeble than the evidence given. They were, however, found guilty, and Campion and two others were executed forthwith, and seven of the remainder some months after. It is impossible not to feel pity for the fate of these upright, pious men, but we must at the same time recollect that, however they might disguise it from themselves, their ultimate object was the overthrow of the government; there was probably not one of them who did not deem it his duty to dethrone Elizabeth and to place Mary on the throne.[e]



CHAPTER XI

THE LAST DAYS OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

[1578–1587 A.D.]

MARY was never tried by a Court of Justice during her lifetime. Her cause has been in process of trial ever since.—ANDREW LANG.[b]

AFFAIRS in Scotland at this time caused some uneasiness to the English cabinet. Morton, though his vigorous rule kept the country quiet, gave great offence by his harshness and avarice. He at length resigned his authority (1578) into the hands of the king, now in his thirteenth year, and the royal child seemed to administer the government; but Morton soon recovered his influence. The following year, however, the Guise party sent Stewart, lord of Aubigny, over to Scotland, and his amiable manners soon won the heart of James, who created him earl and afterwards duke of Lennox; another favourite was Stuart of Ochiltree, afterwards earl of Arran. These two combined against Morton, and at their impulsion he was brought to trial (1581) for the murder of Darnley, the king's father. He was found guilty and executed, in spite of the exertions of Elizabeth, the king of Navarre, and the prince of Orange to save him. His execution proves the boldness and ambition of Arran, not the filial piety of James.[1]

The Jesuits resolved to take advantage of the death of Morton and the influence of the Catholic Lennox. Waytes, an English priest, and then Creighton, a Scottish Jesuit, appeared at Holyrood House. James received them favourably, and as he complained of want of money it was hoped by supplying him with it to gain him over to their projects. Parsons and Creighton

[1] Elizabeth said to the bishop of St. Andrews, "I wonder that James has had the earl of Morton executed, as guilty of the death of the king his father, and that he requires Archibald Douglas to be given up in order to treat him in the same manner. Why does he not desire his mother to be given up in order to punish her for that crime?"—CASTELNAU.[c]

repaired to Paris, where they secretly consulted with the duke of Guise, the papal nuncio, the provincial of the Jesuits, the Spanish ambassador, Mary's agent, the bishop of Glasgow, and Dr. Allen, the founder of the seminaries. It was agreed that Mary and James should be associated on the throne, and the pope and king of Spain be solicited to supply James with money. The plan was communicated to Mary, who approved of it, as also, it is said, did Lennox and Arran, and James himself.

But the Raid of Ruthven, as it was called, disconcerted all these projects. James was seized by the earl of Gowrie in concert with some of the leading Protestants, and forced to dismiss Lennox and Arran, the former of whom retired to France, where he died soon after; the latter was cast into prison. Whether the English council were cognisant of the raid or not is uncertain. They knew of the consultation in Paris and of its objects, and how vital it was to England that the supreme power in Scotland should be in the hands of Protestants. Sir Henry Carey and Sir Robert Bowers were sent to congratulate James on his deliverance from the counsels of Lennox and Arran, to exhort him not to resent the late seeming violence, and to procure the recall of the earl of Angus. James readily assented to the return of Angus, and he dissembled his resentment against his captors.[d]

MARY'S APPEAL TO ELIZABETH (1583 A.D.)

For several weeks the Scottish queen was kept in close confinement that this unexpected event, so fatal to her hopes, might be concealed from her knowledge. When the communication was at last made it alarmed her maternal tenderness; she read in her own history the fate which awaited her son, and from her bed-chamber, to which she was confined by sickness, wrote to Elizabeth a long and most eloquent remonstrance.

Having requested the queen to accompany her in imagination to the throne of the Almighty, their common judge, she enumerated the wrongs which she had suffered from her English sister while she reigned in Scotland, on her flight into England, after her innocence had been proved in the conferences at York and Westminster, and now, last of all, in the captivity of her son. But what injury had she offered to Elizabeth to justify such conduct? Let the charge be made, and, if she did not refute it, she was willing to suffer the punishment. She knew her real and her only crime. It was that she was the nearest relation, the next heir to the queen. But her enemies had little reason to be alarmed. They had brought her to the brink of the grave, and she thought little now of any other kingdom than the kingdom of God. In this situation, therefore, she recommended the interests of her son to the protection of her good sister, and earnestly begged for her own liberation from prison. But if she must remain a captive, she trusted that at least the queen would grant her a Catholic clergyman to prepare her soul for death, and two additional female servants to attend on her during her sickness.

In this letter Mary mentions several facts of great historical importance. She states: (1) That during her imprisonment at Lochleven she received more than one letter from the English queen, inviting her to flee to England for protection and promising to meet her with an English army at the borders. One of these letters was accompanied with a diamond ring, to be kept by her as a token or pledge of Elizabeth's sincerity. Mary contrived to escape, and from the field of Langside, aware of the uncertainty of an appeal to arms, she

sent back to the queen by a special messenger this very ring to remind her of her promise. These facts fully explain why she afterwards, in opposition to the advice of her best friends, determined to pass the Solway Firth and land in England. She states: (2) That if she consented to marry the duke of Norfolk it was at the suggestion of the counsellors the most trusted by Elizabeth, and that their signatures to the suggestion are still in existence, to be exhibited when called for. (3) That by the inquiry, which the presumption of her enemies had provoked during the conferences at Westminster, the falsehood and forgery of the documents circulated against her had been completely exposed. (4) That the late revolution in Scotland, by which her son was made a prisoner in the hands of Gowrie, had been brought about by the intrigues of Elizabeth's agents and by the distribution of Elizabeth's gold. If we recollect that Mary's object was to propitiate the English queen, we must conclude that she would not have presumed to make such statements unless she had known that Elizabeth was conscious of their truth; and if that was the case, we may discover in such consciousness the real reason why, during so many years, Mary could never obtain a personal interview with the English queen.

Whether this energetic appeal made any impression on the heart of Elizabeth we know not;[1] it procured no additional indulgence to the royal captive.[e]

CONSPIRACIES AGAINST ELIZABETH

By a bold effort James succeeded (1583) in freeing himself from the restraint in which he was held. Most of the opposite party quitted the kingdom, and Arran recovered his influence; but his tyranny soon (1584) caused his downfall, and the English party regained their ascendancy in the Scottish council to the great satisfaction of Elizabeth. On Arran's return to power, the conclave at Paris had proposed that James should invade the northern counties, while Guise should land with an army in the south of England to liberate Mary and dethrone Elizabeth.

It would appear to be the knowledge of this plan that made the queen take no notice of a renewed proposal of Mary for transferring all her authority to her son if she were set at liberty. For Creighton, being taken by a Dutch cruiser on his return to Scotland at this time, tore his papers and threw them into the sea, but the wind blowing them back, they were put together, and revealed the plan for invading England. He was given up to the English government, and, being menaced with the rack, made a full disclosure of the plot.

The government had so many proofs of the foreign and domestic conspiracy in favour of the queen of Scots that they found it needful to have recourse to every possible expedient for discovering those concerned in it. From a moral point of view the employment of spies may be reprehensible, but in times of danger no government has yet been found to abstain from this mode of discovering and thwarting the designs of their enemies; and never did ministers better know how to manage it than Cecil and Walsingham.

Spies were now employed, informers were listened to, the more questionable expedient of sending counterfeit letters in the name of the queen of Scots

[1] "If the queen of Scotland," said she to Castelnau in January, 1583, "had had anyone else to deal with she would have lost her head long ago. She has a correspondence with rebels in England, agents in Paris, Rome, and Madrid, and carries on plots against me all over Christendom, the object of which (as messengers who have been taken confess) is to deprive me of my kingdom and my life."

[1584 A.D.]

or of the exiles to the houses of suspected Catholics was, it is said, resorted to. The information thus gained led to the arrest of two gentlemen named Throcmorton; the lord Paget and Charles Arundel immediately fled to France; the earl of Northumberland (brother of the late earl) and the earl of Arundel (son of the late duke of Norfolk) were called before the council and examined.

A letter to Mary on the subject of a rising having been intercepted, Francis Throcmorton was put to the rack; he owned to having concerted the plan of an invasion and a rising of the Catholics with Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador; on his trial he denied it; after his condemnation he again confessed it; on the scaffold he denied it once more.[1] Mendoza, however, was ordered to depart the kingdom. He retired to Paris, where he gratified his malignity by publishing lies about the queen and her ministers, and by aiding every plan for raising a rebellion in England.

It is gratifying to observe at this time the affection which the people displayed for their queen. The French ambassador writes thus. "Queen Elizabeth has told me that several conspiracies directed by the Jesuits have been, by the goodness of God, discovered. Latterly, when she has appeared in public, whole crowds of people fell on their knees as she passed, prayed in various ways, invoked upon her a thousand blessings, and hoped that all her wicked enemies might be discovered and punished. She often stopped and returned thanks for all this love. When I was alone with her (she rode on a good horse) amidst all this crowd she said to me, 'You see that all do not wish me ill.'"

THE VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION[2] (1584 A.D.)

A further proof of this affection was given. When parliament met (November 23rd) an act was passed "for the security of the queen's person and continuance of the realm in peace." It enacts that if any invasion or rebellion should be made by or for any person pretending a title to the crown after her majesty's decease, or if anything be compassed or imagined tending to the hurt of her person with the privity of any such person, a certain number of peers and others commissioned by the queen should examine and give

[1] On the scaffold he again revoked his confession, calling God to witness that as it had been extorted from him in the first instance by the fear of torture, so it had been drawn from him in the second by the hope of pardon. The government thought proper to publish a tract in justification of his punishment. The proofs which it furnishes might then be deemed sufficient; in the present day they would be rejected with contempt from any court of justice. While the ministers thus punished a doubtful conspiracy at home, they were actively employed in fomenting a real conspiracy abroad. Alarmed at the connection of James with the duke of Guise, at his professions of attachment to his mother, and at his marked disregard of the admonitions of Elizabeth, they earnestly sought to restore and to recruit the English faction in Scotland.*e*

[2] The specific object of the Association was that if any attempt against the queen's person "shall be taken in hand or procured," whereby any should pretend title to come to the crown by the untimely death of the queen so procured, the associators not only bind themselves never to allow of any such pretended successor, by whom or for whom any such act shall be attempted, but engage to prosecute such person or persons to death. It is not correct to state that in the statute for the surety of the queen's person "the terms of this association were solemnly approved by parliament."

Hallam*f* has pointed out that "this statute differs from the associators' engagement, in omitting the outrageous threat of pursuing to death any person, whether privy or not to the design, on whose behalf an attempt against the queen's life should be made." Such was the law when the Babington conspiracy was discovered; and Mary was put upon her trial under this law and not under the old statute of treasons, to determine whether that conspiracy against the life of Elizabeth was "with the privity of any person that shall or may pretend title to the crown of this realm."—KNIGHT.*g*

judgment thereon, and all persons against whom such judgments should be published should be disabled forever from claiming the crown. The object of this act was to obtain from the reluctant queen, in case of any rebellious movements, an absolute exclusion of Mary from the succession.

A most severe law was passed against the Catholics. The Jesuits and priests were ordered to quit the kingdom within forty days, those who remained beyond that time or returned should be guilty of treason; those who harboured or relieved them, of felony; students at the seminaries were to be guilty of treason if they did not return within six months; those supplying them with money to be liable to a præmunire, etc. This bill was opposed by one William Parry, a civilian, who described it as "a measure savouring of blood, danger, and despair to English subjects"; for this he was committed, but he was released next day by the queen's order. Soon after he was sent to the Tower, being accused by Edmund Neville of a design to assassinate the queen. He confessed his guilt, and he was condemned and executed as a traitor.



Ightham Mote House
(Built in the time of Henry VIII)

LEICESTER IN THE NETHERLANDS

On the 10th of July, 1584, the great prince of Orange was shot by a man named Balthazar Gerard, who confessed that he had been kept for some time in the Jesuits' college at Treves by one of the brotherhood, who approved of his design and instructed him how to proceed. Philip II had set a large reward on the prince's head, and his great general the prince of Parma sullied his fame by personally examining the qualifications of the assassins who presented themselves.

The Dutch were dismayed at the loss of their hero and at the rapid progress of the prince of Parma, and they sent again offering the sovereignty to Elizabeth. The matter was anxiously debated in the English council; the danger to the Protestant interest was imminent; Philip was in the zenith of his power; the league was nearly triumphant in France; and if the Dutch were subdued England would certainly be attacked.

Elizabeth boldly resolved to face the danger at once, and, as the king of Sweden said when he heard of it, take the diadem from her head and hazard it on the chance of war. She declined the proffered sovereignty, but agreed to aid the states with a force of five thousand foot and one thousand horse, to be maintained at her expense during the war; the money thus expended to be repaid by the states when peace should have been concluded (1585).

The chief command was given to the earl of Leicester,[1] who, though by no means deficient in courage or talents, was totally without military experience, and he was to be opposed to the first general of the age. He landed at Flushing (December 10th, 1585), accompanied by the gallant young earl of

[1 For details of Leicester's fiasco and Sidney's death in the Netherlands, see their history, Volume XIII.]

Essex, his stepson, and a company of nobles, knights, and gentlemen to the number of five hundred. The states, in the expectation of gratifying Elizabeth by honouring her favourite, bestowed on him the title of governor and captain-general of the United Provinces, gave him a guard, and treated him nearly like a sovereign.

But these proceedings were by no means pleasing to the queen; she wrote in very angry terms to both him and the states, and was not appeased without difficulty. "We little thought," wrote she to the earl, "that one whom we have raised out of the dust and surrounded with singular honour above all others, would with so great contempt have broken our commandment in a matter of so great weight."

Leicester's first campaign (1586) was not brilliant. The most remarkable event of it was the death of his nephew, Sir Philip Sidney, the ornament of his age and country, equally distinguished in arms, in literature, and in manners, the nearest approach perhaps to the ideal of the perfect knight that has ever appeared.

Leicester did not remain long after in Holland. On his return to the Hague he was assailed with complaints of his conduct by the states. He gave them fair words and then sailed for England (December 3rd), where the case of the queen of Scots now called for his presence.

A league offensive and defensive was formed this year (1586) between Elizabeth and the king of Scots for the mutual defence of their dominions and their religion against the Catholic powers. The queen was to grant James a pension of five thousand pounds a year, equivalent to his claim on the English property of his paternal grandmother, lately deceased.

THE BABINGTON CONSPIRACY

In the summer of this year a conspiracy against the queen of the most dangerous character was detected by the sagacity of Walsingham. Some priests at Rheims, actuated by a fanatical hatred of Elizabeth, and regarding the deposing bull of Pius V as inspired by the Holy Ghost, had worked themselves into a belief that her assassination would be an act meritorious in the sight of God. Three of these men, Gifford, his brother Gilbert, and one Hodgeson, instigated a man named John Savage, who had served in the Spanish army, to the deed, instructed him how to perform it, and sent him over with strong recommendations to the English Catholics.

About this time also one Ballard, a seminary priest, came from England to Paris, and stating there to the enemies of Elizabeth the readiness of the English Catholics to rise if an invasion were made, for which the present was the time, as the best troops were away with Leicester in Holland, a plan for that purpose was devised, and Ballard was sent back to prepare the Catholics. It does not appear that the assassination of the queen was determined on, though Charles Paget asserted that there was no use in invading England as long as she lived.

Ballard came over in the disguise of a soldier, calling himself Captain Fortescue. He disclosed the project to Anthony Babington, a young man of good fortune in Derbyshire, who had been recommended to Mary by Morgan and the bishop of Glasgow, and had been for some time the agent in conveying letters between her and them. Babington at once approved of the plot, but, like Paget, maintained that there was no chance while the queen lived. Ballard then told him of Savage; but he objected to committing a

matter of such importance to the hand of one man, and proposed to join with him five others for whose courage and fidelity he could answer. Ballard agreed, and Babington then opened his views to some Catholic gentlemen, his intimate friends, who readily consented to join in them. Correspondence was begun between Babington and Mary, who expressed her perfect approbation of the plan in all its parts. She was now at Chartley, in Staffordshire, under the charge of Sir Amyas Paulet, a rigid Puritan, but a man of strict honour.[d]

Babington's letter reached Mary at a moment when, if we may believe Nau, her mind was in a state of irritation and despondency. Not only had new restraints been imposed on her liberty and the few comforts to which she was accustomed been abridged, but a treaty had been recently concluded between Elizabeth and her son in which, according to report, her right to the succession was set aside. In addition she feared—unjustly, indeed, as the sequel proved—the stern fanaticism of her keeper, and had persuaded herself that the real object of those who had introduced the bill "for the safety of the queen's person" was to murder her with impunity in her prison.

Under the influence of these feelings she resolved to accept the offer of liberation made to her by Babington, but at the same time to admonish him, as he valued her safety or his own, to take no step before he had secured two things: the services of a powerful party within the realm, and the co-operation of a Spanish force from the Netherlands, which he could not expect to obtain before the beginning of autumn. With this view she composed a series of instructions for his guidance; her minute was fashioned by Nau into a letter in French; and that letter was translated by Curle into English. Both the French letter by Nau and the English version by Curle she read and approved, and therefore for the contents of both she must be considered accountable.[e]

All the doings of the conspirators were well known to Walsingham; a priest named Maud, who had accompanied Ballard to France, was in his pay, as also was Polly, one of Babington's confederates. Finally, when Gilbert Gifford was sent over to England to urge on Savage, he privately tendered his services to Walsingham. As Gifford was to be the medium for communicating with the queen of Scots, Walsingham wished Paulet to connive at his bribing one of his servants; but to this the scrupulous Puritan would not consent; he, however, suffered a brewer's boy who served the house with beer to be the agent, and the letters were conveyed through a hole in a wall, which was stopped with a loose stone. Ballard and Babington, being suspicious of Gifford, gave him at first only blank letters; but finding that these went safe they dropped all suspicions. The whole correspondence thus passed through the hands of Walsingham; all the letters were deciphered and copied, and the entire plot and the names of the actors were discovered. Walsingham communicated what he had learned to no one but the queen.

Babington wished to send Ballard abroad to urge the foreign invasion, and had procured a license for him under a feigned name. He also intended to go himself for the same purpose, and applied to Walsingham, affecting great zeal for the queen's cause. The minister kept him in hand, and even induced him to come to reside in the mean time at his house. Walsingham wished to carry on this secret mode of proceeding still longer; but the queen said that by not preventing the danger in time she "should seem rather to tempt God than to trust in God." Ballard therefore was arrested. Babington was then desirous that no time should be lost in killing the queen, and he gave his ring and some money to Savage—whose appearance was very shabby—that he might buy himself good clothes for the purpose.

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Finding soon after that the plot was known or suspected, the conspirators stole out of London and lurked for some days in St. John's Wood and other places about the city. But they were taken in a short time and put in prison, where they voluntarily made most ample confessions. They were tried, and sentenced to be executed as traitors. On the 20th of September, Ballard, Babington, Savage, and four others were hung in St. Giles's fields. After the ancient manner, they were cut down while still alive and their bowels taken out before their faces; but the queen, when she heard of this cruelty, gave strict orders that the remainder should not be embowelled or quartered till dead.

When the conspirators were arrested, Sir Thomas Gorges was sent from court with the tidings to the queen of Scots. She was on her horse ready to go hunting when he arrived. She wished to return to her chamber, but she was not permitted. She was soon after brought back to Chartley, and was then conducted from one gentleman's house to another, till she at length reached Fotheringay castle in Northamptonshire (September 26th). During her first absence from Chartley, her two secretaries, Nau, a Frenchman, and Curle, a Scot, were arrested and sent up to London; her cabinets were at the same time broken open and her extensive correspondence both in England and on the Continent was discovered and seized.

Abundant evidence having been now procured against the queen of Scots, the question with the council was how she should be treated. Some were for keeping her in strict confinement, as it was reckoned that she could not live long, her health being in a declining state. But Burghley and Walsingham knew that while she lived she would never cease to plot the ruin of the queen and the Protestant religion, and self-preservation urged them also; for if she were to succeed to the throne, their lives, they knew, would be the forfeit of their loyalty to their queen.

Leicester, who was in Holland, suggested the employment of poison, and sent a divine to Walsingham to justify this course; but that upright statesman rejected it, protesting against all violence except by sentence of law. It was finally resolved to bring her to trial on the late act, and a commission of forty noblemen, privy councillors, and judges of both religions was appointed to examine and give judgment on her.

Mary was now in the forty-sixth year of her age. She had long suffered from rheumatism, and had lost the beauty for which she was celebrated. She is described by an eye-witness as "being of stature tall, of body corpulent, round-shouldered, her face fat and broad, double-chinned, with hazel eyes and borrowed hair." Her own hair is said to have been "as gray as one of threescore and ten years."[d]

THE TRIAL OF QUEEN MARY (OCTOBER, 1586 A.D.)

On the 11th of October six-and-thirty of the commissioners arrived at the castle. The following day the Scottish queen remained in her chamber under the pretence of indisposition, but admitted Mildmay and Paulet with a notary to deliver to her a letter from Elizabeth, announcing the object of these proceedings. She read it with an air of composure, and turning to them, said: "I am sorry to be charged by my sister the queen with that of which I am innocent; but let it be remembered that I am also a queen, and not amenable to any foreign jurisdiction."

The next day, having nerved her mind for the meeting, she received deputations from the commissioners, and conversed with them in the hall of the

castle. There were four interviews; but no reasoning of the lawyers, no threat of proceeding against her for contumacy, could shake her resolution. She maintained that the statute of the 27th of the queen could not bind her; she was no party to it; it was contrived by her enemies, and passed for her ruin. Whence did the commissioners derive their authority? From their queen? but that queen was only her equal, not her superior. Let them find persons who were her peers, and let such sit in judgment upon her. She was aware that these objections could not save her, for the queen's letter proved that she was condemned already; but she would never be the person to degrade the Scottish crown, nor stand as a criminal at the bar of an English court of justice.



Cross and Stocks at Ripple, Worcestershire

An expression, however, had fallen from Hatton in the course of conversation which exceedingly distressed the unfortunate captive—that if she refused to plead the world would attribute her obstinacy to consciousness of guilt. In the silence and solitude of the night the high tone of her mind insensibly relaxed; in the morning she received a harsh and imperious note from the queen, who, after the charge of seeking her death and the destruction of the realm, proceeded thus:

"Wherefore our pleasure is that you make answer to the nobles and peers of my kingdom as you would answer to myself, if I were present. Therefore I order, charge, and command you to answer to them; for I have heard of your arrogance. But act candidly, and you may meet with more favour. Elizabeth." It was probably this last line that turned the balance. It held out a faint gleam of hope; and Mary informed the commissioners that she was content to waive her objection, but only on condition that her protest against the authority of the court should be entered on the record of their proceedings. To this, after some demur, they assented.

It was, perhaps, unwise in the Scottish queen to make this concession. She was placed in a situation in which, though she might assert, it was impossible that she could prove her innocence. A single and friendless female, the inmate of a prison for the last nineteen years, ignorant of law, unpractised in judicial forms, without papers, or witnesses, or counsel, and with no other knowledge of the late transactions than the reports collected by her female servants, nor of the proofs to be adduced by her adversaries but what her own conjectures might supply, she could be no match for that array of lawyers, judges, and statesmen who sat marshalled against her. If among the commissioners she espied two or three secret friends, they were men whose fidelity was suspected, and whose lives and fortunes probably depended on their vote of that day; the rest comprised the most distinguished of those who for years had sought her death in the council, or had clamorously called for it in parlia-

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ment. Yet under all these disadvantages she defended herself with spirit and address.[1] For two days she kept at bay the hunters of her life; on the third the proceedings were suspended by an adjournment to Westminster.

The charge against the Scottish queen, like that against Babington, had been divided into two parts: that she had conspired with foreigners and traitors to procure (1) The invasion of the realm; (2) The death of the queen. In proof of the first part was adduced a multitude of letters, either intercepted or found in her cabinet, between her and Mendoza, Morgan, Paget, and others. These, if they were genuine—and of that there can be little doubt—showed that she had not only approved the plan of invasion devised at Paris, but had offered to aid its execution by inducing her friends in Scotland to rise in arms, to seize the person of James, and to prevent the march of succours to England.

This project to seize the person of James and carry him out of the kingdom did her much harm. Yet it would have been fair to recollect that it was suggested to her by the conduct of her enemies, who had repeatedly made themselves masters of the royal person, and of Elizabeth, who had as often required that the king should be sent into England. Another letter was read, in which she expressed an intention of bequeathing to the Spanish king her right to the succession to the English throne. In return she merely observed that she had been forced to such measures. Her enemies had deprived her of all hope in England; she was therefore compelled to purchase friends abroad.

Mary, though she refused to admit, did not deny the charge in general. She treated it as frivolous. She was not bound, she said, by their statutes; she was the equal, not the subject of Elizabeth; and between equals and sovereigns there was no other law but the law of nature. That law fully authorised her to seek her deliverance from an unjust captivity. She had proposed terms, offered securities, and then had claimed the right of employing every resource in her power for the recovery of her liberty. Yet her prayers, her offers, her warnings had been despised. Where was the man that could blame her if, in such circumstances, she had accepted the tenders of aid which were made to her by her friends?

With respect to the second charge that she had conspired the death of the queen, she denied it with tears, and solemnly called on God to bear witness to her innocence. The crown lawyers produced in proof, first, the copy of the letter from Babington, in which occurred this passage: "For the despatch of the usurper, from the obedience of whom by the excommunication of her we are made free, there be six noble gentlemen, all my private friends, who, for the zeal they bear to the Catholic cause and your majesty's service, will undertake the tragical execution"; and then a copy of seven points for deliberation, said to be extracted from her answer to Babington; of which points the sixth was, "by what meanes doe the six gentilmen deliberate to procede?"

It bears an awkward and therefore suspicious appearance, that whilst the language in the other points is affirmative, in this point, placed in the midst of them, it should assume an interrogative form. The reader wonders how the question came there.

There were other passages in the same copy equally allusive to the design of the six gentlemen; but the prosecutors insisted particularly on this. It

[1 Alone, "without one counsellor on her side among so many," Mary conducted the whole of her defence with courage incomparable and unsurpassable ability. Pathos and indignation, subtlety and simplicity, personal appeal and political reasoning, were the alternate weapons with which she fought against all odds of evidence or interference, and disputed step by step every inch of debatable ground.—SWINBURNE.*h*]

established, they maintained, her participation with Babington in the crime of imagining and compassing the death of the queen.

It should, however, be remembered that the papers exhibited to the court were only copies. No attempt was made to show what had become of the originals, or when, where, or by whom the copies had been taken. On these points the crown lawyers observed a mysterious silence. They deemed it sufficient to show that there had once been originals with which the copies corresponded, and for that purpose they adduced: (1) A confession of Babington that he had written a letter to Mary and had received an answer, containing similar passages, and that he believed these copies faithful transcripts of the originals; (2) the confessions, perhaps garbled and misrepresented confessions, of Nau and Curle, from which it seemed to follow that the manner of proceeding by the six gentlemen was one of the subjects recommended for deliberation by Mary; (3) the admission in several of her letters to her foreign correspondents that she had received from the conspirators notice of their intentions, and had given to them instructions on the several heads. These confessions and admissions amounted, it was maintained, to satisfactory proof of the authenticity of the copies.

At first the Scottish queen, in ignorance of the proofs to be brought forward, refused to acknowledge any correspondence between herself and Babington; but after the production and reading of the letters she admitted without hesitation her note of the 5th of July, N. S., but resolutely denied that she had ever written any such answer as that of the date of July 17th.

She contended that if her adversaries had really sought to discover the truth, instead of putting Babington to death they would have produced him to bear testimony against her; it was easy for one man to imitate the ciphers and handwriting of another; it had been lately done in France, and she greatly feared that it had also been done in England by Walsingham, to bring her to the scaffold; for Walsingham, if she were rightly informed, had before this been practising against her life and that of her son.

At these words the secretary rose and protested before God that in his private capacity he had done nothing unbecoming an honest man, nor as a public officer anything unworthy of his place. Though his answer was rather an evasion than a denial of the charge, Mary prayed him not to be offended; she had spoken freely what she had heard, and hoped that he would give no more credit to those who slandered her than she did to those who accused him.

She renewed her declaration that she knew nothing of the obnoxious passages, and asked for her papers—with them she might perhaps explain the mystery—and for her secretaries—were they confronted with her the truth might soon be elicited—at present they ought to be considered unworthy of credit. Both requests, however, for reasons best known to the prosecutors, were refused; and Mary demanded to be heard in full parliament, or before the queen in council, who, she persuaded herself, would not refuse that favour to a sister queen. Then rising, she retired to her own apartment. The commissioners after a short consultation adjourned the court, to meet again in the Star Chamber at Westminster on the 25th of October.

MARY IS CONDEMNED

On that day, notwithstanding the remonstrance of the French ambassador, the court was opened in the presence of a numerous assemblage of members belonging to both houses of parliament. Care was now taken to bring for-

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ward the two secretaries, not that they might be confronted with Mary—who was absent, immured in the castle of Fotheringay—but that they might affirm the truth of the depositions which they had previously made. This they certainly did; but, if we may believe Nau, it was not all. He moreover maintained, as he had on all occasions maintained, that the principal heads of accusation, those on which alone could be based any pretext for condemnation, were false.

Walsingham rose with warmth, reproached him with speaking contrary to his conscience, and endeavoured to silence him with the depositions of the conspirators already executed, and of some of Mary's servants. But Nau repeated his former assertion, summoned the commissioners to answer before God and all Christian kings and princes, if on such false charges they should condemn a queen, no less a sovereign than their own; and loudly demanded that this his protestation should be entered on the record. But his efforts were fruitless.

With the exception of the lord Zouch on the separate charge of assassination the commissioners unanimously gave judgment that after the last session of parliament, and before the date of their commission, Mary, daughter of James V, commonly called queen of Scotland, and pretending title to the crown of England, had, with the aid and abettance of her secretaries Nau and Curle, compassed and imagined divers matters tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of the queen, contrary to the form of the statute specified in the commission. This, by the act, was equivalent to a sentence of death against all the three, to be carried into execution at the pleasure of the queen.

A provision was, however, added, that the judgment against the mother should not derogate from the right or dignity of her son James, king of Scotland, but that he should continue in the same place, rank, and right, as if it had never been pronounced. The judgment was then entered in the form of a record, and afterwards subscribed by the several commissioners, even by those who had not attended at Fotheringay.

The life of the Scottish queen now lay at the mercy of Elizabeth. From foreign powers, she could expect no effectual relief. The Spanish monarch had to maintain his ground in Flanders against the combined army of the insurgents and the English; the king of France, harassed by religious wars, might entreat, but could not intimidate; and with respect to her son, the Scottish king, it was plain that his claim to the succession would render him unwilling, and the English pensioners in his council would render him unable, to draw the sword in her defence. But indecision was one of the leading traits in the character of her adversary.

ELIZABETH'S HESITATION AND DISSIMULATION

Elizabeth, while her object was at a distance, pressed towards it with impatience; but always hesitated to grasp it when it came within her reach. The death-warrant of her rival lay ready for her signature; but sometimes her imagination conjured up phantoms of danger from the desperation of Mary's partisans, and the resentment of James and the Catholic powers; sometimes she shuddered at the infamy which would cover her name if she shed the blood of a kinswoman and a sovereign. As was usual, she sought refuge in procrastination.

Anticipating the conviction of her prisoner, Elizabeth had summoned a parliament to meet on the 15th of October; the length of the trial at Fotheringay compelled her to prorogue it to the 29th of the same month. The

proceedings on the trial were laid before each house; the commissioners, in long speeches, maintained the guilt of the royal prisoner; and the lords and commons united in a petition that speedy execution might be done upon the convict.[1] The unwelcome task of announcing these proceedings to the Scottish queen was imposed on Lord Buckhurst in company with Beale, the clerk of the council.

It had probably been expected that this announcement would tame the spirit of the Scottish queen, but she had already nerved her mind for the shock, and thanked them for the honesty of their avowal that her death was the only security for their church. She had long known that she was to be sacrificed for that purpose. They might say that she had been privy to a conspiracy against the life of their queen. She utterly denied it. She had never contrived, nor imagined, nor commanded any such thing. She had, indeed, accepted an offer made to rescue her from prison; and where was the person in her situation who would not, after an unjust captivity of twenty years, have done the same? No; her real crime was her adhesion to the religion of her fathers, a crime of which she was proud, and for which she would be happy to lay down her life. With respect to any secret communication, she had but two requests to make to the English queen: (1) That her money and jewels might be restored to her, for the purpose of bequeathing them as legacies to her servants; and (2) that she might be indulged with the attendance of a Catholic priest; for, as she had always lived, so it was her resolution to die, a member of the Catholic church.

On the second day after this (November 21st) she received a visit from Paulet, who told her that since she had made no use of the time that was granted to her to confess and ask pardon, the queen had ordered her chair of state and canopy to be removed. She was a woman dead in law, and not entitled to the insignia of royalty. They were taken down by a party of his men. He then seated himself before her, face to face, put on his hat, and ordered her billiard table to be carried away, saying that she ought to prepare herself for death, and could have no time to spend in idle amusements. She replied, that she had never played on it yet; for they had given her employment enough in other ways.

Mary was now occupied for some days in writing several important letters —to Pope Sixtus V, to the duke of Guise, the archbishop of Glasgow, and Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador in Paris. Her servants, to supply the place of her canopy of state, had affixed to the wall a large cross bearing an image of Christ in the agony of death. This, in other circumstances, would have aroused the iconoclast zeal of Paulet; but the next time that he came into her presence he was an altered and an humbled man. He had been severely rebuked by Elizabeth for his former rudeness to Mary. He came to apologise, saying that he had mistaken an order from the council for an order from the queen, and to inform Mary that her requests by Lord Buckhurst had been so far granted that her money would be restored to her, and Préau, her almoner, would have the same freedom of waiting upon her as any of her other servants. She gladly availed herself of this concession, and confided to the care of Préau the letters which she had written. They all reached their destination.

The judgment of the commissioners had at length been proclaimed (December 6th) by sound of trumpet in London. The bells tolled for twenty-four

[1] Sir James Croft, who seems to have excelled all others in religious cant, moved that some earnest and devout prayer to God, to incline her majesty's heart to grant the petition, might be composed and printed, in order to be used daily in the house of commons, and by its members in their chambers and lodgings.

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hours, bonfires blazed in the streets, and the citizens appeared intoxicated with joy. This intelligence awakened new alarms in the breast of the unfortunate queen. She knew that by the late statute her life lay at the mercy of every member of the association; she recollected the fate of the earl of Northumberland in the Tower; and she persuaded herself that it would be her lot to fall by the hand of an assassin.

After many solicitations she obtained permission to make her last requests to Elizabeth. They were four: That her dead body might be conveyed to France and deposited near that of her mother; that she might send a jewel, her farewell, and her blessing to her son; that her servants might be allowed to retain the small bequests which it was her intention to make them; and that she might not be put to death in private, otherwise her enemies would say of her, as they had said of others, that despair had induced her to shorten her days.

Throughout the whole letter she carefully avoided every expression which might be interpreted as a petition for mercy. She thanked God that he had given her the courage to suffer injustice without murmuring; expressed her regret that her papers had not been honestly and entirely submitted to the inspection of Elizabeth, who would then have seen whether the safety of their sovereign was the real object of her adversaries; and, as she was about to leave this world and was preparing herself for a better, hoped it would not be deemed presumption if she reminded her good sister that the day would come when she must render an account of her conduct to an unerring Judge, no less than those who had gone before her. This noble letter, worthy of a queen and a martyr, was the last which Mary wrote to her English cousin. It drew tears from Elizabeth, but nothing more. No answer was returned.

These extraordinary proceedings had attracted the notice and excited the wonder of the neighbouring nations. All sovereigns felt a common interest in the fate of Mary; the kings of France and Scotland, as more nearly allied in blood, were more eager to rescue her from death. Though Henry III might hate the house of Guise, he could not see, with indifference, the head of a princess who had worn the crown of France fall beneath the axe of the executioner. But the weight of his interposition was lightened by the knowledge of his necessities, and the harshness of a direct refusal was eluded by fraud and cunning.

At the request of Châteauneuf he had sent Bellièvre with instructions to remonstrate in the most forcible and pointed language. The ambassador found unusual obstacles thrown in his way. L'Aubespine, the resident ambassador, resumed the negotiation; but was silenced by a low and unworthy artifice. An uncertain rumour had been spread of a new plot to assassinate the queen, which had been traced to the French embassy. The ministers assured L'Aubespine that they believed him incapable of the crime; but they imprisoned his secretary, examined witnesses, and produced documents in proof of the plot. The Frenchman remonstrated in haughty and offensive language; all official communication between the two courts was suspended; and five despatches from the ambassador were at different times intercepted, and opened in presence of the council.

The object of this quarrel, on the part of the English ministers, was to prevent any further application in favour of the queen of Scots. Henry, to show that he felt the insult, laid an embargo on the English shipping and refused audience to the English ambassador. Still his anxiety to save the life of Mary subdued his pride. He condescended to despatch another envoy with new credentials. But these efforts were useless; Elizabeth had no leisure

to admit him till Mary had perished; then apologies were made; the innocence of L'Aubespine was acknowledged; and both the king and the ambassador were loaded with praise and compliments.

James of Scotland felt little for a mother whom he had never known, and whom he had been taught to look upon as an enemy, seeking to deprive him of his authority. He would probably have abandoned her to her fate without a sigh, had he not been roused from his apathy by the admonition of the French court that her execution would exclude him from the succession to the English throne; and by the remonstrances of the Scottish nobles, who could not brook the notion that a Scottish queen should perish on a scaffold.

James had already written to Elizabeth and the chief of her councillors, and had commissioned Archibald Douglas, the Scottish resident, to expostulate; he next sent Sir Robert Keith, a young man without weight or experience and a pensionary of the English court, to request that proceedings against his mother might be stayed till he should be made acquainted with her offence; and when he received for answer that such delay might prove dangerous to the life of Elizabeth, he was prevailed upon to despatch two new envoys, the master of Gray and Sir Robert Melville, to employ entreaties and threats.

They suggested that Mary's life should be spared, on condition that she resigned all her rights to her son; this would secure Elizabeth from the fear of a competitor, and the established church from the enmity of a Catholic successor. It was replied, that after her condemnation Mary had no rights to resign. They protested, in their master's name, that he would be compelled, in honour, to avenge her death. The menace was received with the most marked contempt.[1]

After the publication of the sentence, Elizabeth spent two months in a state of apparent irresolution; but that irresolution arose not from any feeling of pity, but from her regard to her own reputation; and she was often heard to lament that among the thousands who professed to be attached to her as their sovereign, not one would spare her the necessity of dipping her hands in the blood of a sister queen.[2]

A letter was accordingly forwarded to Fotheringay on the same day, in the name of both secretaries. It informed the two keepers that the queen charged them with lack of care for her service, otherwise they would long ago have shortened the life of their captive. Of her guilt they could not doubt after her trial; and the oath of association which they had taken would have cleared their consciences before God, their reputations before men.

Paulet was a stern and unfeeling bigot. He hated Mary because she was a Catholic; he sought her death because he believed her the enemy of his religion. Yet he was an honest man. He replied immediately, that he would never make so foul a shipwreck of his conscience, or leave so great a blot on his posterity, as to shed blood without law or warrant. A postscript added that Drury "subscribed in heart to Paulet's opinion."

[1] "She would not understand their proposal. So the earl of Leicester answered that our meaning was that the king should be put in his mother's place," says Gray in his despatch. "Is it so," the queen answered, "then I put myself in a worse case than before; by God's passion, that were to cut my own throat, and for a duchy or an earldome to yourself, you, or such as you, would cause some of your desperate knaves to kill me. No, by God! he shall never be in that place." Stuart, another envoy, assured her that James had sent them merely to save appearances, and that whatever he might pretend, he would be easily pacified with a present of dogs and deer. See EGERTON.*i*

[2] Elizabeth became pensive and solitary, and she was frequently heard to sigh and to mutter to herself these words, *Aut fer aut feri* ("Bear or strike"), and *Ne feriare feri* ("Strike, lest you be struck.")—KEIGHTLEY.*d*]



QUEEN ELIZABETH SIGNING THE DEATH WARRANT OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS
(*From the painting by Julius Schrader*)

[1587 A.D.]

Davison, one of the queen's secretaries, little suspected at the time that he was destined to become the victim of Elizabeth's irresolution and dissimulation. The morning after the signature of the commission he received an order from her to wait, if it was not too late, till she had spoken to him; and when he informed her that the great seal was already appended to it, was asked by her, with an air of surprise, why he had made "such haste"; to which he replied that on matters of consequence it was not for him "to dally with her majesty's commands."

Her words and manner awakened in him some misgivings. He consulted Hatton, the lord treasurer, who, having ascertained that she had not positively recalled the commission, assembled the council. It was there resolved unanimously that the queen had done all that the law required on her part; that to trouble her further was needless, dangerous, and offensive to her feelings; and that it was now their duty to proceed, and take the rest of the burden on themselves.

On the following morning Elizabeth acquainted Davison that in a dream during the night she had punished him severely as the cause of the Scottish queen's death. Though she said it with a smile, he was alarmed, suspecting that she began to waver, and therefore openly put the question to her, whether she intended to proceed to the execution of the commission or not. "Yea, by G—!" was her reply, with more than usual vehemence, but she did not like the form, for it threw all the responsibility on herself.

In the course of the next day the queen inquired of Davison what answer had been returned by Paulet and Drury. When he had informed her she burst into expressions of anger and disappointment. Mary's keeper was no longer "her dear and faithful Paulet," but "a precise and dainty fellow," who scrupled not to break his oath that he might throw the blame upon her.

THE DEATH WARRANT READ TO MARY

At Fotheringay the frequent arrival of strangers had of late excited misgivings and apprehensions among the servants of Mary. On the 7th of February, 1587, the earl of Shrewsbury was announced; and his office of earl marshal instantly disclosed the fatal object of his visit. The queen rose from her bed, dressed, and seated herself by a small table, having previously arranged her servants, male and female, on each side. Mary listened, without any change of countenance; then crossing herself, she bade them welcome; the day, she said, which she had long desired, had at last arrived; she had languished in prison near twenty years, useless to others and a burden to herself; nor could she conceive a termination to such a life more happy or more honourable than to shed her blood for her religion. She next enumerated the wrongs which she had suffered, the offers which she had made, and the artifices and frauds employed by her enemies; and in conclusion, placing her hand on a Testament which lay on the table, "As for the death of the queen your sovereign," said she, "I call God to witness that I never imagined it, never sought it, nor ever consented to it."

"That book," exclaimed the earl of Kent, "is a popish Testament, and of course the oath is of no value." "It is a Catholic Testament," rejoined the queen; "on that account I prize it the more; and therefore, according to your own reasoning, you ought to judge my oath the more satisfactory." The earl, in return, exhorted her to abandon all papistical superstition, to save her soul by embracing the true faith, and to accept the spiritual services of the

dean of Peterborough, a learned divine, appointed by the queen. In place of the dean of Peterborough, whom she would not hear, she requested that she might have the aid of Préau, her almoner, who was still in the house. This was the last and only indulgence which she had to demand.

It was answered that her request could not be granted. It was contrary to the law of God and the law of the land, and would endanger the safety both of the souls and bodies of the commissioners. A long and desultory conversation followed. Mary asked if her son had forgotten his mother in her distress.

Mary had heard the denunciation of her death with a serenity of countenance and dignity of manner which awed and affected the beholders. The moment the earls were departed her attendants burst into tears and lamentations; but she imposed silence, saying: "This is not a time to weep, but to rejoice. In a few hours you will see the end of my misfortunes. My enemies may now say what they please; but the earl of Kent has betrayed the secret that my religion is the real cause of my death. Be then resigned, and leave me to my devotions."

After long and fervent prayer the queen was called to supper. She ate sparingly, and before she rose from table drank to all her servants, who pledged her in return on their knees, and prayed her to pardon the faults which they had committed in her service. She forgave them cheerfully, asking at the same time forgiveness of them if she had ever spoken or acted towards them unkindly, and concluded with a few words of advice for their future conduct in life. Even in this short address she again mentioned her conviction that Nau was the author of her death.

This important night, the last of Mary's life, she divided into three parts. The arrangement of her domestic affairs, the writing of her will and of three letters—to her confessor, her cousin of Guise, and the king of France—occupied the first and longer portion. The second she gave to exercises of devotion. In the retirement of her closet with her two maids, Jane Kennedy and Elspeth Curle, she prayed and read alternately, and sought for support and consolation in reading of the passion of Christ, and a sermon on the death of the penitent thief. About four she retired to rest, but it was observed that she did not sleep. Her lips were in constant motion, and her mind seemed absorbed in prayer.

THE EXECUTION OF MARY (FEBRUARY 8TH, 1587)

At the first break of day, February 8th, her household assembled around her. She read to them her will, distributed among them her clothes and money, and bade them adieu, kissing the women and giving her hand to kiss to the men. Weeping, they followed her into her oratory, where she took her place in front of the altar; they knelt down and prayed behind her.

In the midst of the great hall of the castle had been raised a scaffold, covered with black serge and surrounded with a low railing. At about seven the doors were thrown open; the gentlemen of the county, who had been summoned by the sheriff, but without any notice of the object for which their attendance was required, immediately entered, and Paulet's guard augmented the number to between one hundred and fifty and two hundred spectators. Before eight a message was sent to the queen, who replied that she would be ready in half an hour. At that time Andrews, the sheriff, entered the oratory, and Mary arose, taking the crucifix from the altar in her right, and carrying her prayer-book in her left hand. Her servants were forbidden to follow;

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they insisted; but the queen bade them to be content, and turning, gave them her blessing. They received it on their knees, some kissing her hands, others her mantle. The door closed, and the burst of lamentation from those within resounded through the hall.

Mary was now joined by the earls and her keepers, and descending the staircase, found at the foot Melville, the steward of her household, who for several weeks had been excluded from her presence. This old and faithful servant threw himself on his knees, and wringing his hands, exclaimed, "Ah, madam, unhappy me! was ever a man on earth the bearer of such sorrow as I shall be when I report that my good and gracious queen and mistress was beheaded in England?" Here his grief impeded his utterance; and Mary replied: "Good Melville, cease to lament; thou hast rather cause to joy than mourn, for thou shalt see the end of Mary Stuart's troubles. Know that this world is but vanity, subject to more sorrow than an ocean of tears can bewail. But I pray thee, report that I die a true woman to my religion, to Scotland, and to France. May God forgive them that have long thirsted for my blood, as the hart doth for the brooks of water. O God, thou art the author of truth, and truth itself. Thou knowest the inward chambers of my thoughts, and that I always wished the union of England and Scotland. Commend me to my son, and tell him that I have done nothing prejudicial to the dignity or independence of his crown, or favourable to the pretended superiority of our enemies."



Old House in Worcester

Then bursting into tears, she said, "Good Melville, farewell," and kissing him, "once again, good Melville, farewell, and pray for thy mistress and queen." It was remarked as something extraordinary, that this was the first time in her life that she had ever been known to address a person with the pronoun "thou."

Drying up her tears she turned from Melville, and made her last request that her servants might be present at her death. But the earl of Kent objected that they would be troublesome by their grief and lamentations, might practise some superstitious trumpery, perhaps might dip their handkerchiefs in her grace's blood. "My lords," said Mary, "I will give my word for them. They shall deserve no blame. Certainly your mistress, being a maiden queen, will vouchsafe, in regard of womanhood, that I have some of my own women about me at my death." Receiving no answer, she continued, "You might, I think, grant me a far greater courtesy were I a woman of lesser calling than the queen of Scots." Still they were silent; when she asked with vehemence, "Am I not the cousin to your queen, a descendant of the blood

royal of Henry VII, a married queen of France, and the anointed queen of Scotland?" At these words the fanaticism of the earl of Kent began to yield, and it was resolved to admit four of her men and two of her women servants. She selected her steward, physician, apothecary, and surgeon, with her maids Kennedy and Curle.

The procession now set forward. It was headed by the sheriff and his officers: next followed Paulet and Drury and the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent; and lastly came the Scottish queen, with Melville bearing her train. She wore the richest of her dresses, that which was appropriate to the rank of a queen-dowager. Her step was firm and her countenance cheerful. She bore without shrinking the gaze of the spectators and the sight of the scaffold, the block, and the executioner, and advanced into the hall with that grace and majesty which she had so often displayed in her happier days and in the palace of her fathers. To aid her, as she mounted the scaffold, Paulet offered his arm. "I thank you, sir," said Mary; "it is the last trouble I shall give you, and the most acceptable service you have ever rendered me."

The queen seated herself on a stool which was prepared for her. The warrant was read, and Mary in an audible voice addressed the assembly. She would have them recollect also that she was a sovereign princess, not subject to the parliament of England, but brought there to suffer by injustice and violence. She, however, thanked her God that he had given her this opportunity of publicly professing her religion, and of declaring, as she had often before declared, that she had never imagined, nor compassed, nor consented to the death of the English queen, nor ever sought the least harm to her person. After her death many things which were then buried in darkness would come to light. But she pardoned from her heart all her enemies, nor should her tongue utter that which might turn to their prejudice.

Here she was interrupted by Fletcher, dean of Peterborough, who, having caught her eye, began to preach, and under the cover, perhaps through motives of zeal, contrived to insult the feelings of the unfortunate sufferer.[1] Mary repeatedly desired him not to trouble himself and her. He persisted; she turned aside. He made the circuit of the scaffold, and again addressed her in front.

An end was put to this extraordinary scene by the earl of Shrewsbury, who ordered him to pray. His prayer was the echo of his sermon; but Mary heard him not. She was employed at the time in her devotions, repeating with a loud voice, and in the Latin language, passages from the book of

[1 The terms which he employed were, under colour of pious instructions, cruel insults on her unfortunate situation; and, besides their own absurdity, may be regarded as the most mortifying indignities to which she had ever yet been exposed. He told her that the queen of England had on this occasion shown a tender care of her, and, notwithstanding the punishment justly to be inflicted on her for her manifold trespasses, was determined to use every expedient for saving her soul from that destruction with which it was so nearly threatened: That she was now standing upon the brink of eternity, and had no other means of escaping endless perdition than by repenting her former wickedness, by justifying the sentence pronounced against her, by acknowledging the queen's favours, and by exerting a true and lively faith in Christ Jesus: That the Scriptures were the only rule of doctrine, the merits of Christ the only means of salvation; and if she trusted in the inventions or devices of men, she must expect in an instant to fall into utter darkness, into a place where shall be weeping, howling, and gnashing of teeth: That the hand of death was upon her, the axe was laid to the root of the tree, the throne of the great Judge of heaven was erected, the book of her life was spread wide, and the particular sentence and judgment was ready to be pronounced upon her: And that it was now, during this important moment, in her choice either to rise to the resurrection of life, and hear that joyful salutation, "Come, ye blessed of my Father," or to share the resurrection of condemnation, replete with sorrow and anguish, and to suffer that dreadful denunciation, "Go, ye cursed, into everlasting fire."—HUME.]

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Psalms; and after the dean was reduced to silence, a prayer in French, in which she begged of God to pardon her sins, declared that she forgave her enemies, and protested that she was innocent of ever consenting in wish or deed to the death of her English sister.

She then prayed in English for Christ's afflicted church, for her son James, and for Queen Elizabeth, and in conclusion, holding up the crucifix, exclaimed, "As thy arms, O God, were stretched out upon the cross, so receive me into the arms of thy mercy, and forgive me my sins." "Madam," said the earl of Kent, "you had better leave such popish trumperies, and bear him in your heart." She replied, "I cannot hold in my hand the representation of his sufferings, but I must at the same time bear him in my heart."

When her maids, bathed in tears, began to disrobe their mistress, the executioners, fearing the loss of their usual perquisites, hastily interfered. The queen remonstrated, but instantly submitted to their rudeness, observing to the earls with a smile that she was not accustomed to employ such grooms, or to undress in the presence of so numerous a company.

Her servants, at the sight of their sovereign in this lamentable state, could not suppress their feelings; but Mary, putting her finger to her lips, commanded silence, gave them her blessing, and solicited their prayers. She then seated herself again. Kennedy, taking from her a handkerchief edged with gold, pinned it over her eyes; the executioners, holding her by the arms, led her to the block; and the queen, kneeling down, said repeatedly, with a firm voice, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit."

But the sobs and groans of the spectators disconcerted the headsman. He trembled, missed his aim, and inflicted a deep wound in the lower part of the skull. The queen remained motionless, and at the third stroke her head was severed from her body. When the executioner held it up, the muscles of the face were so strongly convulsed that the features could not be recognised. He cried as usual, "God save Queen Elizabeth!"

"So perish all her enemies!" subjoined the dean of Peterborough.

"So perish all the enemies of the gospel!" exclaimed, in a still louder tone, the fanatical earl of Kent.

Not a voice was heard to cry Amen. Party feeling was absorbed in admiration and pity.[1]

ELIZABETH'S PRETENCE OF GRIEF

Before the execution of Mary, Elizabeth had balanced between the fear of infamy and the gratification of revenge. The blow had now been struck; her revenge was gratified; and it became her object to escape the infamy under the shelter of pretended ignorance. The reader will recollect that Davison, instead of despatching the warrant immediately after it had been signed, retained it till the following morning. Of this he had apprised the queen,

[1] The body was embalmed the same day, in the presence of Paulet and the sheriff, by a physician from Stamford and the surgeon of the village. It was afterwards enclosed in lead, and kept in the same room for six months, till the 1st of August, when Elizabeth ordered it to be interred with royal pomp in the abbey church of Peterborough, opposite to the tomb of Catherine, queen of Henry VIII.

The servants of Mary had during all this time been confined close prisoners at Fotheringay. They were now dismissed, and the natives of France repaired to London on their way to their own country, but were detained there during a fortnight, that Nau, who was sent before them, might have leisure, as was supposed, to tell the tale suggested by the secretary in the French court. After Mary's body had rested twenty-five years at Peterborough, it was transferred to Westminster by order of James, October 11th, 1612.

but she was careful not to iterate the order; she even suffered six days to elapse without any second mention of the warrant to Davison. Early on the next morning the lord Talbot arrived with the official intelligence. Burghley communicated it to his colleagues of the privy council—joyful tidings to men who during so many years had thirsted in vain for the death of the queen of Scots; but he proposed that instead of imparting the fact to Elizabeth then, time should be allowed to open it to her cautiously and by degrees.

To this singular proposal, so singular that it provokes a suspicion of collusion between the hoary statesman and his mistress, the lords consented. The queen took her usual airing, and after her return entertained herself in the company of Don Antonio, the pretender to the crown of Portugal. By noon the report was spread through the city; the bells announced from authority the important event; and the darkness of the night was illumined by innumerable bonfires. That evening one of the queen's ladies mentioned before her, as it were casually, the death of Mary Stuart.

Elizabeth maintained an air of perfect indifference; but in the morning, sending for Hatton, expressed the most violent indignation, and indulged in threats of the most fearful vengeance against the men who had abused her confidence and usurped her authority by putting the queen of Scots to death without her knowledge or consent.

Hatton acquainted his colleagues of the council with the queen's threats; they sent for Davison and advised him to keep out of her sight till her wrath should have subsided. Had they not already conspired to make him their scapegoat? He repaired to his own house under pretence of indisposition; but on Tuesday, February 14th, the lord Buckhurst conducted him a prisoner to the Tower, and on Wednesday, Elizabeth sending for Roger, groom of the chamber to the French king, desired him to assure his sovereign of her regret for the death of the Scottish queen, of her ignorance of the despatch of the warrant, and of her resolution to punish the presumption of her ministers. To account for so late a communication, he was told that the council had concealed the death of Mary from the queen, who first learned that event from accidental conversation with a lady of the court.

Elizabeth now attempted to prove the sincerity of her regret by the execution of her threats. She suspended the obnoxious ministers from their offices, and ordered them to answer in the Star Chamber for their contempt of her authority. But her anger was gradually appeased. In all humility they acknowledged their offence, pleaded the loyalty of their intentions, and submitted to her pleasure. One after another, all, with the exception of Davison, were restored to office and favour. He had earned this distinction by his constant reluctance to unite with his colleagues in their persecution of Mary. To add to his demerits, in answer to the questions put to him in prison, he did not imitate the humility of his colleagues, but, in defending himself, charged the queen indirectly with falsehood, and alluded in obscure terms to her message to Paulet. In court, however, he acted with more reserve than prudence. To the invectives of the crown lawyers he replied, that to acknowledge the offence would be to tarnish his own reputation, to contend with his sovereign would be to transgress the duty of a subject.

He was condemned in a fine of 10,000 marks, and to be imprisoned during the royal pleasure. The treasury seized all his property, so that at his release from confinement, in 1589, he found himself reduced to a state of extreme indigence. The queen, though she lived seventeen years longer, would never restore him to favour.

ELIZABETH APPEASES JAMES

It may appear surprising, but a full month elapsed before the king of Scotland received any certain intelligence of the execution of his mother. At the news he burst into tears; he talked of nothing but vengeance; the people shared the resentment of the king, and the estates offered to risk their lives and fortunes in the national quarrel.

The queen in her letter assured the young monarch that the death of Mary was not owing to her; that the ministers, who ordered it without her knowledge, should be severely punished; that she would be to him in the place of his mother, whose condemnation should prove no prejudice to his rights and expectations. Elizabeth's partisans in the Scottish court supported her cause. They admonished James to recollect that he was now the next heir to the English crown; let him not forfeit that splendid inheritance by offending a princess who alone could remove him from it.

His indignation gradually evaporated; the cry of vengeance was subdued by the suggestions of prudence, and his mouth was sealed with a present of four thousand pounds. Still the affront had sunk deep into the hearts of the Scots, and at the conclusion of the parliament the members besought the king on their knees to revenge the death of his mother. He replied that he felt as they did, that he was equally desirous of satisfaction, but that he must previously consult the princes his allies.

Elizabeth had little to fear from him single-handed; but she reinforced her army on the marches, scattered gold with a liberal hand among the Scottish nobility, and to alarm the monarch, sending for Arabella Stuart to court, exhibited her publicly as her intended successor. The resentment of James again evaporated, and it was thought that in reality he looked on the death of his mother as a personal benefit. It had relieved him from his fear of a rival for the Scottish throne.

The death of Mary was thus left unrevenged by those on whom that duty chiefly devolved—her son, the king of Scotland, and her brother-in-law, the king of France.[e]

ESTIMATES OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

Mignet

In order to rule as a queen over her powerful nobility, without provoking them to insurrection—to practise the Catholic form of worship without exciting the aggressive distrust of the Protestants—and to preserve her full sovereign authority in her relations with England, without exposing herself to the intrigues and attacks of the restless Elizabeth—in order to do this, what were the qualifications that Mary Stuart brought with her into Scotland? She condemned the religion and was ignorant of the customs of the land she was called to rule. It was with regret and disgust that she left a brilliant and refined court, to return to the wild mountains and unpolished inhabitants of Scotland. More fitted for friendship than policy—impetuous, and not at all circumspect—she reappeared there with an elegance out of place, a perilous beauty, a quick but restless intellect, a generous but excitable temperament, a taste for the fine arts, a love of adventure, and all the passions of a woman combined with the extreme freedom of a widow.

Although endued with great courage, it served only to hasten her misfortunes; and her mental endowments she employed in committing with a better grace those faults to which she was impelled by her position and her character. She had the imprudence to represent herself as the legitimate heir to the crown of England, and thus made herself Elizabeth's rival; she served as the support and hope of the vanquished Catholics in her own kingdom, and thus drew on herself the implacable hostility of the reformers who were resolved to maintain at all risks the religious revolution they had effected.

Nor was this all. She aggravated, by the errors of her private conduct, the dangers arising from the exercise of her authority, the pretensions of her birth, and the ambition of her creed. Her sudden fancy for Darnley—the excessive familiarities she allowed in Rizzio, and the confidence she reposed in him—and the ungovernable passion she felt for Bothwell—were all alike fatal to her. By elevating to the rank of her husband and king a young nobleman whose personal attractions were his only merit—by her sudden aversion and disgust for him—by making a Catholic foreigner secretary and favourite—and by consenting to be the wife of her husband's murderer—she annihilated her own authority.

After the loss of her crown, she imprudently hazarded the loss of her liberty. She sought an asylum in the dominions of her enemy before she was at all sure it would be granted to her; and after casting herself on the mercy of Elizabeth, conspired against her with small chance of success. While she thought she would be able, by concerting measures with the Catholic party, to effect her escape from the prison in which she had been iniquitously confined, she only laboured for her own destruction. The Catholics were too feeble in the island, and too disunited on the Continent, to revolt or interfere usefully on her behalf. The insurrections which she attempted in England, and the conspiracies which she framed until 1586, completed her ruin, by causing the death or exile of her most enterprising partisans. The maritime crusade discussed at Rome, Madrid, and Brussels, in 1570, and determined upon in 1586, for the purpose of deposing Elizabeth and restoring Mary Stuart, far from placing the Catholic queen on the throne of Great Britain, only conducted her to the scaffold.[k]

A. C. Swinburne on Mary

Mary Stuart was in many respects the creature of her age, of her creed, and of her station; but the noblest and most noteworthy qualities of her nature were independent of rank, opinion, or time. Even the detractors who defend her conduct on the plea that she was a dastard and a dupe are compelled in the same breath to retract this implied reproach, and to admit, with illogical acclamation and incongruous applause, that the world never saw more splendid courage at the service of more brilliant intelligence, that a braver if not "a rarer spirit never did steer humanity." A kinder or more faithful friend, a deadlier or more dangerous enemy, it would be impossible to dread or to desire. Passion alone could shake the double fortress of her impregnable heart and ever-active brain.

Of repentance it would seem that she knew as little as of fear, having been trained from her infancy in a religion where the Decalogue was supplanted by the creed. Adept as she was in the most exquisite delicacy of dissimulation, the most salient note of her original disposition was daring rather than subtlety. Beside or behind the voluptuous or intellectual attractions

of beauty and culture, she had about her the fresher charm of a fearless and frank simplicity, a genuine and enduring pleasure in small and harmless things no less than in such as were neither. In 1562 she amused herself for some days by living "with her little troop" in the house of a burgess of St. Andrews "like a burgess's wife," assuring the English ambassador that he should not find the queen there—"nor I know not myself where she is become."

No lapse of reconciling time, no extent of comparative indulgence, could break her in to resignation, submission, or toleration of even partial restraint. Three months after the massacre of St. Bartholomew had caused some additional restrictions to be placed upon her freedom of action, Shrewsbury writes to Burghley that "rather than continue this imprisonment, she sticks not to say she will give her body, her son, and country for liberty"; nor did she ever show any excess of regard for any of the three. For her own freedom, of will and of way, of passion and of action, she cared much; for her creed she cared something; for her country she cared less than nothing. She would have flung Scotland with England into the hell-fire of Spanish Catholicism rather than forego the faintest chance of personal revenge. Her profession of a desire to be instructed in the doctrines of Anglican Protestantism was so transparently a pious fraud as rather to afford confirmation than to arouse suspicion of her fidelity to the teaching of her church.

Elizabeth, so shamefully her inferior in personal loyalty, fidelity, and gratitude, was as clearly her superior on the one all-important point of patriotism. The saving salt of Elizabeth's character, with all its well-nigh incredible mixture of heroism and egotism, meanness and magnificence, was simply this, that, overmuch as she loved herself, she did yet love England better. Her best though not her only fine qualities were national and political, the high public virtues of a good public servant; in the private and personal qualities which attract and attach a friend to his friend and a follower to his leader, no man or woman was ever more constant and more eminent than Mary Queen of Scots.[h]

Froude on the Execution of Mary

Elizabeth, with a general desire to do right, could condescend to poor and mean manœuvres. Mary Stuart carried herself in the midst of her crimes with a majesty which would have become the noblest of sovereigns. She intended to produce a dramatic sensation, and she succeeded. The self-possession was faultless, the courage splendid. Never did any human creature meet death more bravely; yet, in the midst of the admiration and pity which cannot be refused her, it is not to be forgotten that she was leaving the world with a lie upon her lips. She was a bad woman, disguised in the livery of a martyr. She has had her revenge, if not on Elizabeth living, yet on her memory in the annals of her country.

"Who now doubts," writes an eloquent modern writer, "that it would have been wiser in Elizabeth to spare her life?" Rather, the political wisdom of a critical and difficult act has never in the world's history been more signally justified. It cut away the only interest on which the Scotch and English Catholics could possibly have combined.[i]

Henry Hallam

While we can hardly pronounce Mary's execution to have been so wholly iniquitous and unwarrantable as it has been represented, it may be admitted that a more generous nature than that of Elizabeth would not have exacted

the law's full penalty. The queen of Scots' detention in England was in violation of all natural, public, and municipal law; and if reasons of state policy or precedents from the custom of princes are allowed to extenuate this injustice, it is to be asked whether such reasons and such precedents might not palliate the crime of assassination imputed to her. Some might perhaps allege, as was so frequently urged at the time, that if her life could be taken with justice, it could not be spared in prudence; and that Elizabeth's higher desire to preserve her people from the risks of civil commotion must silence every feeling that could plead for mercy.

Of this necessity different judgments may perhaps be formed. It is evident that Mary's death extinguished the best hope of the papacy in England; but the relative force of the two religions was greatly changed since Norfolk's conspiracy; and it appears to me that an act of parliament explicitly cutting her off from the crown, and at the same time entailing it on her son, would have afforded a very reasonable prospect of securing the succession against all serious disturbance. But this neither suited the inclination of Elizabeth nor of some among those who surrounded her.

As the Catholics endured without any open murmuring the execution of her on whom their fond hopes had so long rested, so for the remainder of the queen's reign they by no means appear, when considered as a body, to have furnished any specious pretexts for severity. In that memorable year, when the dark cloud gathered around our coasts, when Europe stood by in fearful suspense to behold what should be the result of that great cast in the game of human politics, what the craft of Rome, the power of Philip, the genius of Farnese, could achieve against the island-queen with her Drakes and Cecils —in that agony of the Protestant faith and English name, they stood the trial of their spirits without swerving from their allegiance.

It was then that the Catholics in every county repaired to the standard of the lord-lieutenant, imploring that they might not be suspected of bartering the national independence for their religion itself. It was then that the venerable Lord Montague brought a troop of horse to the queen at Tilbury, commanded by himself, his son, and grandson. It would have been a sign of gratitude if the laws depriving them of the free exercise of their religion had been, if not repealed, yet suffered to sleep, after these proofs of loyalty. But the execution of priests and of other Catholics became, on the contrary, more frequent, and the fines for recusancy were exacted as rigorously as before.*f*

Knight's Estimate of the Trial

There are many doubtful points in the recorded transactions of this period, and historians have too often cut the knot instead of attempting to unloose it. Starting upon the hypothesis that if Mary were not wholly innocent the judgment against her was illegal, she is usually represented as the victim of remorseless statesmen, of a fanatical parliament, of a ferocious people, and of a cruel and dissembling rival queen. In the natural sympathy of mankind for a woman who had so long been acquainted with misery, the fact seems to have been overlooked that she was thrust from her legitimate throne by her own subjects, under charges of the most atrocious nature, and with the conviction that she would never cease to plot with foreign powers for the overthrow of the reformed religion. It is equally clear that her detention in England was upon the ground that she was a public enemy; that she had never given up her claim to the actual possession of the crown; that her efforts to induce the Catholic powers to support her claims were unceasing;

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and that for years she was the centre around which all the intrigues for destroying the heretical governments of England and Scotland revolved.

When Mary was pronounced guilty of privity to the Babington conspiracy, the most extensive preparations for the overthrow of Elizabeth were rapidly maturing. Invasion from without, treason from within, were to work together to place upon the throne one who would call in foreign aid to destroy the religion which had been generally adopted by a whole generation of English, and which no differences of opinion were otherwise likely essentially to disturb. Assuming Mary to have been privy to the various plots that had ripened during the last two years of her detention,[1] the question arises whether the deposed queen of Scots was amenable to any English tribunal. Camden[n] says, that amongst contemporaries, "divers speeches were raised about the matter according to the divers dispositions of men."

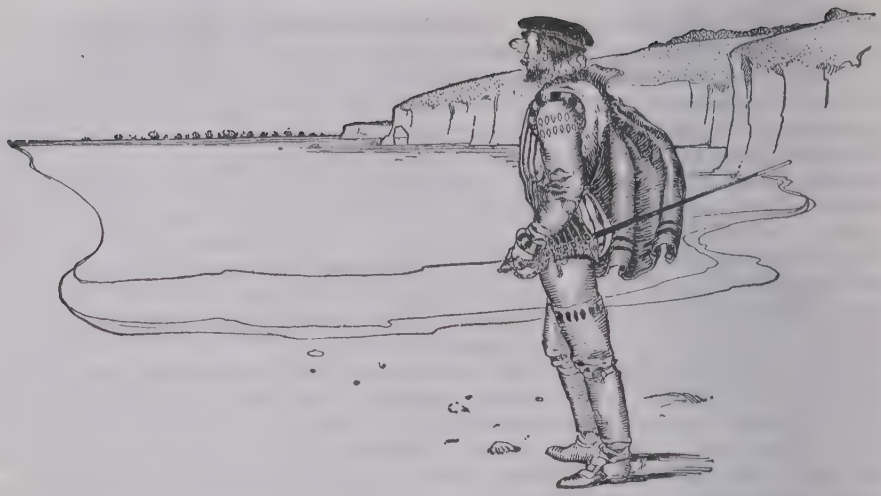
These abstract differences were no doubt settled, for the most part, by the doctrine, with which Camden concludes his statement of the opinions of those who defended the sentence against Mary—"that the safety of the people is the highest law." Whatever violent historical partisans may maintain, we concur in the opinion of Hallam,[f] that those who held Mary to be only a titular queen were in the right.

The contending feelings excited by the fate of Mary have been as correctly analysed by the great contemporary poet as by any historian. There can be no doubt that Spenser's *False Duessa* was the type of Mary, the "untitled queen." Following out the poet's brief enumeration of the crimes of Duessa, Authority opposed her; the Law of Nations rose against her; Religion imputed God's behest to condemn her; the People's cry and Commons' suit importuned for care of the Public Cause; Justice charged her with breach of law:

> "But then, for her, on the contrary part,
> Rose many advocates for her to plead;
> First there came Pity, with full tender heart,
> And with her joined Regard of Womanhead;
> And then came Danger, threatening hidden dread
> And high alliance unto foreign power;
> Then came Nobility of Birth, that bred
> Great ruth through her misfortune's tragic stour,
> And lastly Grief did plead and many tears forth pour."

The Pity, the Regard of Womanhead, the ruth for fallen Nobility of Birth, the Grief that speaks in tears, will always prevail over political considerations when we peruse the sad story of Mary Stuart. But it is not to read the past aright if we wholly shut our eyes to Justice and the Public Cause. It would be worse than mere tenderness to impute to Elizabeth and her advisers, to the parliament and to the people, a blind hostility to a suffering and harmless captive. Mary was for years the terror of England. Her destruction was the Great Cause to which the highest and the humblest in the land looked as a relief. If her death were a crime, it was a national crime.[g]

[1 Von Ranke[m] feels that it is undeniable that Mary knew of the plots to dethrone Elizabeth, but thinks it quite consistent that she had no intention of putting Elizabeth to death. Once assassination is omitted from the case, it is a contest between two remarkably gifted and somewhat scrupulous women for the supreme power.]



CHAPTER XII

THE SPANISH ARMADA

[1587–1588 A.D.]

After Mary's death the attack on England would have to be conducted in open day. It would be no advantage to Philip and the pope that Elizabeth should be murdered if her place was to be taken, not by Mary, but by Mary's Protestant son, James of Scotland.—S. R. Gardiner.[b]

London had had its rejoicings that the great blow had been struck which was to deliver England from the dread of a papist successor to Elizabeth. The bells of the city's hundred steeples had proclaimed the stern exultation of the citizens that the voice of the parliament had at last been listened to. There was secret anger amongst a few, and generous pity in many a woman's heart. But the common sentiment was that the danger of domestic treason had been removed, and that the other danger of foreign invasion was less to be dreaded.

In another week the patriotic feelings of the people were wisely stirred in their utmost depths. The queen had undertaken the charge of a costly public funeral of Sir Philip Sidney. He who under the walls of Zütphen had perished untimely—who was no more to show his knightly bearing in the tilt-yard, or to wander amidst the flower-enamelled meadows of his own Penshurst—was lying insensible to earthly hopes or fears, at the house of the minorites, without Aldgate.

On the 16th of February there was a magnificent pageant in honour of the self-denying hero. Young men selected from the train-bands marched "three and three, in black cassokins, with their short pikes, halberds, and ensign trailing on the ground." Brave comrades of Sidney in his battle-fields were there; and there was the ambitious Leicester, who had not yet resigned his

scheme of being sovereign of the Netherlands. The people gazed upon Drake, the great mariner who had circumnavigated the world, and had carried terror of the English flag through all the Spanish settlements. In the pomp of that funeral of Sidney there was something more than empty pageantry.

There were many things in the political condition of the English under Elizabeth that are opposed to our notions of freedom—that were essentially characteristic of an arbitrary government. But the people were thriving; they were living under an equal administration of justice; and they were trusted. They had arms in their hands, and they were taught how to use them. There was no standing army, but every man of full age was a soldier. The feudal military organisation was gone. There was an organisation of the people amongst themselves, equally effective and far more inspiriting.

In the spring of 1587 it was certain that Spain was making great preparations for the invasion of England. This design was the result of no sudden resolve.[1] Elizabeth was not to be hurled from the throne of the heretic island, because Philip was provoked out of his forbearance by "an insult to the majesty of sovereigns, which, as the most powerful of Christian monarchs, he deemed it his duty to revenge." The people of England by their parliament, Elizabeth by her ministers, "had taken, on a scaffold, the life of the queen of Scots"; but the projected invasion had been stimulated by that queen as the great scheme for bringing back England and Scotland to the faith for which Philip and his adherents were calling into terrible vindictiveness all the horrors of the Inquisition and all the subtlety of the Jesuits. The day that was to decide which should prevail of the two principles that divided the Christian world was fast approaching.[c]

MARITIME EXPLOITS

During the reign of Elizabeth, that spirit of commercial enterprise which had been awakened under Mary seemed to pervade and animate every description of men. For the extension of trade and the discovery of unknown lands associations were formed, companies were incorporated, expeditions were planned; and the prospect of immense profit induced many to sacrifice their whole fortunes, prevailed even on the ministers, the nobility, and the queen herself, to risk considerable sums in these hazardous undertakings.

The agents of the Russia Company laboured to penetrate through Muscovy and Persia into Cathay; the Turkey merchants purchased and imported the productions of the Levant; English mariners explored sometimes the coasts of Africa, sometimes those of America; and repeated attempts were made, in opposite directions, to force a passage to the East Indies through the icebergs which crown the northern limits of the old and the new continents. The adventurers brought wealth and honour to their country. But among them there were many who, at a distance from home and freed from the restraint of law, indulged in the most brutal excesses; whose rapacity despised the rights of nations and the claims of humanity; and whom, while we admire their skill and hardihood and perseverance, our more sober judgment must pronounce no better than public robbers and assassins.

The renowned Sir John Hawkins first acquired celebrity by opening the trade in slaves. He had made three voyages to the coast of Africa, 1562; bartered

[1 Philip, as a descendant of John of Gaunt, claimed the throne of England for himself or his daughter Isabella. The war was also an effort to put an end to English piracy and assistance to the revolting Netherlands.]

articles of trifling value for numerous lots of negroes; crossed the Atlantic to Hispaniola and the Spanish settlements in America; and in exchange for his captives returned with large quantities of hides, sugar, ginger, and pearls. This trade was, however, illicit; and during his third voyage in the bay of San Juan de Ulúa, in 1567, Hawkins was surprised by the arrival of the Spanish viceroy with a fleet of twelve sail from Europe.

The hostile squadrons viewed each other with jealousy and distrust; a doubtful truce was terminated by a general engagement; and in the end, though the Spaniards suffered severely, Hawkins lost his fleet, his treasure, and the majority of his followers. Out of six ships under his command two only escaped, and of these one foundered at sea; the other, called the *Judith*, a bark of fifty tons, commanded by Francis Drake, brought back the remnant of the adventurers to Europe. The reader will perhaps be surprised when he understands that the two largest vessels out of the six engaged in this inhuman traffic belonged to the queen.



SIR PHILIP SIDNEY
(1554–1586)

In an age of religious fanaticism it is not unusual to find habits of piety united with the indulgence of the most lawless passions. Drake attributed his late disaster to the perfidy of the viceroy. He thirsted for revenge; a naval chaplain was consulted, and the enlightened casuist determined that the loss which he had suffered from a Spanish commander might be justly repaired by the plunder of Spanish subjects in any part of the globe. The conscience of the adventurer was satisfied; he made three predatory voyages to the West Indies in 1572; and if the first two were unsuccessful, the last amply indemnified him for his previous disappointments.

In the Gulf of Mexico he captured more than one hundred small vessels, July 28th; he took and plundered *Nombre de Dios;* made an expedition by land in the company of the Symerons, or fugitive negroes, and of a band of French adventurers; and intercepted a convoy of mules laden with gold and silver. This treasure satisfied his rapacity; to secure it he hastened back to England, pretending that he had obtained it by way of barter from the natives.

During his last expedition, from the summit of a mountain on the Isthmus of Darien Drake had for the first time descried the great Pacific Ocean, February 11th, 1573; and in a transport of enthusiasm, falling on his knees, he called God to witness that if life were granted him he would one day unfurl the English flag on that sea, hitherto unknown to his countrymen.[1] In England he was not unmindful of his vow. Walsingham, Hatton, and some of the other councillors applauded and aided his efforts, and Elizabeth herself staked a sum of one thousand crowns on the issue of the expedition.

[1 Von Ranke *d* says, "This was an important moment in the history of the world."]

He sailed, November 15th, 1577, with five ships and one hundred and sixty men, and crossed the Atlantic to the coast of Brazil; passed the Straits of Magellan, and reached the small port of Santiago on the Spanish main. No resistance had been prepared where no enemy had hitherto been known. From Santiago to Lima, the towns on the coast and the vessels in the harbours were taken and plundered. His last and richest capture was made at sea, March 1st, 1579—the *Cacafuego*, a Spanish trader of considerable value.

But the alarm was now raised; a squadron had been stationed at the straits to intercept his return, and Drake took the bold resolution of stretching across the Pacific Ocean to the Moluccas. Thence, after many dangers and adventures, doubling the Cape of Good Hope, he returned to Plymouth in safety, November 3rd, 1580, after an absence of almost three years. His arrival was celebrated as a triumph. He came indeed stained with bloodshed and rapine, but in the estimation of the people these blots were effaced by the glory of the enterprise; and England hailed with joy the return of her adventurous son, the first of mortals who had in one voyage circumnavigated the globe.[1]

Though Drake had sailed with five ships, he returned with only one—the *Golden Hind*, but it was laden with treasure to the amount of £800,000. Of this sum, one-tenth was distributed among the officers and crew; a portion was given up to the Spanish ambassador, who claimed the whole in the name of his sovereign; and the rest, of which no account was ever received, was believed to have been shared among the queen, the commander, and the royal favourites. Four months, however, elapsed before she would give to Drake any public testimony of her approbation. His ship had been placed in the dock at Deptford that it might be preserved as a memorial of his daring adventure. Elizabeth condescended to partake of a banquet which he gave in the cabin, and before her departure conferred on him the honour of knighthood.

When Philip complained of these depredations they were feebly vindicated on the ground of his having secretly aided the queen's enemies and sought to excite rebellion in her dominions. But if the plea of retaliation is to be admitted at all, we must seek out the original aggressor, and impartiality will compel us to lay the blame on the unjustifiable conduct of the English adventurers. At length, however, Elizabeth, as the ally of Holland, engaged in open war with Philip; the lawless pirate was immediately converted into an officer acting under the royal commission, and the skill and intrepidity of Drake were successfully employed in legitimate hostilities for the service of his sovereign. With a fleet of twenty-one sail he directed his course to the West Indies, burned the town of Santiago, September 14th, 1585, plundered those of Santo Domingo and Cartagena, and razed two Spanish forts on the coast of Florida.[2]

At the same time, Thomas Cavendish, a gentleman of Suffolk, who had dissipated one-half of his property, sold the remainder, built or purchased three small vessels, and sailed in quest of adventures to the Spanish main. Like Drake, he made the circuit of the globe, but, like him, he added little to the stock of general knowledge. The object of both was to enrich themselves at

[1] The glory of having practically demonstrated the orbicular form of the earth belonged to Magellan; but that navigator was prevented from completing his circumnavigation of the globe by his death in the Philippine Islands.

[2] In this expedition he lost seven hundred men by sickness, and brought back to England the survivors of a colony which Sir Walter Raleigh had sent out to Virginia. These colonists, on their return, introduced the custom of smoking tobacco.

the expense of the Spaniards. This they effected; the improvement of science was beyond their abilities or beneath their notice.[1]

These maritime expeditions might irritate the Spanish monarch; they contributed nothing towards the great object of the war. The subjugation or independence of the Netherlands was to be decided on the spot; and there Philip had little to dread as long as the conduct of the hostile army was intrusted to the presumption and incapacity of Leicester.

The states assembled; and, as if the queen's lieutenant was no longer in existence, appointed Maurice, son to the late prince William of Orange, stadtholder and captain-general in Holland, Zealand, and Friesland. Elizabeth felt the affront offered to her favourite as offered to herself, and the lord Buckhurst was despatched to signify her displeasure. By his exertions harmony was restored.

The English queen, however, had a more important object in view. She had rashly, though reluctantly, plunged into the contest with Philip; she now sought to extricate herself from it with honour, but Leicester and his friends urged the continuation of the war. They foretold that while the queen was deluded with a pretended negotiation, the Spanish squadrons would slip from their ports, unite in one numerous armament, and pour a foreign army on the English shores; and they wrought so powerfully on the fears and feelings of Elizabeth, that Drake was despatched from Plymouth to watch the harbours of Spain, and to oppose, if it were attempted, the junction of the Spanish fleet.

But that officer had no intention to confine himself to the letter of his instructions. He hastened to Cadiz, April 19th, bore fearlessly into the harbour, dispersed by his superior fire the Spanish galleys, and sunk, or burned, or captured, or destroyed, no fewer than eighty sail, partly ships of war, partly merchantmen, either recently arrived from the east or equipped to proceed to the West Indies. From Cadiz the conquerors returned by the coast of Portugal; in the waters of the Tagus they insulted the marquis of Santa Cruz, the admiral of Spain; and at sea their labours were rewarded by the capture of the *St. Philip*, a carrack of the largest dimensions and laden with much valuable merchandise.[2]

The victorious admiral was received with gratitude by all but his sovereign. Elizabeth trembled lest so great a loss should awaken in the breast of Philip the desire of revenge rather than of peace; and in answer to a letter from Farnese, who had offered to appoint negotiators, and left the place of meeting to the choice of the queen, she assured him that Drake had been sent out for the sole purpose of opposing any attempt at invasion; that orders had been forwarded to him to abstain from every act of hostility; and that as he had disobeyed her commands he should suffer for his presumption on his return. Farnese affected to be satisfied, but prepared to play a similar game.

On a sudden, Sluys, a fort of the first consequence, garrisoned partly by Englishmen and partly by Hollanders, was besieged, May 29th, and the number and discipline of the enemy, the abilities and good fortune of their leader, taught the states to tremble for its safety. They made the most pressing

[1] Cavendish afterwards undertook a similar voyage in 1591, and perished at sea.

[2] Drake said that he had "singed the Spanish king's beard." This triumph at Cadiz and this capture of the rich merchant ship were of permanent importance. "The English ever after that time more cheerfully set upon those huge, castle-like ships which before they were afraid of; and also they so fully understood, by the merchants' books, the wealth of the Indian merchandises and the manner of trading in the eastern world, that they afterwards set up a gainful voyage and traffic thither, ordaining a company of East Indian merchants."—CAMDEN.e]

[1587 A.D.]

instances to the queen; her favourite assailed her with arguments and entreaties; and she gave her consent to the departure of Leicester.

The earl arrived, assembled his forces, and made three unsuccessful attempts to raise the siege. Sluys capitulated, July 30th, 1587, and the earl became in a few days the execration of the people. From the conflicting assertions of Leicester and his opponents, it is difficult to form a correct notion of his proceedings. They charged him with aspiring to the sovereignty of the provinces; they asserted that with this view he had sought to place English governors in every fortress; had attempted to seize the persons of Barneveld, his chief adversary, and of Prince Maurice, his most formidable rival; and had arranged a plot to seize for himself the city of Leyden, which was preserved to the states only by the timidity and flight of the conspirators. Leicester, on the contrary, complained bitterly of the ingratitude of the Hollanders; accused the most ardent among the patriots of corruption and treason, and pretended that a secret design existed of betraying the Netherlands into the hands of Philip.

However these things may be, his influence with Elizabeth, though supported by that of his son-in-law, the young earl of Essex, was apparently gone. She believed that he had neglected her instructions, and sought chiefly his own aggrandisement; and when Farnese complained that the queen had no real desire of peace, she laid the blame first on the negligence, and then on the ambition, of Leicester. He was recalled, and on his arrival, November 21st, aware of his danger, threw himself at her feet and conjured her to have pity on her former favourite. "She had sent him to the Netherlands with honour; would she receive him back in disgrace? She had raised him from the dust; would she now bury him alive?"

Elizabeth relented, but the result of the interview was not revealed till the following morning. The earl had received a summons to answer before the council. He obeyed; but instead of kneeling at the foot of the table, took his accustomed seat; and when the secretary began to read the charges which had been prepared, he arose, inveighed against the baseness and perfidy of his calumniators, and appealed from the prejudices of his equals to the equity of his sovereign. The members gazed on each other; the secretary passed to the ordinary business of the day; and the lord Buckhurst, the accuser, was ordered to consider himself a prisoner in his own house. Such a punishment was evidently unjust. But he submitted without a murmur; and so rigorously did he observe the royal order that, although his confinement lasted till the death of Leicester, he never admitted, during nine months, either his wife or children into his company.

SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON THE FAVOURITE

About the same time the death of Bromley, lord chancellor, enabled the queen to satisfy the ambition of another of her favourites. Since the Reformation that high office had been confined to lawyers; she now resolved to break through the custom, and to bestow it on the earl of Rutland. But Rutland died within a few days; and to the surprise and amusement of the public, Sir Christopher Hatton was appointed chancellor, April 29th.

There is much in the personal history of this fortunate courtier to instruct and interest the reader. Above five-and-twenty years had elapsed since it chanced that the students in the inns of court gave a magnificent ball in honour of the queen. Among the maskers her eye distinguished one who in

stature, activity, and gracefulness of manner excelled all his compeers. The lucky dancer was Hatton, a young gentleman of slender fortune, from Northamptonshire. She invited him to court, gave him an appointment in her band of pensioners, and made him a gentleman of the privy chamber. Years passed before he was raised to any higher office, but these situations gave him frequent access to the queen, and it soon became manifest that he enjoyed a considerable portion of the royal favour.

Niggard as the queen usually was to the most deserving of her servants, she seldom suffered a long interval to pass without making to Hatton some valuable grant in lands or rents; and it was observed that at her annual New Year's gifts she constantly assigned to him a much more valuable present than to any other individual. These marks of favour excited jealousy and suspicion; occasionally she could not forbear from lavishing caresses upon him in the presence of others; frequently she spent several hours at a time with him in private; the tongue of scandal was not idle, and it became the general belief that he occupied that place in her affection which had formerly been assigned to the earl of Leicester.

Several of his letters to her are still extant, written in a most extraordinary style, and breathing the passionate language of a favoured and presumptuous lover. In 1577 the queen conferred on him the honour of knighthood, appointed him vice-chamberlain, and gave to him a seat in the privy council. To his honour it must be recorded that we find him at times employing his authority to shield the poor and friendless from oppression, and to mitigate the severity of the law in favour of recusants under prosecution for their religion before the ecclesiastical commission.

Among the gallants at court was one who from the first appears to have been an object of jealousy to Hatton—the young and accomplished Walter Raleigh, the very counterpart of Hatton himself when about twenty years before he entered on his fortunate career. In 1582 Raleigh had received from the queen some distinguished mark of royal favour. Hatton was offended, and in proof of his displeasure he withdrew sullenly from court and shut himself up in the country.

Thus the gentle tarsel was flown; where was the falconer's voice to lure him back again? Elizabeth undertook that office, and performed it successfully, but by a process too mysterious and enigmatical to be readily understood. Messages were exchanged between her and the fugitive, and jewels transmitted for tokens, with the quaintest conceits and nonsensical comments on the "Belwether" and "the Water," the sobriquets of the two rivals.

Originally the queen gave to Hatton the name of her "Mutton," which was afterwards changed into her "Belwether," probably because he was captain of the guard. Raleigh was called "Water," perhaps from his passion for maritime adventure and voyages of discovery. The queen read Hatton's letter with blushing cheeks, and told Heneage, who had delivered it, that she knew not whether to be angry or pleased; that if princes were like gods, they would suffer no element to breed confusion; that *pecora campi* were so dear to her she would never permit "Water" or floods to overwhelm them; and to the end that her "Belwether" might not fear drowning, she would send to him for a token the bird (a dove) from which Noah learned that the "waters" had abated from the face of the earth. In conclusion, Heneage informed Hatton that, after all, "Water" had been much more welcome than was fit for the season, but he hoped that it would make neither himself nor his friend wet-shod. Hatton's tokens to the queen were a "bucket" to bale out the water, and a bodkin.

[1587–1588 A.D.]

Hatton very wisely suffered himself to be persuaded, and resumed his former offices at court; but in 1585 he was seized with a second fit of jealousy, and the same game was played over again with a similar result. Still "Water" continued to encroach on the domain of the "Belwether." In 1586 Raleigh was made captain of the guard, the post which Hatton had so long possessed, lord warden of the Stannaries, and the queen's lieutenant in Cornwall; but in the next year she put an end to the contest between the two rivals. The elevation of Hatton to the chancellorship placed him at an immeasurable height above Raleigh. It might be to gratify *his* ambition, perhaps to free *herself* from the constant attendance of an old and querulous servant.

We are now arrived at the most interesting and memorable epoch in the reign of Elizabeth. The reader must have noticed the injuries which the queen had almost annually offered to the king of Spain. She had intercepted his treasure, had given aid to his rebels, had hired foreign mercenaries to fight against his armies, and had suffered her mariners to plunder and massacre his defenceless subjects on the high seas and in his American dominions. Policy taught him to dissemble; he covered his feelings with an affectation of disdain; and the monarch so haughty to every other power, appeared to bear the provocations given by Elizabeth with the most stoical indifference.

But the constant repetition of insult, the sophisms with which his complaints had formerly been answered, and the recollection that the queen, under the reign of her sister, had owed her liberty, perhaps her life, to his protection, sharpened the edge of his resentment; and if he hesitated to strike, it was only that he might take more sure and ample vengeance. In 1583, after a forbearance of fifteen years, he flattered himself that the day of retribution was come. The duke of Anjou had been driven out of the Netherlands; France trembled on the verge of a civil war; and the defeat of his rival Don Antonio, with the reduction of Terceira, had secured on his head the crown of Portugal.

Freed from other foes, he turned his attention to the English queen; but he was by nature slow and cautious: to arrange his plans, to make his preparations, demanded leisure and consideration; and five more years were suffered to elapse before the Armada, designed to subjugate the English nation, was ready to sail from the ports of Spain. Of all men, the Spanish king should have been the last to acknowledge in the pontiff the right of disposing of the crowns of princes. In former times he had not hesitated to declare war against Paul IV, and, by his general the duke of Alva, had dictated the terms of peace in the Vatican. Revenge and ambition taught him a different lesson. In confidence he communicated his object to Sixtus V, the reigning pope, and solicited his co-operation in an attempt which had for one of its objects the restoration of the papal authority in England. For this purpose he demanded an aid in money. Sixtus exhorted Philip to hasten the expedition, offering him a subsidy of a million of crowns, to be paid as soon as the invading army had landed on the coast of England.*f*

THE INVINCIBLE ARMADA

Perhaps in the history of mankind there has never been a vast project of conquest conceived and matured in so protracted and yet so desultory a manner as was this famous Spanish invasion. There was something almost puerile in the whims rather than schemes of Philip for carrying out his purpose. It was probable that some resistance would be offered, at least by

the navy of England, to the subjugation of that country, and the king had enjoyed an opportunity the preceding summer of seeing the way in which English sailors did their work. He had also appeared to understand the necessity of covering the passage of Farnese from the Flemish ports into the Thames, by means of the great Spanish fleet from Lisbon. Nevertheless he never seemed to be aware that Farnese could not invade England quite by himself, and was perpetually expecting to hear that he had done so.

"Holland and Zealand," wrote Alexander to Philip, "have been arming with their accustomed promptness; England has made great preparations. I have done my best to make the impossible possible. Four ships of war could sink every one of my boats. Nevertheless I beg to be informed of your majesty's final order. If I am seriously expected to make the passage without Santa Cruz, I am ready to do it, although I should go all alone in a cockboat."

But Santa Cruz at least was not destined to assist in the conquest of England; for, worn out with fatigue and vexation, goaded by the reproaches and insults of Philip, Santa Cruz was dead. He was replaced in the chief command of the fleet by the duke of Medina Sidonia, a grandee of vast wealth, but with little capacity and less experience. Alexander informed his master that the troops in the Netherlands had been daily dwindling from sickness and other causes, till at last, instead of the 30,000 effective infantry, with which it had been originally intended to make the enterprise, he had not more than 17,000 in the month of April. The 6,000 Spaniards whom he was to receive from the fleet of Medina Sidonia would therefore be the very mainspring of his army. After leaving no more soldiers in the Netherlands than were absolutely necessary for the defence of the obedient provinces against the rebels, he could only take with him to England 23,000 men, even after the reinforcements from Medina. "When we talked of taking England by surprise," said Alexander, "we never thought of less than 30,000. Now that she is alert and ready for us, and that it is certain we must fight by sea and by land, 50,000 would be few."

At last, on the 28th, 29th, and 30th of May, 1588, the fleet, which had been waiting at Lisbon more than a month for favourable weather, set sail from that port, after having been duly blessed by the cardinal archduke Albert, viceroy of Portugal. There were rather more than one hundred and thirty ships in all, divided into ten squadrons. The total tonnage of the fleet was 59,120; the number of guns was 3,165. Of Spanish troops there were 19,295 on board; there were 8,252 sailors and 2,088 galley-slaves. Besides these there was a force of noble volunteers, belonging to the most illustrious houses of Spain, with their attendants, amounting to nearly 2,000 in all. There was also Don Martin Alaccon, administrator and vicar-general of the Holy Inquisition, at the head of some 290 monks of the mendicant orders, priests and familiars. The grand total of those embarked was about 30,000. The daily expense of the fleet was estimated by Don Diego de Pimentel at 12,000 ducats a day, and the daily cost of the combined naval and military force under Farnese and Medina Sidonia was stated at 30,000 ducats.

The size of the ships ranged from 1,200 to 300 tons. The galleons, of which there were about sixty, were huge round-stemmed clumsy vessels, with bulwarks three or four feet thick and built up at stem and stern like castles. The galleasses—of which there were four—were a third larger than the ordinary galley, and were rowed each by three hundred galley-slaves. They consisted of an enormous towering fortress at the stern, a castellated structure almost equally massive in front, with seats for the rowers amid-



THE ARMADA

(From the engraving by John Pine, 1739, of the Tapestry, since destroyed by fire in the House of Lords)

[1588 A.D.]

ships. At stem and stern and between the slaves' benches were heavy cannon. These galeasses were floating edifices, very wonderful to contemplate. They were gorgeously decorated. There were splendid state-apartments, cabins, chapels, and pulpits in each, and they were amply provided with awnings, cushions, streamers, standards, gilded saints, and bands of music. To take part in an ostentatious pageant, nothing could be better devised. To fulfil the great objects of a war-vessel—to sail and to fight—they were the worst machines ever launched upon the ocean. The four galleys were similar to the galeasses in every respect except that of size, in which they were by one-third inferior.

All the ships of the fleet—galeasses, galleys, galleons, and hulks—were so encumbered with top-hamper, so overweighted in proportion to their draught of water, that they could bear but little canvas, even with smooth seas and light and favourable winds. In violent tempests, therefore, they seemed likely to suffer. To the eyes of the sixteenth century these vessels seemed enormous. A ship of 1,300 tons was then a monster rarely seen, and a fleet numbering from 130 to 150 sail, with an aggregate tonnage of 60,000, seemed sufficient to conquer the world, and to justify the arrogant title, by which it had baptised itself, of the Invincible.

Such was the machinery which Philip had at last set afloat, for the purpose of dethroning Elizabeth and establishing the Inquisition in England. One hundred and forty ships, 11,000 Spanish veterans, as many more recruits, partly Spanish, partly Portuguese, 2,000 grandees, as many galley-slaves, and three hundred barefooted friars and inquisitors.

The plan was simple. Medina Sidonia was to proceed straight from Lisbon to the Calais roads; there he was to wait for the duke of Parma, who was to come forth from Newport, Sluys, and Dunkirk, bringing with him his 17,000 veterans, and to assume the chief command of the whole expedition. They were then to cross the Channel to Dover, land the army of Parma, reinforced with 6,000 Spaniards from the fleet, and with these 23,000 men Alexander was to march at once upon London. Medina Sidonia was to seize and fortify the Isle of Wight, guard the entrance of the harbours against any interference from the Dutch and English fleets, and—so soon as the conquest of England had been effected—he was to proceed to Ireland. It had been the wish of Sir William Stanley that Ireland should be subjugated first, as a basis of operations against England; but this had been overruled. The intrigues of Mendoza and Farnese, too, with the Catholic nobles of Scotland, had proved, after all, unsuccessful. King James had yielded to superior offers of money and advancement held out to him by Elizabeth, and was now, in Alexander's words, a confirmed heretic.

There was no course left, therefore, but to conquer England at once. A strange omission had, however, been made in the plan from first to last. The commander of the whole expedition was the duke of Parma; on his head was the whole responsibility. Not a gun was to be fired—if it could be avoided—until he had come forth with his veterans to make his junction with the Invincible Armada off Calais. Yet there was no arrangement whatever to enable him to come forth—not the slightest provision to effect that junction. It would almost seem that the letter-writer of the Escorial had been quite ignorant of the existence of the Dutch fleets off Dunkirk, Newport, and Flushing, although he had certainly received information enough of this formidable obstacle to his plan.

It was clear that Alexander's collection of small flat-bottomed river-boats and hoys could not even make the passage, except in smooth weather. They

could not contend with a storm, much less with the enemy's ships, which would destroy them utterly in case of a meeting, without his being able to avail himself of his soldiers—who would be so closely packed as to be hardly movable—or of any human help. The preposterous notion that he should come out with his flotilla to make a junction with Medina off Calais, was over and over again denounced by Alexander with vehemence and bitterness, and most boding expressions were used by him as to the probable result were such a delusion persisted in. There was bread, beef, and powder enough; there were monks and priests enough; standards, galley-slaves, and inquisitors enough; but there were no light vessels in the Armada, and no heavy vessels in Parma's fleet. Medina could not go to Farnese, nor could Farnese come to Medina. The junction was likely to be difficult, and yet it had never once entered the heads of Philip or his counsellors to provide for that difficulty. The king never seemed to imagine that Farnese, with 40,000 or 50,000 soldiers in the Netherlands, a fleet of 300 transports, and power to dispose of very large funds for one great purpose, could be kept in prison by a fleet of Dutch skippers and Corsairs.

With as much sluggishness as might have been expected from their clumsy architecture, the ships of the Armada consumed nearly three weeks in sailing from Lisbon to the neighbourhood of Cape Finisterre. Here they were overtaken by a tempest, and were scattered hither and thither, almost at the mercy of the winds and waves; for those unwieldy hulks were ill-adapted to a tempest in the Bay of Biscay.

This was the first adventure of the Invincible Armada. Of the squadron of galleys, one was already sunk in the sea, and two of the others had been conquered by their own mutinous galley-slaves. The fourth rode out the gale with difficulty and joined the rest of the fleet, which ultimately reassembled at Corunna. At the Groyne—as the English of that day were accustomed to call Corunna—they remained a month, repairing damages and recruiting; and on the 22nd of July (N. S.) the Armada set sail.

On Friday, the 29th of July, off the Lizard, they had the first glimpse of the land of promise presented them by Sixtus V, of which they had at last come to take possession. On the same day and night the blaze and smoke of ten thousand beacon-fires from Land's End to Margate, and from the Isle of Wight to Cumberland, gave warning to every Englishman that the enemy was at last upon them. Almost at that very instant intelligence had been brought from the court to the lord admiral at Plymouth that the Armada, dispersed and shattered by the gales of June, was not likely to make its appearance that year; and orders had consequently been given to disarm the four largest ships and send them into dock. Even Walsingham had participated in this strange delusion. Before Howard had time to act upon this ill-timed suggestion—even had he been disposed to do so—he received authentic intelligence that the great fleet was off the Lizard. Neither he nor Francis Drake were the men to lose time in such an emergency, and before that Friday night was spent, sixty of the best English ships had been warped out of Plymouth harbour.

By nine o'clock, the 31st of July, about two miles from Looe, on the Cornish coast, the fleets had their first meeting. There were 136 sail of the Spaniards (of which ninety were large ships) and sixty-seven of the English. It was a solemn moment. The long-expected Armada presented a pompous, almost a theatrical appearance. The ships seemed arranged for a pageant in honour of a victory already won. Disposed in form of a crescent, the horns of which were seven miles asunder, those gilded, towered, floating

castles, with their gaudy standards and their martial music, moved slowly along the Channel with an air of indolent pomp. Their captain-general, the golden duke, stood in his private shot-proof fortress, on the deck of his great galleon the *Saint Martin*, surrounded by generals of infantry and colonels of cavalry, who knew as little as he did himself of naval matters.

The English vessels, on the other hand—with a few exceptions, light, swift, and easily handled—could sail round and round those unwieldy galleons, hulks, and galleys, rowed by fettered slave-gangs. The superior seamanship of free Englishmen, commanded by such experienced captains as Drake, Frobisher, and Hawkins—from infancy at home on blue water—was manifest in the very first encounter. They obtained the weather-gage at once, and cannonaded the enemy at intervals with considerable effect, easily escaping at will out of range of the sluggish Armada, which was incapable of bearing sail in pursuit, although provided with an armament which could sink all its enemies at close quarters.



SIR FRANCIS DRAKE
(1540–1596)

Medina Sidonia hoisted the royal standard at the fore, and the whole fleet did its utmost, which was little, to offer general battle. It was in vain. The English following at the heels of the enemy refused all such invitations, and attacked only the rear-guard of the Armada, where Recalde commanded. That admiral, steadily maintaining his post, faced his nimble antagonists, who continued to tease, to maltreat, and to elude him, while the rest of the fleet proceeded slowly up the Channel, closely followed by the enemy. And thus the running fight continued along the coast, in full view of Plymouth, whence boats with reinforcements and volunteers were perpetually arriving to the English ships, until the battle had drifted quite out of reach of the town.

Here certainly was no very great triumphant beginning for the Invincible Armada. On the very first day of their being in the presence of the English fleet—then but sixty-seven in number, and vastly their inferior in size and weight of metal—they had lost the flag-ships of the Guipuzcoan and of the Andalusian squadrons, with a general-admiral, four hundred and fifty officers and men, and some hundred thousand ducats of treasure. They had been out-manœuvred, out-sailed, and thoroughly maltreated by their antagonists, and they had been unable to inflict a single blow in return.

On Monday, the 1st of August, Medina Sidonia placed the rear-guard—consisting of the galeasses, the galleons *St. Matthew*, *St. Luke*, *St. James*, and the *Florence* and other ships, forty-three in all—under command of Don Antonio de Leyva. He was instructed to entertain the enemy—so constantly

hanging on the rear—to accept every chance of battle, and to come to close quarters whenever it should be possible. The Spaniards felt confident of sinking every ship in the English navy, if they could but once come to grappling; but it was growing more obvious every hour that the giving or withholding battle was entirely in the hands of their foes.

Meantime, while the rear was thus protected by Leyva's division, the vanguard and main body of the Armada, led by the captain-general, would steadily pursue its way, according to the royal instructions, until it arrived at its appointed meeting-place with the duke of Parma. Moreover, the duke of Medina, dissatisfied with the want of discipline and of good seamanship hitherto displayed in his fleet, now took occasion to send a sergeant-major, with written sailing directions, on board each ship in the Armada, with



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express orders to hang every captain, without appeal or consultation, who should leave the position assigned him; and the hangmen were sent with the sergeant-majors. Disposed in this manner, the Spaniards sailed leisurely along the English coast with light westerly breezes, watched closely by the queen's fleet, which hovered at a moderate distance to windward, without offering, that day, any obstruction to their course.

By five o'clock on Tuesday morning, the 2nd of August, the Armada lay between Portland Bill and St. Albans' Head, when the wind shifted to the northeast, and gave the Spaniards the weather-gage. The English did their best to get to windward, but the duke, standing close into the land with the whole Armada, maintained his advantage. The English then went about, making a tack seaward, and were soon afterwards assaulted by the Spaniards. A long and spirited action ensued. Howard in his little *Ark-Royal*—"the odd ship of the world for all conditions"—was engaged at different times with *Bertendona*, of the Italian squadron, with Alonzo de Leyva in the *Ratta*, and with other large vessels. He was hard pressed for a time, but was gallantly supported by the *Nonpareil*, Captain Tanner; and after a long and confused combat, in which the *St. Mark*, the *St. Luke*, the *St. Matthew*, the *St. Philip*, the *St. John*, the *St. James*, the *St. John Baptist*, the *St. Martin*, and many other great galleons with saintly and apostolic names, fought

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pell-mell with the *Lion*, the *Bear*, the *Bull*, the *Tiger*, the *Dreadnaught*, the *Revenge*, the *Victory*, the *Triumph*, and other of the mere profanely baptised English ships, the Spaniards were again baffled in all their attempts to close with, and to board, their ever-attacking, ever-flying adversaries.

Boat-loads of men and munitions were perpetually arriving to the English, and many high-born volunteers, like Cumberland, Oxford, Northumberland, Raleigh, Brooke, Dudley, Willoughby, Noel, William Hatton, Thomas Cecil, and others, could no longer restrain their impatience as the roar of battle sounded along the coasts of Dorset, but flocked merrily on board the ships of Drake, Hawkins, Howard, and Frobisher, or came in small vessels which they had chartered for themselves in order to have their share in the delights of the long-expected struggle.

The action, irregular, desultory, but lively, continued nearly all day, and until the English had fired away most of their powder and shot. The Spaniards, too, notwithstanding their years of preparation, were already short of light metal, and Medina Sidonia had been daily sending to Parma for a supply of four-, six-, and ten-pound balls. So much lead and gunpowder had never before been wasted in a single day, for there was no great damage inflicted on either side. The artillery practice was certainly not much to the credit of either nation.

The queen's fleet, now divided into four squadrons, under Howard, Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, amounted to near one hundred sail, exclusive of Lord Henry Seymour's division, which was cruising in the Straits of Dover. But few of all this number were ships of war, however, and the merchant vessels, although zealous and active enough, were not thought very effective.

All night the Spaniards, holding their course towards Calais after the long but indecisive conflict had terminated, were closely pursued by their wary antagonists. On Wednesday, the 3rd of August, there was some slight cannonading, with but slender results; and on Thursday, the 4th, both fleets were off Dunnose, on the Isle of Wight. The great hulk *Santaña* and a galleon of Portugal, having been somewhat damaged the previous day, were lagging behind the rest of the Armada, and were vigorously attacked by the *Triumph* and a few other vessels. Don Antonio de Leyva, with some of the galeasses and large galleons, came to the rescue, and Frobisher, although in much peril, maintained an unequal conflict, within close range, with great spirit. Seeing his danger, the lord-admiral in the *Ark-Royal*, accompanied by the *Golden Lion*, the *White Bear*, the *Elizabeth*, the *Victory*, and the *Leicester*, bore boldly down into the very midst of the Spanish fleet, and laid himself within three or four hundred yards of Medina's flag-ship, the *St. Martin*, while his comrades were at equally close quarters with Vice-Admiral Recalde and the galleons of Oquendo, Mexia, and Almanza.

It was the hottest conflict which had yet taken place. Here at last was thorough English work. The two great fleets, which were there to subjugate and to defend the realm of Elizabeth, were nearly yard-arm and yard-arm together—all England on the lee. Broadside after broadside of great guns, volley after volley of arquebusry from maintop and rigging, were warmly exchanged, and much damage was inflicted on the Spaniards, whose gigantic ships were so easy a mark to aim at, while from their turreted heights they themselves fired for the most part harmlessly over the heads of their adversaries. The leaders of the Armada, however, were encouraged, for they expected at last to come to even closer quarters, and there were some among the English who were mad enough to wish to board.

But so soon as Frobisher, who was the hero of the day, had extricated himself from his difficulty, the lord-admiral, having no intention of risking the existence of his fleet, and with it perhaps the English crown, upon the hazard of a single battle, and having been himself somewhat damaged in the fight, gave the signal for retreat, and caused the *Ark-Royal* to be towed out of action. Thus the Spaniards were frustrated of their hopes, and the English, having inflicted much punishment at comparatively small loss to themselves, again stood off to windward, and the Armada continued its indolent course along the cliffs of Freshwater and Blackgang. And in the Calais roads the great fleet, sailing slowly all next day in company with the English, without a shot being fired on either side, at last dropped anchor on Saturday afternoon, August 6th.

So soon as Lord Henry Seymour, arriving from the opposite shore with sixteen ships, had made his junction with the English, the whole combined fleet dropped anchor likewise very near Calais, and within one mile and a half of the Spaniards. That invincible force had at last almost reached its destination. It was now to receive the co-operation of the great Farnese, at the head of an army of veterans, disciplined on a hundred battle-fields, confident from countless victories, and arrayed, as they had been, with ostentatious splendour, to follow the most brilliant general in Christendom on his triumphal march into the capital of England.

Never, since England was England, had such a sight been seen as now revealed itself in those narrow straits between Dover and Calais. Along that long, low, sandy shore, and quite within the range of the Calais fortifications, one hundred and thirty Spanish ships—the greater number of them the largest and most heavily armed in the world—lay face to face, and scarcely out of cannon-shot, with one hundred and fifty English sloops and frigates, the strongest and swiftest that the island could furnish, and commanded by men whose exploits had rung through the world. Farther along the coast, invisible, but known to be performing a most perilous and vital service, was a squadron of Dutch vessels of all sizes, lining both the inner and outer edges of the sandbanks off the Flemish coasts, and swarming in all the estuaries and inlets of that intricate and dangerous cruising-ground between Dunkirk and Walcheren.

Those fleets of Holland and Zealand, numbering some one hundred and fifty galleons, sloops, and fly-boats, under Warmond, Nassau, Van der Does, De Moor, and Rosendael, lay patiently blockading every possible egress from Newport, or Gravelines, or Sluys, or Flushing, or Dunkirk, and longing to grapple with the duke of Parma, so soon as his fleet of gunboats and hoys, packed with his Spanish and Italian veterans, should venture to set forth upon the sea for their long-prepared exploit.

It was a pompous spectacle, that midsummer night, upon those narrow seas. The moon, which was at the full, was rising calmly upon a scene of anxious expectation. Would she not be looking by the morrow's night upon a subjugated England, a re-enslaved Holland—upon the downfall of civil and religious liberty? Those ships of Spain, which lay there with their banners waving in the moonlight, discharging salvoes of anticipated triumph and filling the air with strains of insolent music, would they not, by daybreak, be moving straight to their purpose, bearing the conquerors of the world to the scene of their cherished hopes?

Hitherto the English had been teasing and perplexing an enemy on the retreat, as it were, by the nature of his instructions. Although anxious to give battle, the Spaniard was forbidden to descend upon the coast until after

his junction with Parma. So the English had played a comparatively easy game, hanging upon their enemy's skirts, maltreating him as they doubled about him, cannonading him from a distance, and slipping out of his reach at their pleasure. But he was now to be met face to face, and the fate of the two free commonwealths of the world was upon the issue of the struggle which could no longer be deferred.

Winter, standing side by side with the lord-admiral on the deck of the little *Ark-Royal*, gazed for the first time on those enormous galleons and galleys with which his companion was already sufficiently familiar. "Considering their hugeness," said he, "'twill not be possible to remove them but by a device." Then remembering, in a lucky moment, something that he had heard four years before of the fire-ships sent by the Antwerpers against Parma's bridge—the inventor of which, the Italian Giambelli, was at that very moment constructing fortifications on the Thames to assist the English against his old enemy Farnese—Winter suggested that some stratagem of the same kind should be attempted against the Invincible Armada.

There was no time nor opportunity to prepare such submarine volcanoes as had been employed on that memorable occasion, but burning ships at least might be sent among the fleet. Some damage would doubtless be thus inflicted by the fire, and perhaps a panic, suggested by the memories of Antwerp and by the knowledge that the famous Mantuan wizard was then a resident of England, would be still more effective. In Winter's opinion,[1] the Armada might at least be compelled to slip its cables and be thrown into some confusion if the project were fairly carried out. Howard approved of the device.

The impatience of the soldiers and sailors on board the fleet was equal to that of their commanders. There was London almost before their eyes—a huge mass of treasure, richer and more accessible than those mines beyond the Atlantic which had so often rewarded Spanish chivalry with fabulous wealth. And there were men in those galleons who remembered the sack of Antwerp eleven years before; men who could tell, from personal experience, how helpless was a great commercial city when once in the clutch of disciplined brigands; men who in that dread "fury of Antwerp" had enriched themselves in an hour with the accumulations of a merchant's lifetime, and who had slain fathers and mothers, sons and daughters, brides and bridegrooms, before each other's eyes, until the number of inhabitants butchered in the blazing streets rose to many thousands; and the plunder from palaces and warehouses was counted by millions, before the sun had set on the "great fury." Those Spaniards, and Italians, and Walloons were now thirsting for more gold, for more blood; and as the capital of England was even more wealthy and far more defenceless than the commercial metropolis of the Netherlands had been, so it was resolved that the London "fury" should be more thorough and more productive than the "fury" of Antwerp, at the memory of which the world still shuddered.

Where was Farnese? Most impatiently the golden duke paced the deck of the *St. Martin*. The mystery was profound, for it had never entered the head of any man in the Armada that Alexander could not come out when

[1] Winter's Letter, MS. It has been stated by many writers—Camden,[e] Meteren,[g] and others—that this project of the fire-ships was directly commanded by the queen. Others, as Bor,[h] attribute the device to the lord-admiral or to Drake (Strada[i]), while Coloma[j] prefers to regard the whole matter as quite a trifling accident, *charlo pequeno accidente*; but there is no doubt that the merit of the original suggestion belongs exclusively to Winter. To give the glory of the achievement to her majesty, who knew nothing of it whatever, was a most gratuitous exhibition of loyalty.

he chose. And now to impatience succeeded suspicion and indignation, and there were curses upon sluggishness and upon treachery. For in the horrible atmosphere of duplicity in which all Spaniards and Italians of that epoch lived, every man suspected his brother, and already Medina Sidonia suspected Farnese of playing him false. There were whispers of collusion between the duke and the English commissioners at Bourbourg. There were hints that Alexander was playing his own game, that he meant to divide the sovereignty of the Netherlands with the heretic Elizabeth, to desert his great trust, and to effect, if possible, the destruction of his master's Armada and the downfall of his master's sovereignty in the north.

As the twilight deepened the moon became totally obscured, dark cloud-masses spread over the heavens, the sea grew black, distant thunder rolled, and the sob of an approaching tempest became distinctly audible. Such indications of a westerly gale were not encouraging to those cumbrous vessels, with the treacherous quicksands of Flanders under their lee. At an hour past midnight it was so dark that it was difficult for the most practised eye to pierce far into the gloom. But a faint drip of oars now struck the ears of the Spaniards as they watched from the decks. A few moments afterwards the sea became suddenly luminous, and six flaming vessels appeared at a slight distance, bearing steadily down upon them before the wind and tide.

There were men in the Armada who had been at the siege of Antwerp, only three years before. They remembered with horror the devil-ships of Giambelli, those floating volcanoes, which had seemed to rend earth and ocean, whose explosion had laid so many thousands of soldiers dead at a blow, and which had shattered the bridge and floating forts of Farnese as though they had been toys of glass. They knew, too, that the famous engineer was at that moment in England. In a moment one of those horrible panics which spread with such contagious rapidity among large bodies of men seized upon the Spaniards. There was a yell throughout the fleet, "The fire-ships of Antwerp! The fire-ships of Antwerp!" and in an instant every cable was cut, and frantic attempts were made by each galleon and galeasse to escape what seemed imminent destruction. The confusion was beyond description. Four or five of the largest ships became entangled with each other. Two others were set on fire by the flaming vessels and were consumed.

So long as night and darkness lasted the confusion and uproar continued. When the Monday morning dawned, several of the Spanish vessels lay disabled, while the rest of the fleet was seen at a distance of two leagues from Calais, driving towards the Flemish coast. The lord-admiral, who had been lying off and on, now bore away with all his force in pursuit of the Spaniards. The Invincible Armada, already sorely crippled, was standing N. N. E. directly before a fresh topsail-breeze from the S. S. W. The English came up with them soon after nine o'clock A.M., off Gravelines, and found them sailing in a half-moon, the admiral and vice-admiral in the centre, and the flanks protected by the three remaining galeasses and by the great galleons of Portugal. Seeing the enemy approaching, Medina Sidonia ordered his whole fleet to luff to the wind and prepare for action. The wind shifting a few points, was now at W. N. W., so that the English had both the weather-gage and the tide in their favour.

A general combat began at about ten, and it was soon obvious to the Spaniards that their adversaries were intending warm work. Sir Francis Drake in the *Revenge*, followed by Frobisher in the *Triumph*, Hawkins in the *Victory*, and some smaller vessels, made the first attack upon the Spanish

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flag-ships. The battle lasted six hours long, hot and furious. The English still partially maintained the tactics which had proved so successful, and resolutely refused the fierce attempts of the Spaniards to lay themselves alongside. Keeping within musket range, the well-disciplined English mariners poured broadside after broadside against the towering ships of the Armada, which afforded so easy a mark; while the Spaniards, on their part, found it impossible, while wasting incredible quantities of powder and shot, to inflict any severe damage on their enemies.

Throughout the action not an English ship was destroyed, and not a hundred men were killed. On the other hand, all the best ships of the Spaniards were riddled through and through, and with masts and yards shattered, sails and rigging torn to shreds, and a northwest wind still drifting them towards the fatal sand-banks of Holland, they laboured heavily in a chopping sea, firing wildly, and receiving tremendous punishment at the hands of Howard, Drake, Seymour, Winter, and their followers. There was scarcely a ship in the Armada that did not suffer severely, for nearly all were engaged in that memorable action off the sands of Gravelines. Before five o'clock in the afternoon at least sixteen of their best ships had been sacrificed, and from four to five thousand soldiers killed.

Nearly all the largest vessels of the Armada, therefore, having been disabled or damaged, and all their small shot exhausted, Medina Sidonia reluctantly gave orders to retreat. Crippled, maltreated, and diminished in number as were his ships, he would still have faced the enemy, but the winds and currents were fast driving him on a lee-shore, and the pilots, one and all, assured him that it would be inevitable destruction to remain. The Armada bore away N. N. E. into the open sea, leaving those who could not follow to their fate.

Nor would the Spaniards have escaped even worse punishment had not the penurious policy of the queen's government rendered her ships useless at last, even in this supreme moment. They never ceased cannonading the discomfited enemy until the ammunition was exhausted. "When the cartridges were all spent," said Winter, "and the munitions in some vessels gone altogether, we ceased fighting, but followed the enemy, who still kept away." And the enemy, although still numerous, and seeming strong enough, if properly handled, to destroy the whole English fleet, fled before them. There remained more than fifty Spanish vessels above six hundred tons in size, besides sixty hulks and other vessels of less account; while in the whole English navy were but thirteen ships of or above that burthen. "Their force is wonderful great and strong," said Howard, "but we pluck their feathers by little and little."

For Medina Sidonia had now satisfied himself that he should never succeed in boarding those hard-fighting and swift-sailing craft, while, meantime, the horrible panic of Sunday night and the succession of fights throughout the following day had completely disorganized his followers. Crippled, riddled, shorn, but still numerous, and by no means entirely vanquished, the Armada was flying with a gentle breeze before an enemy who, to save his existence, could not have fired a broadside. "Though our powder and shot was well-nigh spent," said the lord-admiral, "we put on a brag countenance and gave them chase, as though we had wanted nothing."

There was less enthusiasm among the sailors of the fleet. Pursuing the Spaniards without powder or fire, and without beef and bread to eat, was not thought amusing by the English crews. Howard had not three days' supply of food in his lockers, and Seymour and his squadron had not food for one day.

Accordingly, when Seymour and Winter took their departure, "they had much ado," so Winter said, "with the staying of many ships that would have returned with them, besides their own company." Had the Spaniards, instead of being panic-struck, but turned on their pursuers, what might have been the result of a conflict with starving and unarmed men?[1]

Howard, Drake, and Frobisher, with the rest of the fleet, followed the Armada through the North Sea from Tuesday night (August 9th) till Friday (August 12th), and still the strong southwester swept the Spaniards before them, uncertain whether to seek refuge, food, water, and room to repair damages, in the realms of the treacherous king of Scots, or on the iron-bound coasts of Norway. Medina Sidonia had, however, quite abandoned his intention of returning to England, and was only anxious for a safe return to Spain. So much did he dread that northern passage, unpiloted, around the grim Hebrides, that he would probably have surrendered had the English overtaken him and once more offered battle. Having followed the Spaniards till Friday, the 12th of August, as far as the latitude of 56° 17′, the lord-admiral called a council.

During the week which succeeded the eventful night off Calais, neither the Armada nor the English ships had been much impeded in their manœuvres by storms or heavy seas; but on the following Sunday, the 14th of August, there was a change. The wind shifted again to the southwest, and during the whole of that day and the Monday blew a tremendous gale. "'Twas a more violent storm," said Howard, "than was ever seen before at this time of the year." The retreating English fleet was scattered, many ships were in peril, among the ill-favoured sands off Norfolk," but within four or five days all arrived safely in the Margate roads.

Far different was the fate of the Spaniards. Over their Invincible Armada, last seen by the departing English midway between the coasts of Scotland and Denmark, the blackness of night seemed suddenly to descend. A mystery hung for a long time over their fate. Damaged, leaking, without pilots, without a competent commander, the great fleet entered that furious storm, and was whirled along the iron crags of Norway and between the savage rocks of Faröe and the Hebrides. In those regions of the tempest the insulted north wreaked its full vengeance on the insolent Spaniards. The coasts of Norway, Scotland, Ireland, were strewn with the wrecks of that pompous fleet which claimed the dominion of the seas, with the bones of those invincible legions which were to have sacked London and made England a Spanish vice-royalty.

Through the remainder of the month of August there was a succession of storms. On the 2nd of September a fierce southwester drove Admiral Oquendo in his galleon, together with one of the great galeasses, two large Venetian ships, the *Ratta* and the *Balauzara*, and thirty-six other vessels, upon the Irish coast, where nearly every soul on board perished, while the few who escaped to the shore, notwithstanding their religious affinity with the inhabitants, were either butchered in cold blood, or sent coupled in halters from village to village, in order to be shipped to England. A few ships were driven on the English coast; others went ashore near La Rochelle. Of one hundred and thirty-four vessels which sailed from Corunna in July, but fifty-three, great and small, made their escape to Spain, and these were so damaged as

[1] "Had the English been well furnished with victuals and munition," says Stow,[k] "they would in the pursuit have brought the Spaniards to their mercy. On the other hand, had the Spaniards but two days longer continued to fight, they must have driven the English to retreat for want of shot and powder, leaving the Spaniards masters of the field."

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to be utterly worthless. The Invincible Armada had not only been vanquished, but annihilated.[1]

Of the thirty thousand men who sailed in the fleet, it is probable that not more than ten thousand ever saw their native land again. Most of the leaders of the expedition lost their lives. Medina Sidonia reached Santander in October. Recalde, Diego Flores de Valdez, Oquendo, Maldonado, Bobadilla, Manriquez, either perished at sea, or died of exhaustion immediately after their return. Many other nobles were prisoners in England and Holland. There was hardly a distinguished family in Spain not placed in mourning, so that, to relieve the universal gloom, an edict was published forbidding the wearing of mourning at all.[2] On the other hand, a merchant of Lisbon, not yet reconciled to the Spanish conquest of his country, permitted himself some tokens of hilarity at the defeat of the Armada, and was immediately hanged by express command of Philip. Thus, as men said, one could neither cry nor laugh within the Spanish dominions. This was the result of the invasion so many years preparing, and at an expense almost incalculable. In the year 1588 alone, the cost of Philip's armaments for the subjugation of England could not have been less than six millions of ducats, and there was at least as large a sum on board the Armada itself, although the pope refused to pay his promised million. And with all this outlay, and with the sacrifice of so many thousand lives, nothing had been accomplished, and Spain in a moment, instead of seeming terrible to all the world, had become ridiculous.

"Beaten and shuffled together from the Lizard to Calais, from Calais driven with squibs from their anchors, and chased out of sight of England about Scotland and Ireland," as the Devonshire skipper expressed himself, it must be confessed that the Spaniards presented a sorry sight. "Their invincible and dreadful navy," said Drake, "with all its great and terrible ostentation, did not in all their sailing about England so much as sink or take one ship, bark, pinnace, or cock-boat of ours, or even burn so much as one sheep-cote on this land."

Meanwhile Farnese sat chafing under the unjust reproaches heaped upon him, as if he, and not his master, had been responsible for the gigantic blunders of the invasion.

Those Hollanders and Zealanders guarding every outlet to the ocean, occupying every hole and cranny of the coast, laughed the invaders of England to scorn, braving them, jeering them, daring them to come forth, while the Walloons and Spaniards shrank before such amphibious assailants, to whom a combat on the water was as natural as upon dry land. Alexander, upon one occasion, transported with rage, selected a band of one thousand musketeers, partly Spanish, partly Irish, and ordered an assault upon those insolent boatmen. With his own hand—so it was related—he struck dead more than one of his own officers who remonstrated against these commands; and then the attack was made by his thousand musketeers upon the Hollanders, and every man of the thousand was slain.

He had been reproached for not being ready, for not having embarked his men; but he had been ready for a month, and his men could be embarked in a

[1 See the history of Spain for the Spanish account of the Armada, and the history of the Netherlands for the large share due to Holland in this victory.]

[2] Philip learned with surprise and grief the utter failure of his favourite scheme, but bore himself like a man of higher nature than he was. He received the defeated admiral graciously on his return. Throwing the whole blame upon the weather, he said, "It is impossible to contend with God"; and perhaps marvelled that an expedition so blessed by the Church should have ended in so miserable a reverse.—WHITE.n

single day. "But it was impossible," he said, "to keep them long packed up on board vessels so small that there was no room to turn about in: the people would sicken, would rot, would die." So soon as he had received information of the arrival of the fleet before Calais—which was on the 8th of August—he had proceeded the same night to Newport and embarked sixteen thousand men, and before dawn he was at Dunkirk, where the troops stationed in that port were as rapidly placed on board the transports. Sir William Stanley with his seven hundred Irish kerns were among the first shipped for the enterprise.

Two long days these regiments lay heaped together like sacks of corn—as one of their officers described it—in the boats, and they lay cheerfully, hoping that the Dutch fleet would be swept out of the sea by the Invincible Armada, and patiently expecting the signal for setting sail to England. Then came the news of the fire-ships and the dispersion and flight of the Armada. It is very certain that, of all the high parties concerned, Alexander Farnese was the least reprehensible for the overthrow of Philip's hopes.

To the queen's glorious naval commanders, to the dauntless mariners of England, with their well-handled vessels, their admirable seamanship, their tact, and their courage, belonged the joys of the contest, the triumph, and the glorious pursuit; but to the patient Hollanders and Zealanders, who, with their hundred vessels, held Farnese, the chief of the great enterprise, at bay, a close prisoner with his whole army in his own ports, daring him to the issue, and ready, to the last plank of their fleet and to the last drop of their blood, to confront both him and the duke of Medina Sidonia, an equal share of honour is due. The safety of the two free commonwealths of the world in that terrible contest was achieved by the people and the mariners of the two states combined.

THE ARMY AT THIS CRISIS

Great was the enthusiasm certainly of the English people as the volunteers marched through London to the place of rendezvous, and tremendous were the cheers when the brave queen rode on horseback along the lines of Tilbury. Glowing pictures are revealed to us of merry little England arising in its strength, and dancing forth to encounter the Spaniards as if to a great holiday. "It was a pleasant sight," says that enthusiastic merchant-tailor John Stow,[k] "to behold the cheerful countenances, courageous words and gestures of the soldiers as they marched to Tilbury, dancing, leaping wherever they came, as joyful at the news of the foe's approach as if lusty giants were to run a race. And Bellona-like did the queen infuse a second spirit of loyalty, love, and resolution into every soldier of her army, who, ravished with their sovereign's sight, prayed heartily that the Spaniards might land quickly, and when they heard they were fled, began to lament." [1]

[1] The earls of Essex and Leicester held her bridle-rein while she delivered a stirring speech to the men. "My loving people," said the queen, "we have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but I assure you I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear! I have always so behaved myself that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and goodwill of my subjects; and therefore I am come amongst you at this time, not as for my recreation and sport, but being resolved in the midst and heat of the battle to live or die amongst you all—to lay down for my God, for my kingdom, and for my people, my honour and my blood, even in the dust. I know that I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart of a king, and of a king of England too, and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of

[1588 A.D.]

But if the Spaniards had not fled, if there had been no English navy in the Channel, no squibs at Calais, no Dutchmen off Dunkirk, there might have been a different picture to paint. No man who has studied the history of those times can doubt the universal and enthusiastic determination of the English nation to repel the invaders. Catholics and Protestants felt alike on the great subject. Philip did not flatter himself with assistance from any English papists, save exiles and renegades like Westmoreland, Paget, Throcmorton, Morgan, Stanley, and the rest. The bulk of the Catholics, who may have constituted half the population of England, although malcontent, were not rebellious; and notwithstanding the precautionary measures taken by the government against them, Elizabeth proudly acknowledged their loyalty.

But loyalty, courage, and enthusiasm might not have sufficed to supply the want of numbers and discipline. According to the generally accepted statement of contemporary chroniclers, there were some 75,000 men under arms; 20,000 along the southern coast, 23,000 under Leicester, and 33,000 under Lord Chamberlain Hunsdon, for the special defence of the queen's person. But it would have been very difficult, in the moment of danger, to bring anything like these numbers into the field. A drilled and disciplined army, whether of regulars or of militiamen, had no existence whatever.

The Armada had arrived in the Calais roads on Saturday afternoon, the 6th of August. If it had been joined on that day, or the next—as Philip and Medina Sidonia fully expected—by the duke of Parma's flotilla, the invasion would have been made at once. If a Spanish army had ever landed in England at all, that event would have occurred on the 7th of August. The weather was not unfavourable, the sea was smooth, and the circumstances under which the catastrophe of the great drama was that night accomplished were a profound mystery to every soul in England. For aught that Leicester, or Burghley, or Queen Elizabeth knew at the time, the army of Farnese might, on Monday, have been marching upon London. Now, on that Monday morning, the army of Lord Hunsdon was not assembled at all, and Leicester, with but four thousand men under his command, was just commencing his camp at Tilbury. The "Bellona-like" appearance of the queen on her white palfrey, with truncheon in hand, addressing her troops in that magnificent burst of eloquence which has so often been repeated, was not till eleven days afterwards, August 9th–19th; not till the great Armada, shattered and tempest-tossed, had been a week long dashing itself against the cliffs of Norway and the Faröes, on its forlorn retreat to Spain.

Leicester's jealous and overbearing temper itself was also proving a formidable obstacle to a wholesome system of defence. He was already displeased with the amount of authority intrusted to Lord Hunsdon, disposed to think his own rights invaded, and desirous that the lord chamberlain should accept office under himself. Looking at the pictures of commander-in-chief, officers and rank and file, as painted by themselves, we feel an inexpressible satisfaction that in this great crisis of England's destiny there were such men as Howard, Drake, Frobisher, Hawkins, Seymour, Winter, Fenner, and their gallant brethren, cruising that week in the Channel, and that Nassau and Warmond, De Moor and Van der Does, were blockading the Flemish coast.

The Invincible Armada was driven out of the Channel by the courage, the splendid seamanship, and the enthusiasm of English sailors and volun-

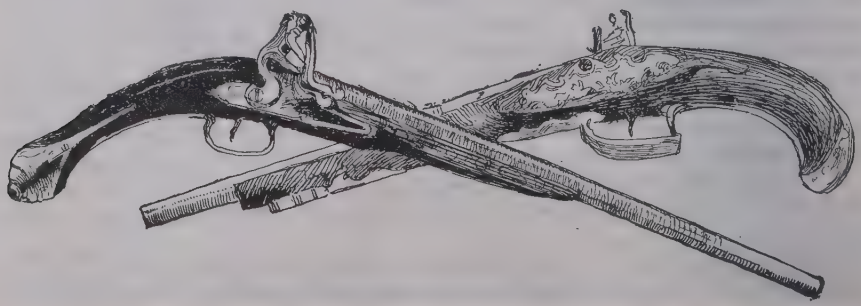
Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realms!" Everything in this camp speech was exciting and appropriate except a laudation bestowed on the general; for her lieutenant was none other than that carpet-knight and most inefficient commander, the earl of Leicester.]

teers. The duke of Parma was kept a close prisoner by the fleets of Holland and Zealand; and the great storm of the 14th and 15th of August at last completed the overthrow of the Spaniards. It was, however, supposed for a long time that they would come back, for the disasters which had befallen them in the north were but tardily known in England. The sailors, by whom England had been thus defended in her utmost need, were dying by hundreds, and even thousands, of ship-fever, in the latter days of August. Men sickened one day and died the next, so that it seemed probable that the ten thousand sailors by whom the English ships of war were manned would have almost wholly disappeared, at a moment when their services might be imperatively required. Nor had there been the least precaution taken for cherishing and saving these brave defenders of their country. They rotted in their ships, or died in the streets of the naval ports, because there were no hospitals to receive them. The survivors, too, were greatly discontented; for after having been eight months at sea and enduring great privations, they could not get their wages.

But more dangerous than this pestilence or the discontent was the misunderstanding which existed at the moment between the leading admirals of the English fleet. Not only was Seymour angry with Howard, but Hawkins and Frobisher were at daggers drawn with Drake; and Sir Martin—if contemporary affidavits can be trusted—did not scruple to heap the most virulent abuse upon Sir Francis, calling him, in language better fitted for the forecastle than the quarter-deck, a thief and a coward, for appropriating the ransom of Don Pedro Valdez, in which both Frobisher and Hawkins claimed at least an equal share with himself.

And anxious enough was the lord-admiral, with his sailors perishing by pestilence, with many of his ships so weakly manned that, as Lord Henry Seymour declared, there were not mariners enough to weigh the anchors, and with the great naval heroes, on whose efforts the safety of the realm depended, wrangling like fisherwomen among themselves, when rumours came, as they did almost daily, of the return of the Spanish Armada, and of new demonstrations on the part of Farnese.

The invasion of England by Spain had been most portentous. That the danger was at last averted is to be ascribed to the enthusiasm of the English nation—both patricians and plebeians—to the heroism of the little English fleet, to the spirit of the naval commanders and volunteers, to the staunch and effective support of the Hollanders, and to the hand of God shattering the Armada at last; but very little credit can be conscientiously awarded to the diplomatic or the military efforts of the queen's government. Miracles alone, in the opinion of Roger Williams, had saved England on this occasion from perdition.[m]





CHAPTER XIII

THE LAST YEARS OF ELIZABETH

[1588–1603 A.D.]

WHILE England became "a nest of singing birds" at home, the last years of Elizabeth's reign were years of splendour and triumph abroad. The defeat of the Armada was the first of a series of defeats which broke the power of Spain, and changed the political aspect of the world.—J. R. GREEN.[b]

DURING this crisis the queen had displayed the characteristic courage of the Tudors. The important services of the lord-admiral and of his officers were not overlooked, but in her estimation they could not be compared with those of Leicester. He stood without a rival; and to reward his transcendent merit a new and unprecedented office was created, which would have conferred on him an authority almost equal to that of his sovereign. He was appointed lord lieutenant of England and Ireland; and the warrant lay ready for the royal signature, when the remonstrances of Burghley and Hatton induced her to hesitate; and the unexpected death of the favourite concealed her weakness from the knowledge of the public.

Soon after the queen's departure from Tilbury, Leicester had by her order disbanded the army and set out for his castle of Kenilworth; but at Cornbury Park, in Oxfordshire, his progress was arrested by a violent disease which, whether it arose from natural causes or the anguish of disappointed ambition, or from poison administered by his wife and her supposed paramour, quickly terminated his existence. If tears are a proof of affection, those shed by the queen on this occasion showed that hers was seated deeply in the heart; but there was another passion as firmly rooted there—the love of money, which induced her, at the same time that she lamented the loss of her favourite, to order the public sale of his goods for the discharge of certain sums which he owed to the exchequer

Leicester in his youth had possessed that external appearance which was sure to arrest the eye and warm the heart of Elizabeth. By the spirit of his conversation, the ardour of his flattery, and the expense of his entertainments, he so confirmed the ascendancy which he had acquired that for thirty years, though he might occasionally complain of the caprice or infidelity of his mistress, he ultimately triumphed over every competitor. As a statesman or a commander he displayed little ability, but his rapacity and ambition knew no bounds. Many years elapsed before he would resign his pretensions to the hand of his sovereign, and we have just seen that only the week before his death he prevailed on her to promise him a much larger share of the royal authority than had ever, in such circumstances, been conferred on a subject.

If we listen to the report of his contemporaries, he stands before us as the most dissolute and unprincipled of men. We are told that among the females, married or unmarried, who formed the court of Elizabeth, two only escaped his solicitations. The reader will pause before he gives his unqualified assent to such reports; yet, when he has made every allowance for the envy and malice of political enemies, when he has rejected every charge which is not supported by probable evidence, there will still remain much to stamp infamy on the character of Leicester.

PERSECUTION OF CATHOLICS

The defeat of the Armada had thrown the nation into a frenzy of joy. The people expressed their feelings by bonfires, entertainments, and public thanksgivings; the queen, whether she sought to satisfy the religious animosities of her subjects, or to display her gratitude to the Almighty, by punishing the supposed enemies of his worship, celebrated her triumph with the immolation of human victims. A commission was issued; a selection was made from the Catholics in prison on account of religion, and six clergymen were indicted for their priestly character; four laymen for having been reconciled to the Catholic church; and four others, among whom was a gentlewoman of the name of Ward, for having aided or harboured priests. All these immediately, and fifteen of their companions within the next three months, suffered the cruel and infamous punishment of traitors. It was not so much as whispered that they had been guilty of any act of disloyalty. On their trials nothing was objected to them but the practice of their religion.

Not satisfied with the blood of these victims, the persecutors looked forward to one of more exalted rank. The reader will recollect the fine and imprisonment to which the earl of Arundel had been condemned. For a considerable time after his trial he had been treated with unusual severity; by degrees the rigour of his confinement was relaxed, and he obtained permission to frequent the contiguous cell of William Bennet, one of Queen Mary's priests, where he occasionally was present at mass, and met two fellow-prisoners, Sir Thomas Gerard and William Shelley. For this indulgence his countess had given a bribe of thirty pounds to the daughter of the lieutenant; but the result provoked a suspicion that it had been granted with the connivance of some greater personage who sought the ruin of the noble captive. On the appearance of the Armada Arundel received a hint that the moment the Spaniards set their feet on English ground he and the other Catholic prisoners in the Tower would infallibly be massacred.

Their danger naturally became the subject of conversation among them; some recommended one expedient, some another; and the earl suggested that they should join in one common form of prayer to solicit the protection of heaven. The proposal was at first adopted, but afterwards abandoned by the advice of Shelley, under the apprehension that it might be misrepresented to the queen; and Bennet, if we may believe himself, through fear of the rack and the halter confessed that the earl had asked him to celebrate mass for the success of the invaders. On these depositions was grounded a charge of high treason; the queen appointed the earl of Derby lord high steward for the trial; and the prisoner was brought to Westminster Hall, April 18th, 1589, to plead for his life before that nobleman and twenty-four other peers.

Arundel most solemnly protested that the prayers which he had proposed had no reference to the invasion; he merely sought the protection of heaven for himself and his companions, who had been threatened with assassination. After an hour's debate the peers found him guilty; he heard the judgment pronounced with composure and cheerfulness; and begged, as a last favour, that he might be allowed before his death to see his wife and his son, a child about five years old, who had been born since his confinement in the Tower. No answer was returned.

Burghley and Hatton advised the queen to spare him. She had taken the life of his father; let her not stain her reputation with the blood of the son. He had now ceased to be a subject of apprehension; he lay at her mercy; on the slightest provocation, on the first appearance of danger, the sentence might be carried into execution. She suffered herself to be persuaded, yet carefully concealed her intention from the knowledge of the prisoner, who lived for several years under the impression that the axe was still suspended over his head, and never rose in the morning without some apprehension that before night he might expire on the scaffold. In 1595 he was suddenly taken ill at table; the skill of his physician checked the rapidity but could not subdue the force of his disease; and he died at the end of two months, in the eleventh year of his imprisonment. He was buried in the same grave with his father, in the chapel in the Tower.

In her conduct towards this unfortunate nobleman the queen betrayed an unaccountable spirit of revenge. He seems to have given some deep but secret offence which, though it was never divulged, could never be forgotten. There was a time when he seemed to engross her favour; when he shone the foremost in all her parties, and bore a principal share in the festivities and gallantries of her court. But from the moment that he returned to the society of his countess he was marked out for the victim of her displeasure.

During the latter part of his long and severe imprisonment he could not once obtain permission, not even on the approach of death, to see his wife or his children, or any one of his relations, Protestant or Catholic. Nor did the rancour of the queen expire with its principal object. As long as she lived, Lady Arundel was doomed to feel the royal displeasure. She could not remove from her house without danger of offence; she was obliged to solicit permission to visit London even for medical advice; and whenever Elizabeth meant to repair to St. James's, the countess received an order to quit the capital before the queen's arrival.

From the defeat of the Armada till the death of the queen, during the lapse of fourteen years, the Catholics groaned under the pressure of incessant persecution. Sixty-one clergymen, forty-seven laymen, and two gentlewomen suffered capital punishment for some or other of the spiritual felonies and treasons which had been lately created. Life, indeed, was always offered,

on the condition of conformity to the established worship; but the offer was generally refused; the refusal was followed by death; and the butchery, with very few exceptions, was performed on the victim while he was yet in perfect possession of his senses.

From the religious contests, which placed in so strong a light the stern, intolerant spirit of the age, we may now turn to the foreign wars and domestic intrigues which occupied the attention of the queen till the end of her reign. As soon as the intoxication of joy excited by the defeat of the Armada had subsided, she began to calculate the expense of the victory, and stood aghast at the enormous amount A forced loan offered the readiest way of procuring an immediate supply. The merchants of the city were rated according to their supposed ability to pay; privy seals were despatched to the lords lieutenant of the different counties; and every recusant of fortune, every individual suspected for religion, almost every gentleman who possessed not some powerful friend at court, was compelled to advance the sum at which he had been taxed.

In a short time the convocation and parliament assembled, March 8th, 1589. From the former the queen received a grant of two subsidies of six shillings in the pound; from the latter, of two subsidies of four shillings, and four tenths and fifteenths. With this liberal vote the commons coupled a petition to the throne. As the terror of the Spanish arms was now dispelled, men thought of nothing but revenge and conquest; and the house prayed the queen to punish the insult which she had received from Philip by carrying the scourge of war into his dominions. Elizabeth praised the spirit of her affectionate people; but her exchequer was exhausted; she had no money to advance; she might supply ships of war and a few bands of veteran soldiers, but her subjects must furnish the rest from their own resources. An association was quickly formed, at the head of which appeared the names of Norris and Drake, men who were justly esteemed the first in the military and naval service; and under their auspices an armament of nearly two hundred sail, carrying twenty-one thousand men, was collected in the harbour of Plymouth.

THE EARL OF ESSEX

The reader will recollect that Lætitia, the dowager countess of Essex, had married the earl of Leicester, who introduced her son, the earl of Essex, to the queen. His youth and address and spirit soon captivated Elizabeth. She made him her master of the horse; on the appearance of the Armada she appointed him (he was then almost twenty-one years old) to the important office of captain-general of the cavalry; and when she visited the camp, ostentatiously displayed her fondness for him in the eyes of the whole army, and honoured him for his bloodless services with the order of the Garter. On the death of Leicester he succeeded to the post of prime favourite; the queen required his constant attendance at court; and her indulgence of his caprice cherished and strengthened his passions.

But the company of "the old woman" had few attractions for the volatile young nobleman, and the desire of glory, perhaps the hope of plunder (for he was already twenty-two thousand pounds in debt), taught him to turn his eyes towards the armament at Plymouth. Without communicating his intention to the queen, he suddenly disappeared from court, rode with expedition to Plymouth, embarked on board the *Swiftsure*, April 1st, a ship of the royal navy, and instantly put out to sea with the intention of following

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the fleet which had sailed several days before. He had scarcely departed when the earl of Huntingdon arrived with orders to arrest the fugitive, and bring him back a prisoner to the feet of his sovereign. Finding that he was too late, he sent a copy of the royal instructions to the commanders of the expedition.

THE INVASION OF SPAIN

In their company was Don Antonio, prior of Crato, who had unsuccessfully contended with Philip for the crown of Portugal. The queen had given orders that they should first attempt to raise a revolution in his favour; and if that failed, should scour the coast of the peninsula and inflict on the subjects of Philip every injury in their power. But Drake had too long been accustomed to absolute command in his freebooting expeditions. He refused to be shackled by instructions, and sailed directly to the harbour of Corunna, April 2nd. Several sail of merchantmen and ships of war fell into his hands; the fishermen's town or suburb was taken; and the magazines, stored with oil and wine, became the reward of the conquerors. But it was in vain that a breach was made in the wall of the place itself; every assault was repulsed, and three hundred men perished by the unexpected fall of a tower. By this time Andrada had intrenched himself at the bridge of Burgos. Norris marched against him with an inferior force; the first attempt to cross the bridge failed; the next succeeded, and the invaders had the honour of pursuing their opponents more than a mile. But it was a barren honour, purchased with the loss of many valuable lives.[1]

From Corunna the commanders wrote to the queen an exaggerated account of their success, but informed her that they had received no tidings of the earl of Essex. That nobleman waited for them at sea, and accompanied them to Peniche, on the coast of Portugal. On their arrival it was resolved to land. Essex leaped the first into the surf, and the castle was instantly taken. Thence the fleet sailed to the mouth of the Tagus; the army marched through Torres Vedras and St. Sebastian to Lisbon. But the cardinal Albert, the governor of the kingdom, had given the command to Fonteio, an experienced captain, who destroyed all the provisions in the vicinity, and, having distributed his small band of Spaniards in positions the best adapted to suppress any rising in the city, patiently waited the arrival of the enemy.

The English advanced without opposition. Essex with his company knocked at the gate for admittance; but the moment they retired the Spaniards sallied out in small parties and surprised the weak and the stragglers. At length sickness and want compelled Norris to abandon the enterprise; not a sword had been drawn in favour of Antonio, and, in spite of the prayers and the representations of that prince, the army marched to Cascaes, a town already captured and plundered by Drake. From Cascaes the expedition sailed on its return to England, May 27th, and the next day was separated by a storm into several small squadrons. One of these took and pillaged the town of Vigo; the others, having suffered much from the weather, and still more from the vigorous pursuit of Padilla with a fleet of seventeen galleys, successively reached Plymouth.

[1] Norris and Drake appear to have been proficients in the art of composing official despatches. They tell the council that in these battles, which were fiercely contested, they killed one thousand of the enemy with the loss of only three men. See LODGE c. But Lord Talbot writes to his father: "As I hear privately, not without the loss of as many of our men as of theirs, if not more; and without the gain of anything, unless it were honour, and the acquainting our men with the use of their weapons."

Of the twenty-one thousand men who sailed on this disastrous expedition, not one-half, and out of eleven hundred gentlemen, not more than one-third, lived to revisit their native country. The queen rejoiced that she had retaliated the boast of invasion upon Philip, but lamented the loss of lives and treasure with which it had been purchased. The blame was laid by her on the disobedience and rapacity of the two commanders; by them partly on each other, partly on the heat of the climate and the intemperance of the men. But these complaints were carefully suppressed; in the public accounts the loss was concealed; every advantage was magnified, and the people celebrated with joy the triumph of England over the pride and power of Spain.

Essex, on his return, found the court divided between the factions of two competitors for the royal favour, Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Charles Blount.

Blount was the second son of Lord Mountjoy and a student in the Inner Temple. One day the queen singled him out from the spectators, as she dined in public, inquired his name, gave him her hand to kiss, and bade him remain at court. This was sufficient to point him out to Raleigh as a rival, but the earl of Essex, on his return, assumed a proud superiority over them both, and Raleigh, when he ventured to come into collision with that young nobleman, received from the queen an order to leave England, and go and plant his twelve thousand acres in Ireland.

Blount was more fortunate at a tilting-match. Elizabeth, to show her approbation, sent him a chess-queen of gold, which he bound to his arm with a crimson ribbon. The jealousy of Essex induced him to remark that "now every fool must have his favour"; and the pride of Blount demanded satisfaction for the insult. They fought; Essex was wounded in the thigh; and the queen gratified her vanity with the conceit "that her beauty had been the object of their quarrel." By her command they were reconciled, and in process of time became sincere and assured friends.

The attention of Elizabeth was soon absorbed by the extraordinary and important events which rapidly succeeded each other in France.[d]

Henry III had caused the duke of Guise and his brother the cardinal to be murdered; he himself perished soon after by the dagger of a fanatical monk, and the king of Navarre, being the next heir, assumed the title of Henry IV. But the Catholic party, incited by Philip II, refused to acknowledge an heretical sovereign; they set up the cardinal of Bourbon against him, and the war continued to rage with its wonted animosity. Elizabeth aided Henry with both money and men; the English troops, led by Sir John Norris, the gallant earl of Essex, and other brave officers, distinguished themselves on all occasions.[1] Henry, however, after continuing the contest for nearly three years, found that unless he conformed to the religion of the great majority of his subjects he had little chance of ultimate success. He therefore (1593) declared himself a Catholic, and gradually the whole kingdom submitted to him. Elizabeth, though grieved at this change of faith, felt it her interest to maintain the alliance she had formed, and her troops aided in the reduction of such places as still held out against him.

Against Spain the naval warfare was still kept up, and the earl of Cumberland, Sir Martin Frobisher, and Thomas White did much injury to the Spanish trade. The English at this time also first made their way to the East Indies.

[1 Year after year a subsidiary force sailed from England, too inconsiderable to do more than create a diversion for the moment. In a few months it dwindled away through disease and the casualties of war, and the loss was subsequently repaired by the transmission of other petty reinforcements. The truth is, that Henry and Elizabeth were playing a similar game, each trying to derive benefits from the embarrassment of the other. LINGARD.[d]]

Two vessels, commanded by George Riman and James Lancaster, doubled the Cape of Good Hope. Riman perished off the east coast of Africa, but Lancaster proceeded, and, after enduring many hardships and losing the greater part of his men, returned to England.

The year 1590 was distinguished by the deaths of the able and disinterested secretary Walsingham; of Thomas Randolph, who had been on thirteen embassies to Scotland, three to Russia, and two to France; of Sir James Crofts, and of the earl of Shrewsbury, earl-marshal of England. The following year the chancellor Hatton died. The generous Essex endeavoured to procure Walsingham's office for the unfortunate Davison, but the queen's resentment against him was too strong, and Burghley, as a means of bringing forward his son Sir Robert Cecil, took the duties of the office on himself. The great seal was committed to Sergeant Puckering, under the title of lord-keeper.

In 1594, Richard, son of Sir John Hawkins, sailed to the South Sea; but he was made a prisoner on the coast of Chili and sent to Spain. The same year James Lancaster was furnished with three vessels by the merchants of London; he captured thirty-nine ships of the enemy, and took and plundered the town of Pernambuco, on the coast of Brazil. The next year (1595) the able and enterprising Sir Walter Raleigh set forth in search of fortune to America.[e]

S. R. GARDINER'S ACCOUNT OF RALEIGH

Raleigh was born at Hayes, in Devonshire, in 1552. After a short residence at Oriel College, Oxford, he took service, in the autumn of 1569, with a body of volunteers serving in the French Huguenot army, and he probably did not return to England till 1576. During the course of these years he appears to have made himself master of seamanship, though no evidence of this is obtainable. In 1579 he was stopped by the council from taking part in a voyage planned by his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and in 1580 he commanded an English company in Munster (Ireland). On the 10th of November he took part in the massacre at Smerwick. He remained in Ireland till December, 1581, distinguished for his vigour and ability as well as for his readiness to treat Irish rebels as mere wild beasts, who were to be pitilessly exterminated, and whose leaders might be smitten down if necessary by assassination. In one way or another Raleigh's conduct gained the favourable notice of Elizabeth, especially as he had chosen to seek for the support of Leicester, in whose suite he is found at Antwerp in February, 1582.

For some years Raleigh shone as a courtier, receiving from time to time licenses to export woollen cloths and to sell wine, after the system by which Elizabeth rewarded her favourites without expense to herself. In 1585 he became lord warden of the Stannaries, soon afterwards he was vice-admiral of Devon and Cornwall, and in 1587 was captain of the guard. But he was one of those who were dissatisfied unless they could pursue some public object in connection with their chase after a private fortune. In 1583 he risked £2,000 in the expedition in which Sir Humphrey Gilbert perished. In 1584 he obtained a charter of colonisation, and sent Amidas and Barlow to examine the country, which he named Virginia. In 1585 he despatched a fleet laden with colonists. They were, however, soon discouraged, and were brought back to England by Drake in the following year. Shortly afterwards fifteen fresh colonists were landed, and another party in 1587. All these, however, perished, and though Raleigh did all that was possible to succour them, the permanent colonising of Virginia passed into other hands.

In 1584 Raleigh obtained a grant of an enormous tract of land in Munster, in one corner of which he introduced the cultivation of the potato. To people that land with English colonists was but the counterpart of the attempt to exterminate its original possessors. This view of the policy of England in Ireland was not confined to Raleigh, but it found in him its most eminent supporter. In his haste to be wealthy, his love of adventure, his practical insight into the difficulties of the world, and his unscrupulousness in dealing with peoples of different habits and beliefs from his own, Raleigh was a representative Elizabethan Englishman. He did his best, so far as a usually absentee landlord could do, to make his colonists prosperous and successful; but he underestimated the extraordinary vitality of the Irish race, and the resistance which was awakened by the harsh system of which he was the constant adviser at Elizabeth's court.



Sir Walter Raleigh
(1552–1618)

Elizabeth, too, was unable to support him with the necessary force, and his whole attempt ended in failure. Raleigh's efforts were at least made on behalf of a race whose own civilisation and national independence were at stake. The Elizabethan men were driven to take large views of their difficulties, and it was impossible for Raleigh to separate the question whether English forms of life should prevail in Munster from the question whether they should be maintained in England. Two conceptions of politics and religion stood face to face from the Atlantic to the Carpathians, and everyone of vigour took a side. The balancing intellects were silenced, or, like Elizabeth's, were drawn in the wake of the champions of one party or the other.

Wherever the strife was hottest Raleigh was sure to be found. If he could not succeed in Ireland, he would fight it out with Spain. In 1588 he took an active part against the Armada, and is even supposed by some to have been the adviser of the successful tactics which avoided any attempt to board the Spanish galleons. In 1589 he shared in the unsuccessful expedition commanded by Drake and Norris, and for some time vessels fitted out by him were actively employed in making reprisals upon Spain.

Raleigh was a courtier as well as a soldier and a mariner, and as early as 1589 he was brought into collision with the young earl of Essex, who challenged him, though the duel was prevented. Some passing anger of the queen drove him in this year to visit Ireland, where he renewed his friendship with Spenser, and, as is told in poetic language in *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*, took the poet back with him to England, introduced him to Elizabeth, and

persuaded him to proceed to the immediate publication of a portion of the *Faërie Queene*. If Raleigh could plead for a poet, he could also plead for a Puritan, and in 1591 he joined Essex in begging for mercy for Udall.

In the end of 1591 or the beginning of 1592 Raleigh seduced and subsequently married Elizabeth Throckmorton, and was consequently thrown into the Tower by Elizabeth, who could not endure that the fantastic love-making to herself which she exacted from her courtiers should pass into real affection for a younger woman. Previously to his imprisonment Raleigh had been forbidden to sail in command of a fleet of which a great part had been fitted out at his own cost for service against Spain. The ships, however, sailed, and succeeded in capturing a prize of extraordinary value, known at the time as the *Great Carrack*. No one but Raleigh was capable of presiding over the work of securing the spoils. He was sent to Plymouth, still in the name of a prisoner, where his capacity for business and his power of winning the enthusiastic affection of his subordinates were alike put to the test. The queen at last consented to restore him to complete liberty, though she tried to cheat him of his fair share of the booty.

Raleigh resolved to use his regained liberty on an enterprise more romantic than the capture of a carrack. The fable of the existence of El Dorado was at that time fully believed in Spain, and in 1594 Raleigh sent out Captain Wheddon to acquire information about the lands near the Orinoco. In 1595 he sailed in person with five ships for Trinidad. On his arrival he found that the Spaniards, who had occupied a place called San Thomè, at the junction of the Orinoco and the Caroni, had been obliged to abandon it. Raleigh ascended the river to the spot, heard more about El Dorado from the Indians, brought away some stones containing fragments of gold, and returned to England to prepare a more powerful expedition for the following year. When he came back he published an account of his voyage. The hope of enriching himself, and of giving to his country a source of wealth which would strike the balance in its favour in the struggle with Spain, exercised a strong fascination over the imaginative character of Raleigh. In the next year, 1596, however, he was wanted nearer home, and was compelled to content himself with sending one of his followers, Captain Keymis, to extend his knowledge of Guiana. He was himself called on to take the command of a squadron in the expedition sent against Spain under Lord Howard of Effingham and the earl of Essex. It was Raleigh who, on the arrival of the fleet off Cadiz, persuaded Howard and Essex to begin by an attack on the Spanish fleet, and who himself led the van in sailing into the harbour.[1]

NAVAL DISASTERS OF 1596

Meanwhile Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins undertook a more important expedition against the Spanish settlements in America, and they carried with them six ships of the queen's and twenty more which either were fitted out at their own charge or were furnished them by private adventurers. Sir Thomas Baskerville was appointed commander of the land forces which they carried on board. Their first design was to attempt Porto Rico, where they knew a rich carrack was at that time stationed; but as they had not preserved the requisite secrecy, a pinnace, having strayed from the fleet, was taken by the Spaniards, and betrayed the intentions of the English. Preparations were made in that island for their reception; and the English fleet, notwithstanding the brave assault which they made on the enemy, was repulsed

with loss. Hawkins soon after died, and Drake pursued his voyage to Nombre de Dios, on the Isthmus of Darien; where, having landed his men, he attempted to pass forward to Panama, with a view of plundering that place.

The Spaniards so infested the English by continual alarms and skirmishes that they were obliged to return without being able to effect anything. Drake himself, from the intemperance of the climate, the fatigues of his journey, and the vexation of his disappointment, was seized with a distemper, of which he soon after died. Sir Thomas Baskerville took the command of the fleet, which was in a weak condition; and after having fought a battle near Cuba with a Spanish fleet, of which the event was not decisive, he returned to England. The Spaniards suffered some loss from this enterprise, but the English reaped no profit.

THE CAPTURE OF CADIZ

The bad success of this enterprise in the Indies made the English rather attempt the Spanish dominions in Europe, where they heard Philip was making great preparations for a new invasion of England. A powerful fleet was equipped at Plymouth, consisting of a hundred and seventy vessels, seventeen of which were capital ships of war, the rest tenders and small vessels. Twenty ships were added by the Hollanders. In this fleet there were computed to be embarked six thousand three hundred and sixty soldiers, a thousand volunteers, and six thousand seven hundred and seventy-two seamen, besides the Dutch. The land forces were commanded by the earl of Essex; the navy by Lord Effingham, high admiral. Both these commanders had expended great sums of their own in the armament—for such was the spirit of Elizabeth's reign. Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Carew, and Sir Coniers Clifford had commands in this expedition, and were appointed council to the general and admiral.

The fleet set sail on the 1st of June, 1596, and meeting with a fair wind, bent its course to Cadiz, at which place, by sealed orders delivered to all the captains, the general rendezvous was appointed. They sent before them some armed tenders, which intercepted every ship that could carry intelligence to the enemy; and they themselves were so fortunate when they came near Cadiz as to take an Irish vessel, by which they learned that that port was full of merchant ships of great value, and that the Spaniards lived in perfect security, without any apprehensions of an enemy. This intelligence much encouraged the English fleet, and gave them the prospect of a fortunate issue to the enterprise.

After a fruitless attempt to land at San Sebastian, on the western side of the island of Cadiz, it was, upon deliberation, resolved by the council of war to attack the ships and galleys in the bay. This attempt was deemed rash, and the admiral himself, who was cautious in his temper, had entertained great scruples with regard to it; but Essex strenuously recommended the enterprise, and when he found the resolution at last taken, he threw his hat into the sea and gave symptoms of the most extravagant joy. He felt, however, a great mortification, when Effingham informed him that the queen, anxious for his safety, and dreading the effects of his youthful ardour, had secretly given orders that he should not be permitted to command the van in the attack. That duty was performed by Sir Walter Raleigh and Lord Thomas Howard; but Essex no sooner came within reach of the enemy than he forgot the promise which the admiral had exacted from him, to keep in

[1596-1597 A.D.]

the midst of the fleet; he broke through and pressed forward into the thickest of the fire.

Emulation for glory, avidity for plunder, animosity against the Spaniards, proved incentives to everyone; and the enemy were soon obliged to slip anchor and retreat farther into the bay, where they ran many of their ships aground. Essex then landed his men and immediately marched to the attack of Cadiz, which the impetuous valour of the English soon carried, sword in hand. The generosity of Essex, not inferior to his valour, made him stop the slaughter and treat his prisoners with the greatest humanity, and even affability and kindness. The English made rich plunder in the city, but missed a much richer by the resolution which the duke of Medina, the Spanish admiral, took of setting fire to the ships in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. It was computed that the loss which the Spaniards sustained in this enterprise amounted to twenty millions of ducats, besides the indignity which that proud and ambitious people suffered from the sacking of one of their chief cities, and destroying in their harbour a fleet of such force and value.[1]

Essex, all on fire for glory, regarded this great success only as a step to future achievements he insisted on keeping possession of Cadiz, and he undertook with four hundred men and three months' provisions to defend the place till succours should arrive from England. But all the other seamen and soldiers were satisfied with the honour which they had acquired, and were impatient to return home in order to secure their plunder. Every other proposal of Essex to annoy the enemy met with a like reception, and the English, finding it so difficult to drag this impatient warrior from the enemy, at last left him on the Spanish coast attended by a very few ships.

The admiral was created earl of Nottingham, and his promotion gave great disgust to Essex. In the preamble of the patent it was said that the new dignity was conferred on him on account of his good services in taking Cadiz and destroying the Spanish ships—a merit which Essex pretended to belong solely to himself, and he offered to maintain this plea by single combat against the earl of Nottingham, or his sons, or any of his kindred.

The achievements in the subsequent year proved not so fortunate; but as the Indian fleet very narrowly escaped the English, Philip had still reason to see the great hazard and disadvantages of the war in which he was engaged, and the superiority which the English, by their naval power and their situation, had acquired over him. The queen having received intelligence that the Spaniards, though their fleets were so much shattered and destroyed by the expedition to Cadiz, were preparing a squadron at Ferrol and Corunna, and were marching troops thither with a view of making a descent on Ireland, was resolved to prevent their enterprise and to destroy the shipping in these harbours. She prepared a large fleet of a hundred and twenty sail, of which seventeen were her own ships, forty-three were smaller vessels, and the rest tenders and victuallers. She embarked on board this fleet five thousand

[1 Never before had the Spanish monarch received so severe a blow. He lost thirteen men-of-war and immense magazines of provisions and naval stores; the defences of Cadiz, the strongest fortress in his dominions, had been razed to the ground; and the secret of his weakness at home had been revealed to the world, at the same time that the power of England had been raised in the eyes of the European nations. Even those who wished well to Spain allotted the praise of moderation and humanity to the English commanders, who had suffered no blood to be wantonly spilled, no woman to be defiled, but had sent under an escort the nuns and females, about three thousand in number, to the port of St. Mary, and had allowed them to carry away their jewels and wearing apparel. But while foreigners applauded the conquerors, while their countrymen hailed their return with shouts of triumph, they experienced from their sovereign a cool and ungracious reception.—LINGARD.d]

new-levied soldiers, and added a thousand veteran troops, whom Sir Francis Vere brought from the Netherlands.

The earl of Essex, commander-in-chief both of the land and sea forces, was at the head of one squadron; Lord Thomas Howard was appointed vice-admiral of another; Sir Walter Raleigh of the third; Lord Mountjoy commanded the land forces under Essex; Vere was appointed marshal; Sir George Carew lieutenant of the ordnance, and Sir Christopher Blount first colonel. The earls of Rutland and Southampton, the lords Grey, Cromwell, and Rich, with several other persons of distinction, embarked as volunteers. Essex declared his resolution either to destroy the new Armada which threatened England, or to perish in the attempt.

RALEIGH TAKES FAYAL

This powerful fleet set sail from Plymouth, July 9th, 1597, but were no sooner out of harbour than they met with a furious storm, which shattered and dispersed them; and before they could be refitted Essex found that their provisions were so far spent that it would not be safe to carry so numerous an army along with him. He dismissed, therefore, all the soldiers except the thousand veterans under Vere; and laying aside all thoughts of attacking Ferrol or Corunna, he confined the object of his expedition to the intercepting of the Indian fleet—which had at first been considered only as the second enterprise which he was to attempt.

The Indian fleet in that age, by reason of the imperfection of navigation, had a stated course as well as season both in their going out and in their return; and there were certain islands at which, as at fixed stages, they always touched, and where they took in water and provisions. The Azores being one of these places where about this time the fleet was expected, Essex bent his course thither; and he informed Raleigh that he, on his arrival, intended to attack Fayal, one of these islands. By some accident the squadrons were separated; and Raleigh, arriving first before Fayal, thought it more prudent, after waiting some time for the general, to begin the attack alone, lest the inhabitants should by farther delay have leisure to make preparations for their defence.

He succeeded in the enterprise; but Essex, jealous of Raleigh, expressed great displeasure at his conduct, and construed it as an intention of robbing the general of the glory which attended that action. He cashiered Sidney, Bret, Berry, and others who had concurred in the attempt, and would have proceeded to inflict the same punishment on Raleigh himself, had not Lord Thomas Howard interposed with his good offices, and persuaded Raleigh, though high-spirited, to make submissions to the general. Essex, who was placable as well as hasty and passionate, was soon appeased, and received Raleigh into favour and restored the other officers to their commands. This incident, however, though the quarrel was seemingly accommodated, laid the first foundation of that violent animosity which afterwards took place between these two gallant commanders.[1]

Essex next made a disposition proper for intercepting the Indian galleons. The Spanish fleet, finding that the enemy was upon them, made all the sail possible to Terceira, and got into the safe and well-fortified harbour of Angra before the English fleet could overtake them. Essex intercepted only three

[[1] According to Keightley,[e] Essex, when advised to court-martial Raleigh, nobly said, "I would, had he been one of my friends." Yet Gardiner[a] notes that in his report he did not even mention Raleigh's capture of Fayal.]

[1597 A.D.]

ships; which, however, were so rich as to repay all the charges of the expedition.

The causes of the miscarriage in this enterprise were much canvassed in England upon the return of the fleet, and though the courtiers took part differently, as they affected either Essex or Raleigh, the people in general, who bore an extreme regard to the gallantry, spirit, and generosity of the former, were inclined to justify every circumstance of his conduct. The queen, who loved the one as much as she esteemed the other, maintained a kind of neutrality, and endeavoured to share her favours with an impartial hand between the parties. Sir Robert Cecil, second son of Lord Burghley, was a courtier of promising hopes much connected with Raleigh, and she made him secretary of state, preferably to Sir Thomas Bodley, whom Essex recommended for that office. But not to disgust Essex, she promoted him to the dignity of earl marshal of England—an office which had been vacant since the death of the earl of Shrewsbury.

THE PARLIAMENT OF 1597

The war with Spain, though successful, having exhausted the queen's exchequer, she was obliged to assemble a parliament, October 24th, 1597, where Yelverton, a lawyer, was chosen speaker of the house of commons. Elizabeth took care, by the mouth of Sir Thomas Egerton, lord-keeper, to inform this assembly of the necessity of a supply. She said "that the wars formerly waged in Europe had commonly been conducted by the parties without farther view than to gain a few towns, or at most a province, from each other; but the object of the present hostilities on the part of Spain was no other than utterly to bereave England of her religion, her liberty, and her independence; that these blessings, however, she herself had hitherto been able to preserve in spite of the devil, the pope, and the Spanish tyrant, and all the mischievous designs of all her enemies; that in this contest she had disbursed a sum triple to all the parliamentary supplies granted her, and, besides expending her ordinary revenues, had been obliged to sell many of the crown lands; and that she could not doubt but her subjects, in a cause where their own honour and interest were so deeply concerned, would willingly contribute to such moderate taxations as should be found necessary for the common defence. The parliament granted her three subsidies and six-fifteenths—the same supply which had been given four years before, but which had then appeared so unusual that they had voted it should never afterwards be regarded as a precedent.

The commons this session ventured to engage in two controversies about forms with the house of peers—a prelude to those encroachments which, as they assumed more courage, they afterwards made upon the prerogatives of the crown. They complained that the lords failed in civility to them by receiving their messages sitting with their hats on, and that the keeper returned an answer in the same negligent posture; but the upper house proved to their full satisfaction that they were not entitled by custom and the usage of parliament to any more respect. Some amendments had been made by the lords to a bill sent up by the commons, and these amendments were written on parchment, and returned with the bill to the commons. The lower house took umbrage at the novelty. They pretended that these amendments ought to have been written on paper, not on parchment, and they complained of this innovation to the peers. The peers replied that they expected not such a frivolous objection from the gravity of the house, and that it was not material

whether the amendments were written on parchment or on paper, nor whether the paper were white, black, or brown. The commons were offended at this reply, which seemed to contain a mockery of them, and they complained of it, though without obtaining any satisfaction.

An application was made by way of petition to the queen from the lower house against monopolies, an abuse which had arisen to an enormous height; and they received a gracious though a general answer, for which they returned their thankful acknowledgments. But not to give them too much encouragement in such applications, she told them, in the speech which she delivered at their dissolution, "that with regard to these patents, she hoped that her dutiful and loving subjects would not take away her prerogative, which is the chief flower in her garden and the principal and head pearl in her crown and diadem, but that they would rather leave these matters to her disposal." The commons also took notice, this session, of some transactions in the court of high commission, but not till they had previously obtained permission from her majesty to that purpose.

Elizabeth had reason to foresee that parliamentary supplies would now become more necessary to her than ever, and that the chief burden of the war with Spain would thenceforth lie upon England. Henry IV had received an overture for peace with Philip; but before he would proceed to a negotiation he gave intelligence of it to his allies, the queen and the states, that if possible a general pacification might be made by common agreement. These two powers sent ambassadors to France in order to remonstrate against peace—the queen, Sir Robert Cecil, and Henry Herbert; the states, Justin Nassau and John Barneveld. But as Spain refused to treat with the Dutch as a free state, and Elizabeth would not negotiate without her ally, Henry found himself obliged to conclude at Vervins a separate peace, by which he recovered possession of all the places seized by Spain during the course of the civil wars, and procured to himself leisure to pursue the domestic settlement of his kingdom. His capacity for the arts of peace was not inferior to his military talents; and in a little time, by his frugality, order, and wise government, he raised France from the desolation and misery in which she was involved to a more flourishing condition than she had ever before enjoyed.

ESSEX QUARRELS WITH ELIZABETH

The military talents of the earl of Essex made him earnestly desire the continuance of war, from which he expected to reap so much advantage and distinction. The rivalship between this nobleman and Lord Burghley made each of them insist the more strenuously on his own counsel; but as Essex's person was agreeable to the queen, as well as his advice conformable to her inclinations, the favourite seemed daily to acquire an ascendancy over the minister. Had he been endowed with caution and self-command equal to his shining qualities he would have so riveted himself in the queen's confidence that none of his enemies had ever been able to impeach his credit; but his lofty spirit could ill submit to that implicit deference which her temper required, and which she had ever been accustomed to receive from all her subjects.

Being once engaged in a dispute with her about the choice of a governor for Ireland, he was so heated in the argument that he entirely forgot the rules both of duty and civility, and turned his back upon her in a contemptuous manner. Her anger, naturally prompt and violent, rose at this provocation,

[1598 A.D.]

and she instantly gave him a box on the ear, adding a passionate expression suited to his impertinence.[1] Instead of recollecting himself and making the submissions due to her sex and station, he clapped his hand to his sword and swore that he would not bear such usage, were it from Henry VIII himself; and he immediately withdrew from court. Egerton, the chancellor, who loved Essex, exhorted him to repair his indiscretion by proper acknowledgments, and entreated him not to give that triumph to his enemies, that affliction to his friends, which must ensue from his supporting a contest with his sovereign, and deserting the service of his country. But Essex was deeply stung with the dishonour which he had received, and seemed to think that an insult which might be pardoned in a woman had become a mortal affront when it came from his sovereign. Yet the queen's partiality was so prevalent that she reinstated him in his former favour, and her kindness to him appeared rather to have acquired new force from this short interval of anger and resentment.

DEATH OF BURGHLEY

The death of Burghley, his antagonist, which happened about the same time (August 4th), seemed to insure him constant possession of the queen's confidence, and nothing indeed but his own indiscretion could thenceforth have shaken his well-established credit. Lord Burghley died at an advanced age, and by a rare fortune was equally regretted by his sovereign and the people. He had risen gradually from small beginnings by the mere force of merit; and though his authority was never entirely absolute or uncontrolled with the queen, he was still, during the course of nearly forty years, regarded as her principal minister. None of her other inclinations or affections could ever overcome her confidence in so useful a counsellor; and as he had had the generosity or good sense to pay assiduous court to her during her sister's reign, when it was dangerous to appear her friend, she thought herself bound in gratitude, when she mounted the throne, to persevere in her attachments to him. He seems not to have possessed any shining talents of address, eloquence, or imagination, and was chiefly distinguished by solidity of understanding, probity of manners, and indefatigable application in business: virtues which, if they do not always enable a man to attain high stations, do certainly qualify him best for filling them. Of all the queen's ministers he alone left a considerable fortune to his posterity—a fortune not acquired by rapine or oppression, but gained by the regular profits of his offices, and preserved by frugality.[2]

The last act of this able minister was the concluding of a new treaty with the Dutch, August 8th, 1598, who, after being in some measure deserted by the king of France, were glad to preserve the queen's alliance by submitting to any terms which she pleased to require of them. The debt which they owed her was now settled at eight hundred thousand pounds. Of this sum they agreed to pay, during the war, thirty thousand pounds a year; and these payments were to continue till four hundred thousand pounds of the debt should be extinguished. They engaged also, during the time that England should con-

[1 She told him "to go to the devil," according to Camden.*h*]

[2 After his decease his ashes were honoured with the tears of his sovereign. But though the "old fox" was gone, he left behind him at court his younger son, Sir Robert Cecil, who, walking in the footsteps of his father, gradually supplanted every competitor, and became so necessary to the queen that long before her death she made him, in opposition perhaps to her own feelings, the chief depository of the royal authority.—LINGARD.*d*]

tinue the war with Spain, to pay the garrisons of the cautionary towns. They stipulated that if Spain should invade England, or the Isle of Wight or Jersey, or Scilly, they should assist her with a body of five thousand foot and five hundred horse; and that in case she undertook any naval armament against Spain, they should join an equal number of ships to hers. By this treaty the queen was eased of an annual charge of a hundred and twenty thousand pounds.

Soon after the death of Burghley, the queen, who regretted extremely the loss of so wise and faithful a minister, was informed of the death of her capital enemy, Philip II, who, after languishing under many infirmities, expired at an advanced age at Madrid. This haughty prince, desirous of an accommodation with his revolted subjects in the Netherlands, but disdaining to make in his own name the concessions necessary for that purpose, had transferred to his daughter, married to Archduke Albert, the title to the Low Country provinces. but as it was not expected that this princess would have posterity, and as the reversion on failure of her issue was still reserved to the crown of Spain, the states considered this deed only as the change of a name, and they persisted with equal obstinacy in their resistance to the Spanish arms. The other powers also of Europe made no distinction between the courts of Brussels and Madrid; and the secret opposition of France, as well as the avowed efforts of England, continued to operate against the progress of Albert as it had done against that of Philip.

HUME ON THE STATE OF IRELAND

Though the dominion of the English over Ireland had been seemingly established above four centuries, it may safely be affirmed that their authority had hitherto been little more than nominal. The Irish princes and nobles, divided among themselves, readily paid the exterior marks of obeisance to a power which they were not able to resist; but as no durable force was ever kept on foot to retain them in their duty they relapsed still into their former state of independence. Too weak to introduce order and obedience among the rude inhabitants, the English authority was yet sufficient to check the growth of any enterprising genius among the natives; and though it could bestow no true form of civil government, it was able to prevent the rise of any such form from the internal combination or policy of the Irish. Most of the English institutions likewise by which that island was governed were to the last degree absurd, and such as no state before had ever thought of for preserving dominion over its conquered provinces.

The English nation, all on fire for the project of subduing France—a project whose success was the most improbable, and would to them have proved the most pernicious—neglected all other enterprises to which their situation so strongly invited them, and which in time would have brought them an accession of riches, grandeur, and security. The small army which they maintained in Ireland they never supplied regularly with pay; and as no money could be levied on the island, which possessed none, they gave their soldiers the privilege of free quarter upon the natives. Rapine and insolence inflamed the hatred which prevailed between the conquerors and the conquered: want of security among the Irish introducing despair, nourished still more the sloth natural to that uncultivated people. But the English carried further their ill-judged tyranny. Instead of inviting the Irish to adopt the more civilised customs of their conquerors, they even refused, though earnestly

solicited, to communicate to them the privilege of their laws, and everywhere marked them out as aliens and as enemies. Thrown out of the protection of justice, the natives could find no security but in force; and flying the neighbourhood of cities, which they could not approach with safety, they sheltered themselves in their marshes and forests from the insolence of their inhuman masters. Being treated like wild beasts, they became such; and joining the ardour of revenge to their yet untamed barbarity, they grew every day more intractable and more dangerous.

As the English princes deemed the conquest of the dispersed Irish to be more the object of time and patience than the source of military glory, they willingly delegated that office to private adventurers, who, enlisting soldiers at their own charge, reduced provinces of that island, which they converted to their own profit. Separate jurisdictions and principalities were established by these lordly conquerors; the power of peace and war was assumed, military law was exercised over the Irish, whom they subdued; and by degrees over the English, by whose assistance they conquered; and after their authority had once taken root, deeming the English institutions less favourable to barbarous dominion, they degenerated into mere Irish, and abandoned the garb, language, manners, and laws of their mother country.

By all this imprudent conduct of England, the natives of its dependent state remained still in that abject condition into which the northern and western parts of Europe were sunk before they received civility and slavery from the refined policy and irresistible bravery of Rome. Even at the end of the sixteenth century, when every Christian nation was cultivating with ardour every civil art of life, that island, lying in a temperate climate, enjoying a fertile soil, accessible in its situation, possessed of innumerable harbours, was still, notwithstanding these advantages, inhabited by a people whose customs and manners approached nearer those of savages than of barbarians.

As the rudeness and ignorance of the Irish were extreme, they were sunk below the reach of that curiosity and love of novelty by which every other people in Europe had been seized at the beginning of that century, and which had engaged them in innovations and religious disputes with which they were still so violently agitated. The ancient superstition, the practices and observances of their fathers—mingled and polluted with many wild opinions—still maintained an unshaken empire over them; and the example alone of the English was sufficient to render the Reformation odious to the prejudiced and discontented Irish. The old opposition of manners, laws, and interest was now inflamed by religious antipathy; and the subduing and civilising of that country seemed to become every day more difficult and more impracticable.

The animosity against the English was carried so far by the Irish that in an insurrection raised by two sons of the earl of Clanricarde, they put to the sword all the inhabitants of the town of Athenry, though Irish, because they began to conform themselves to English customs, and had embraced a more civilised form of life than had been practised by their ancestors. The usual revenue of Ireland amounted only to six thousand pounds a year. The queen, though with much repining, commonly added twenty thousand more, which she remitted from England. With this small revenue a body of a thousand men was supported, which on extraordinary emergencies was augmented to two thousand. No wonder that a force so disproportioned to the object, instead of subduing a mutinous kingdom, served rather to provoke the natives, and to excite those frequent insurrections which still farther inflamed the animosity between the two nations, and increased the disorders to which the Irish were naturally subject.

In 1560, Shan O'Neil, or the great O'Neil, as the Irish called him, because head of that potent clan, raised a rebellion in Ulster; but after some skirmishes he was received into favour upon his submission, and his promise of a more dutiful behaviour for the future. This impunity tempted him to undertake a new insurrection in 1567; but being pushed by Sir Henry Sidney, lord deputy, he retreated into Clandeboye, and rather than submit to the English he put himself into the hands of some Scottish islanders who commonly infested those parts. The Scots, who retained a quarrel against him on account of former injuries, violated the laws of hospitality and murdered him at a festival to which they had invited him. He was a man equally noted for his pride, his violence, his debaucheries and his hatred to the English nation.

Sir Henry Sidney was one of the wisest and most active governors that Ireland had enjoyed for several reigns, and he possessed his authority eleven years; during which he struggled with many difficulties, and made some progress in repressing those disorders which had became inveterate among the people. The earl of Desmond, in 1569, gave him disturbance, from the hereditary animosity which prevailed between that nobleman and the earl of Ormonde, descended from the only family established in Ireland that had steadily maintained its loyalty to the English crown. The earl of Thomond, in 1570, attempted a rebellion in Connaught, but was obliged to fly into France before his designs were ripe for execution. Stukeley, another fugitive, found such credit with the pope, Gregory XIII, that he flattered that pontiff with the prospect of making his nephew, Buon Compagno, king of Ireland; and as if this project had already taken effect, he accepted the title of marquis of Leinster from the new sovereign. He passed next into Spain; and after having received much encouragement and great rewards from Philip, who intended to employ him as an instrument in disturbing Elizabeth, he was found to possess too little interest for executing those high promises which he had made to that monarch. He retired into Portugal, and following the fortunes of Don Sebastian, he perished with that gallant prince in his bold but unfortunate expedition against the Moors.

Lord Grey, after some interval, succeeded to the government of Ireland, and in 1579 suppressed a new rebellion of the earl of Desmond, though supported by a body of Spaniards and Italians. The rebellion of the Burkes followed a few years after, occasioned by the strict and equitable administration of Sir Richard Bingham, governor of Connaught, who endeavoured to repress the tyranny of the chieftains over their vassals. The queen, finding Ireland so burdensome to her, tried several expedients for reducing it to a state of greater order and submission. She encouraged the earl of Essex, father to that nobleman who was afterwards her favourite, to attempt the subduing and planting of Clandeboye, Ferny, and other territories, part of some late forfeitures. But that enterprise proved unfortunate; and Essex died of a distemper occasioned, as is supposed, by the vexation which he had conceived from his disappointments.

A university was founded in Dublin with a view of introducing arts and learning into that kingdom, and civilising the uncultivated manners of the inhabitants. But the most unhappy expedient employed in the government of Ireland was that made use of in 1585 by Sir John Perrott, at that time lord deputy. He put arms into the hands of the Irish inhabitants of Ulster, in order to enable them, without the assistance of the government, to repress the incursions of the Scottish islanders, by which these parts were much infested. At the same time the invitations of Philip, joined to their zeal for the Catholic religion, engaged many of the gentry to serve in the Low Country

[1598 A.D.]

wars; and thus Ireland, being provided with officers and soldiers, with discipline and arms, became formidable to the English, and was thenceforth able to maintain a more regular war against her ancient masters.

TYRONE'S REBELLION

Hugh O'Neil, nephew to Shan O'Neil, had been raised by the queen to the dignity of earl of Tyrone; but having murdered his cousin, son of that rebel, and being acknowledged head of his clan, he fomented all those disorders by which he hoped to weaken or overturn the English government. Tyrone secretly fomented the discontents of the Maguires, O'Donnells, O'Rourkes, Macmahons, and other rebels; yet trusting to the influence of his deceitful oaths and professions, he put himself into the hands of Sir William Russel, who in the year 1594 was sent over deputy to Ireland. Contrary to the advice and protestation of Sir Henry Bagnal, marshal of the army, he was dismissed; and returning to his own country, he embraced the resolution of raising an open rebellion, and of relying no longer on the lenity or inexperience of the English government. He entered into a correspondence with Spain; he procured thence a supply of arms and ammunition, and having united all the Irish chieftains in a dependence upon himself, he began to be regarded as a formidable enemy.

The native Irish were so poor that their country afforded few other commodities than cattle and oatmeal, which were easily concealed or driven away on the approach of the enemy; and as Elizabeth was averse to the expense requisite for supporting her armies, the English found much difficulty in pushing their advantages, and in pursuing the rebels into the bogs, woods, and other fastnesses to which they retreated.

These motives rendered Sir John Norris, who commanded the English army, the more willing to hearken to any proposals of truce or accommodation made him by Tyrone; and after the war was spun out by these artifices for some years, that gallant Englishman, finding that he had been deceived by treacherous promises, and that he had performed nothing worthy of his ancient reputation, was seized with a languishing distemper, and died of vexation and discontent. Sir Henry Bagnal, who succeeded him in the command, was still more unfortunate. As he advanced to relieve the fort of Blackwater, besieged by the rebels, he was surrounded in disadvantageous ground; his soldiers, discouraged by part of their powder's accidentally taking fire, were put to flight; and though the pursuit was stopped by Montacute, who commanded the English horse, fifteen hundred men, together with the general himself, were left dead upon the spot. This victory so unusual to the Irish, roused their courage, supplied them with arms and ammunition and raised the reputation of Tyrone, who assumed the character of the deliverer of his country and patron of Irish liberty.

The English council were now sensible that the rebellion of Ireland was come to a dangerous head, and that the former temporising arts of granting truces and pacifications to the rebels, and of allowing them to purchase pardons by resigning part of the plunder acquired during their insurrection, served only to encourage the spirit of mutiny and disorder among them. It was therefore resolved to push the war by more vigorous measures, and the queen cast her eye on Charles Blount, lord Mountjoy, as a man who, though hitherto less accustomed to arms than to books and literature, was endowed she thought, with talents equal to the undertaking.[i]

ESSEX IN IRELAND: HIS SEDITION

It was proposed in the council to send Lord Mountjoy thither as chief governor; but Essex strenuously opposed this appointment, and in the description which he gave of the kind of person who should be sent he drew his own portrait so accurately that it was plain to all what his object was. Cecil, Raleigh, and his other enemies gladly seized on the occasion of removing him from court. The new title of lord lieutenant was conferred on him, and he left London in March, 1599, amid the acclamations of the people, and accompanied by a gallant train of nobles and gentlemen. The forces placed at his disposal amounted to eighteen thousand men.

Instead of marching against Tyrone at once, Essex, at the persuasion of some of the Irish council, who wished to secure their estates in Munster, led his forces thither. Here he passed the better part of the summer, and though



the natives made little resistance, his army melted away by disease and desertion. On his return to Dublin he was obliged to write to the English council for two thousand additional troops; yet even when these arrived he found that from desertion and other causes he could lead but four thousand men against O'Neil. He therefore listened to a proposal of that chief for a conference. They met on the opposite banks of a stream; a truce till the following May was agreed on, and Essex engaged to transmit to England the demands of O'Neil, which were too high ever to be granted.[1]

Though Essex had received orders not to leave Ireland, he resolved to anticipate his enemies, who he was conscious had now a fair opportunity of injuring him in the royal mind, and on the morning of Michaelmas eve the queen saw him enter her chamber before she had finished dressing and throw

[1 So unexpected an issue of an enterprise, the greatest and most expensive that Elizabeth had ever undertaken, provoked her extremely against Essex; and this disgust was much augmented by other circumstances of that nobleman's conduct. He wrote many letters to the queen and council full of peevish and impatient expressions: complaining of his enemies, lamenting that their calumnies should be believed against him, and discovering symptoms of a mind equally haughty and discontented.—HUME.i]

himself on his knees before her. Taken thus by surprise, she gave him her hand to kiss. He retired in high spirits, and was heard to thank God that though he had met with many storms abroad he had found a sweet calm at home. Before the day ended, however, the calm turned to a storm;[1] the queen, who would not have her authority infringed, ordered him to confine himself to his room, and in a few days committed him to the custody of the lord-keeper Egerton. Anxiety of mind brought on him an attack of illness. Elizabeth, who really loved him, sent him some broth from her own table, and with tears in her eyes desired the physician to tell him that were it not for her honour she would visit him herself.

After his recovery he was allowed to retire to his own house, where, in the society of his countess, the accomplished daughter of Walsingham and widow of Sir Philip Sidney, he devoted himself to literature, the study of which he had never neglected. The accounts of the success of Mountjoy, who had succeeded him in Ireland, and the injudicious expressions of the popular feelings in his favour, gave strength to the arguments of his enemies, and the queen directed that he should be examined before the privy council. He made no defence, throwing himself in a strain of affecting eloquence on the queen's mercy. The sentence passed was that he should not exercise any of his offices, and should confine himself to his own house. He behaved with the greatest humility and submission, and would probably have recovered his former state of favour had not a slight circumstance occurred which caused his ruin.

A monopoly of sweet wines had been given to Essex for a term which now expired. On his application for a renewal the queen refused, saying she must first learn its value, and that an unruly beast must be stinted in its provender. Essex now fancied there was a settled design to ruin him; he began to give ear to the evil suggestions of his secretary Cuffe and others who recommended violent courses; he increased the number of his dependents; he took the opinions of some divines on the lawfulness of using force against a sovereign. Some of the more zealous Puritan clergy (a party which, like Leicester, he always favoured) recommended his cause to the citizens in their lectures. He even opened a correspondence with the king of Scots, assuring him that Cecil and the other ministers were in favour of the Infanta, and advising him to assert his right to the succession, in which he offered to support him with his life and fortune. In his imprudence he could not refrain from using disparaging language of the queen. All this was conveyed to the queen's ear by his enemies among the court ladies.

Drury house, the residence of the earl of Southampton, was the place where the principal malcontents used to meet, but Essex himself never was present. Plans were formed for seizing the palace and obliging the queen to dismiss his enemies and alter her mode of governing. The suspicions of the ministers were awakened, and Essex was summoned before the council (February 7th, 1601). He feigned illness; in the night his friends resorted to him, and as next day was Sunday and the chief citizens would be assembled according to custom at Paul's Cross, it was resolved to try to induce them to follow him to the palace.

In the morning the lord-keeper and some others were sent to Essex house. They were admitted through the wicket, but their attendants were excluded,

[1] "When I did come into her presence," says Harrington, "she chafed much, walked fastly to and fro, looked with discomposure on her visage, and I remember she catched my girdle when I kneeled to her, and swore, 'By God's son I am no queen; that man is above me. Who gave him command to come here so soon? I did send him on other business.' "

and after some altercation they were confined in one of the rooms. Essex then issued forth at the head of about eighty knights and gentlemen; on the way to the city he was joined by about two hundred others, but on reaching St. Paul's he found no one there. He advanced, shouting, "For the queen! for the queen! a plot is laid for my life!" but few noticed him. Soon after the lords Burghley and Cumberland entered the city proclaiming him a traitor; he attempted to return home, but was repulsed by the guard at Ludgate; he then entered a boat at Queenhithe and returned by water. He found his prisoners gone; soldiers began to surround the house; cannon were brought from the Tower; Lord Sands advised a sally sword in hand, but Essex did not yet despair, and he surrendered on the promise of a fair trial.

Essex and Southampton were brought to trial on the 19th before a jury of twenty-five peers. As some of them were his personal enemies, he claimed a right to challenge them, but this right was denied by the judges. The facts were easily proved, but Essex denied all intention of injuring the queen. They were found guilty. Essex said that for himself he should neither solicit nor refuse mercy, but he hoped the life of his friend would be spared, who had only acted from affection to him. Southampton threw himself immediately on the mercy of the queen. In prison Essex was attended by Ashton, his favourite divine, who awoke in his bosom such a degree of spiritual terror and remorse that he made a most ample confession.[e] It filled four sheets of paper; but its accuracy has been doubted, and his associates complained that he had loaded both himself and them with crimes of which neither he nor they were guilty.

The eyes of the public were now fixed on Elizabeth. Some persons maintained that she had not the heart to put her former favourite to death—her affection would infallibly master her resentment; others, that she dared not—revenge might urge him on the scaffold to reveal secrets disreputable to a maiden queen. But his enemies were industrious; and while they affected to remain neutral, clandestinely employed the services of certain females, whose credulity had been formerly deceived by the earl, and whose revenge was gratified by keeping alive the irritation of their mistress. From them Elizabeth heard tales of his profligacy, his arrogance, and his ingratitude to his benefactress, whom he had pronounced "an old woman, as crooked in mind as she was in body." This insult to her "divine beauty" sunk deeply into her breast, and, jointly with his obstinacy in refusing to sue for mercy, steeled her against the apologies, the solicitations, and the tears of his friends. She signed the fatal warrant; but, with her usual indecision, first sent her kinsman, Edward Carey, to forbid, and then the lord Darcy to hasten, its execution.

ESSEX'S DEATH AND CHARACTER

About eight in the morning, February 25th, Essex was led to the scaffold, which had been erected within the court of the Tower. He was attended by three divines, whose words, to use his own expression, had ploughed up his heart. Never did a prisoner behave with greater humility, or manifest a deeper sorrow. He acknowledged his numerous transgressions of the divine law; but when he came to his offence against the queen, he sought in vain for words to express his feelings. He called it "a great sin, a bloody sin, a crying and infectious sin, for which he begged pardon of God and his sovereign." Whether he still indulged a hope of pardon is uncertain; but it was remarked that he never mentioned his wife, or children, or friends; that he took leave of no one,

[1601 A.D.]

not even of his acquaintances then present, and that when he knelt down to pray, he betrayed considerable agitation of mind. The first stroke took from him all sense of pain; the third severed his head from the body.

Thus, at the premature age of thirty-three, perished the gallant and aspiring Essex. At his first introduction to Elizabeth he had to contend against the dislike with which she viewed the son of a woman who had been her rival, and a successful rival, in the affections of Leicester. If he overcame this prejudice, it was not owing to personal beauty or exterior accomplishments.[1] In these respects, if we except the exquisite symmetry of his hands, he was inferior to many gentlemen at court. But there was in him a frankness of disposition, a contempt of all disguise, an impetuosity of feeling, which prompted him to pour out his whole soul in conversation—qualities which captivated the old queen, fatigued as she was with the cautious and measured language of the politicians around her. She insisted on his constant presence at court, and undertook to form the young mind of her favourite; but the scholar presumed to dispute the lessons of his teacher, and the spirit with which he opposed her chidings extorted her applause. In every quarrel his perseverance was victorious; and his vanquished mistress, in atonement for the pain which she had given, loaded him with caresses and favours. Hence he deduced a maxim, which, however it might succeed for a few years, finally brought him to the scaffold—that the queen might be driven, but could not be led; that her obstinacy might be subdued by resistance, but could not be softened by submission.

Contrary to the lot of most favourites, he had enjoyed at the same time the affection of the sovereign and of the people; and the popularity of the queen, which had long been on the wane, seemed to be buried in the same grave with her favourite. On her appearance in public, she was no longer greeted with the wonted acclamations, and her counsellors were received with loud expressions of insult and abhorrence.

The death of Essex contributed to save the life of Southampton. But though the ministers solicited the queen in his favour, though they extorted from her a reprieve from the block, they could not obtain his discharge from the Tower. Cuffe, the secretary, and Merrick, the steward of Essex, suffered the usual punishment of traitors; which was commuted into decapitation in favour of Blount, his stepfather, and of Davers, the friend of Southampton. For it was in this ill-advised enterprise, as it had been in the more atrocious conspiracy of Babington: men risked their lives through affection for others. If Southampton adhered to Essex, or Davers to Southampton, it was because they deemed it a duty prescribed by friendship to live or perish together.

The king of Scots, in consequence of his engagement with the conspirators, had previously appointed the earl of Mar, and Bruce, abbot of Kinross, his ambassadors to England. Though the failure of the attempt was known in Edinburgh before their departure, they were authorised to promise that James would put himself at the head of the party, if there still remained any reasonable prospect of success. They found the adherents of Essex plunged in the deepest despair, the people in a state of discontent, and Cecil possessing in reality the exercise of the sovereign power. Veiling their object, they congratulated the queen on her escape from the control of the conspirators; affirmed in strong language the innocence of their master, not only as to that, but as to all other attempts against her life or authority; and demanded an addition to his annual pension, and a promise that nothing should be done to

[1] He stooped forward, walked and danced ungracefully, and was slovenly in his dress. —WOTTON. *i*

the prejudice of his right to the succession. James dared not hope for success in this negotiation. He knew that Essex had betrayed the secret connection between them, and he expected every bad office from the presumed hostility of Cecil.

But Cecil was a thoroughbred politician, who measured his friendships and enmities by his personal interest. When Elizabeth was tottering on the brink of the grave, it was not for him to brave the resentment of her successor. How the reconciliation was effected is not precisely stated; but the result appears to have been an agreement that all past causes of offence should be forgiven, that the king should receive an addition of two thousand pounds to his annuity, and that Cecil, with the aid of the lord Henry Howard, should silently pave the way for his succession at the death of Elizabeth.

The secretary, however, required silence as an indispensable condition. Should the secret transpire, should even a suspicion be provoked of any concert between him and the Scottish king, the jealousy of Elizabeth would pronounce Cecil a traitor and James a rival; and it should be remembered that the court contained many who through interested motives would gladly infuse such notions into the royal mind. This advice was approved and adopted. The correspondence which followed between the parties was carefully concealed from the knowledge of the queen and the courtiers, and generally passed through the hands of the lord Henry Howard in England, and of Mar and Bruce in Scotland. Cecil continued to act as if he had no eye to the succession of James; and James affected to speak of him as of one from whom he had no reason to expect any service.

Essex, in his confession, had betrayed the project for his release from captivity, to which the lord Mountjoy had formerly given his assent. Though that nobleman had conducted the war in Ireland with a vigour and success which raised him to a high pre-eminence above all former deputies, he knew that he had reason to dread the resentment of the queen, and had made every preparation to seek, at the first summons, an asylum on the Continent. Cecil, however, convinced her that it stood not with her interests to irritate a favourite general at the head of a victorious army. Dissembling her knowledge of his guilt, she acquainted him, in a long and gracious letter, with the trial and execution of Essex; assured him that in her distress it afforded her consolation to think of his loyalty and attachment.

PARLIAMENT AND THE MONOPOLIES

Elizabeth now summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster. Unwilling that men should notice her increasing infirmities, she opened the session with more than usual parade, October 27th, 1601; but her enfeebled frame was unable to support the weight of the royal robes, and she was actually sinking to the ground when the nearest nobleman caught and supported her in his arms. The only object of the minister was to obtain a supply of money for the Irish war, and his wish was gratified by the unexampled vote of four subsidies, and eight tenths and fifteenths. But if the members were liberal in their grant to the crown, they were obstinate in demanding the redress of their grievances. The great subject of complaint, both within and without the walls of parliament, was the multitude of monopolies bestowed by the queen on her favourites. By a monopoly was understood a patent signed by *her, and* vesting *in* an individual, as a reward for his real or pretended services, the exclusive right of vending some particular commodity. This custom began in the seventeenth year of her reign, and grew in a short time into an

[1601–1602 A.D.]

intolerable abuse. If it supplied her with the means of satisfying importunate suitors without cost to herself, yet, to the public, each patent operated as a new tax on the consumer. Wine, vinegar, oil, salt, starch, tin, steel, coals, and numerous other commodities, among which were several of the first necessity, and therefore of universal consumption, had of late years been advanced to double the usual price; and the representatives of most counties and boroughs had been instructed by their constituents to demand the abolition of so oppressive a grievance.

The motion was soon made: by the advisers of the crown it was met with the argument that the granting of monopolies was a branch of the prerogative; that whoever only touched the prerogative would incur the royal indignation; that to proceed by bill was useless and unwise, because, though the two houses might pretend "to tie the queen's hands by act of parliament, she still could loose them at her pleasure"; and that the speaker was blamable to admit such motions, contrary to the royal commandment given at the opening of the session. It was, however, replied, that the patentees were the bloodsuckers of the commonwealth; that the people could no longer bear such burdens; that the close of the last parliament had shown how little redress was to be expected from petition; and that the only sure remedy was to abolish all monopolies by statute.



HOUSE OF THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD

This perseverance of the commons shook the resolution of the minister, who was terrified by the execrations of the people as he hastened in his carriage through the streets; and subdued the obstinacy of the queen, who, though she annually became more attached to what she deemed the rights of the crown, yielded at length to his suggestions and entreaties. The commons, happy to obtain redress without engaging in a contest with their sovereign, returned her thanks in language little short of blasphemy.[d]

The only event of much importance in the remainder of the queen's reign was the reduction of Tyrone and the other Irish chiefs by the deputy Mountjoy (1602). The king of Spain had sent a body of six thousand men to their aid under Juan de Aguilar and Alfonso Ocampo, but these generals were obliged to capitulate to the lord-deputy at Kinsale and Baltimore.[e]

The time so long dreaded by the queen had at length arrived when, to use her own expression, men would turn their backs on the setting, to worship the rising sun. It was in vain that she affected the vigour and gaiety of youth;[1]

[1] At this time the queen had a new favourite, the young earl of Clanricarde. "He resembles much the late earl of Essex, and is growing to be a favourite." August 25th. "Flatterers say that he resembles Essex; the queen dissembles, and says that she cannot love him, inasmuch as he recalls her sorrow for that nobleman."—BEAUMONT.[k] By mistake he is called Clancarty in Von Raumer.[l]

that in opposition to the unanimous advice of the council she persisted in making her annual progress; and that every other day she fatigued her decrepit frame with riding on horseback to view the labours of the chase and the other sports of the field. No art could conceal her age and infirmities from the knowledge of her subjects; the consequences of her approaching demise became the general topic of conversation at court, and every man who dared to give an opinion was careful to name as her successor the king of Scots. The question of the succession was as warmly agitated among the exiles abroad as among the courtiers and politicians at home. The reader is acquainted with the plan of the Spanish faction to place the Infanta on the English throne. As long as she was at liberty to marry either the king of Scots or an English nobleman, it was hoped that the nation might be induced to admit her claim; but from the moment of her union with the archduke Albert, the most sanguine of her partisans began to despond. But there could be no doubt that on the death of Elizabeth many competitors would appear; and that on such an occasion the Catholic monarchs, in union with the Catholic natives, might form a powerful party in favour of a Catholic claimant.

Attempts had formerly been made to steal away the lady Arabella Stuart as a dangerous rival to the Infanta; she now became the favourite of the faction; it was proposed that she should marry the cardinal Farnese, who could trace his descent from John of Gaunt, and that all Catholics should be exhorted to support their united pretensions. When this visionary scheme was suggested to Clement VIII, he appeared to entertain it with pleasure, but was careful not to commit himself by any public avowal of his sentiments.

ELIZABETH'S LAST ILLNESS

Elizabeth had surprised the nations of Europe by the splendour of her course; she was destined to close the evening of her life in gloom and sorrow. The bodily infirmities which she suffered may have been the consequences of age; her mental afflictions are usually traced by historians to regret for the execution of Essex. That she occasionally bewailed his fate, that she accused herself of precipitation and cruelty, is not improbable; but there were disclosures in his confession to which her subsequent melancholy may with greater probability be ascribed. From that document she learned the unwelcome and distressing truth that she had lived too long; that her favourites looked with impatience to the moment which would free them from her control; and that the very men on whose loyalty she had hitherto reposed with confidence had already proved unfaithful to her. She became pensive and taciturn; she sat whole days by herself, indulging in the most gloomy reflections; every rumour agitated her with new and imaginary terrors; and the solitude of her court, the opposition of the commons to her prerogative, and the silence of the citizens when she appeared in public, were taken by her for proofs that she had survived her popularity, and was become an object of aversion to her subjects. Under these impressions, she assured the French ambassador that she had grown weary of her very existence.

Sir John Harington, her godson, who visited the court about seven months after the death of Essex, has described in a private letter the state in which he found the queen. She was altered in her features and reduced to a skeleton. Her food was nothing but manchet bread and succory pottage. Her taste for dress was gone. She had not changed her clothes for many days. Nothing could please her; she was the torment of the ladies who waited on her person.

[1602–1603 A.D.]

She stamped with her feet, and swore violently at the objects of her anger. For her protection she had ordered a sword to be placed by her table, which she often took in her hand and thrust with violence into the tapestry of her chamber. In January, 1603, she was troubled with a cold, and about the end of the month removed, on a wet and stormy day, from Westminster to Richmond. Her indisposition increased, but with her characteristic obstinacy she refused the advice of her physicians. Loss of appetite was accompanied with lowness of spirits, and to add to her distress it chanced that her intimate friend, the countess of Nottingham, died. Elizabeth now spent her days and nights in sighs and tears.

In the first week of March all the symptoms of her disorder were considerably aggravated; she lay during some hours in a state of stupor, rallied for a day or two, and then relapsed. The council, having learned from the physicians that her recovery was hopeless, prepared to fulfil their engagements with the king of Scots, by providing for his peaceable succession to the throne. The lord-admiral, the lord-keeper, and the secretary remained with the queen at Richmond; the others repaired to Whitehall. Orders were issued for the immediate arrest and transportation to Holland of all vagrants and unknown persons found in London or Westminster; a guard was posted at the exchequer, the great horses were brought up from Reading; the court was supplied with arms and ammunition; and several gentlemen, "hunger-starved for innovation," and therefore objects of suspicion, were conveyed prisoners to the Tower.

The queen, during the paroxysms of her disorder, had been alarmed at the frightful phantoms conjured up by her imagination. At length she obstinately refused to return to her bed, and sat both day and night on a stool bolstered up with cushions, having her finger in her mouth and her eyes fixed on the floor, seldom condescending to speak, and rejecting every offer of nourishment. The bishops and the lords of the council advised and entreated in vain. For them all, with the exception of the lord-admiral, she expressed the most profound contempt. He was of her own blood, from him she consented to accept a basin of broth; but when he urged her to return to her bed, she replied that if he had seen what she saw there he would never make the request. To Cecil, who asked if she had seen spirits, she answered that it was an idle question beneath her notice. He insisted that she must go to bed, if it were only to satisfy her people. "Must!" she exclaimed, "is 'must' a word to be addressed to princes? Little man, little man, thy father, if he had been alive, durst not have used that word; but thou art grown presumptuous because thou knowest that I shall die." Ordering the others to depart, she called the lord-admiral to her, saying in a piteous tone, "My lord, I am tied with an iron collar about my neck." He sought to console her, but she replied, "No; I am tied, and the case is altered with me."

At the commencement of her illness the queen had been heard to say that she would leave the crown to the right heir; it was now deemed advisable to elicit from her a less equivocal declaration on behalf of the king of Scots. On the last night of her life the three lords waited upon her. According to the narrative of the maid of honour who was present, the persons first mentioned to the queen by the lords were the king of France and the king of Scotland. The queen neither spoke nor stirred. The third name was that of the lord Beauchamp.[1] At the sound her spirit was roused.[d] She replied, "My seat

[1] Lord Beauchamp was the fruit of the furtive marriage between Lord Hertford and the lady Catherine Grey, and consequently heir to the pretensions of the house of Suffolk. This was the reason why he was named, and also why the queen used the expression "a ras-

nas been the seat of kings; I will have no rascal's son, but a king." When asked to explain, she said, "Who should that be but our cousin of Scotland?" During the day she became speechless. In the afternoon, when the primate and the other prelates had left her, the councillors returned, and Cecil asked her if she still continued in her resolution, "whereat suddenly heaving herself upwards in her bed and pulling her arms out of bed, she held her hands jointly over her head in form of a crown." At six in the evening she made signs for the archbishop and her chaplains. The primate examined her of her faith; she replied by signs; he prayed at her desire till it was late in the night. He then retired, and at the hour of three in the morning, March 24th, 1603, the queen gently yielded up her spirit. At ten o'clock King James was proclaimed.

This great queen had nearly attained the age of seventy years, during forty-five of which she had occupied the throne.[e]

LINGARD'S ESTIMATE OF ELIZABETH'S CHARACTER

In the judgment of her contemporaries—and that judgment has been ratified by the consent of posterity—Elizabeth was numbered among the greatest and the most fortunate of our princes. The tranquillity which, during a reign of nearly half a century, she maintained within her dominions, while the neighbouring nations were convulsed with intestine dissensions, was taken as a proof of the wisdom or the vigour of her government; and her successful resistance against the Spanish monarch, the severe injuries which she inflicted on that lord of so many kingdoms, and the spirit displayed by her fleets and armies, in expeditions to France and the Netherlands, to Spain, to the West and even the East Indies, served to give to the world an exalted notion of her military and naval power. When she came to the throne, England ranked only among the secondary kingdoms; before her death, it had risen to a level with the first nations in Europe.

Of this rise two causes may be assigned. The one, though more remote, was that spirit of commercial enterprise which had revived in the reign of Mary and was carefully fostered in that of Elizabeth by the patronage of the sovereign and the co-operation of the great. Its benefits were not confined to the trading and seafaring classes, the two interests more immediately concerned. It gave a new tone to the public mind, and diffused a new energy through all ranks of men. The other cause may be discovered in the system of foreign policy adopted by the ministers—a policy, indeed, which it may be difficult to reconcile with honesty and good faith, but which in the result proved eminently successful. The reader has seen them perpetually on the watch to sow the seeds of dissension, to foment the spirit of resistance, and to aid the efforts of rebellion in the neighbouring nations. In Scotland the authority of the crown was almost annihilated; France was reduced to an unexampled state of anarchy, poverty, and distress; and Spain beheld with dismay her wealth continually absorbed, and her armies annually perishing among the dikes and sand-banks of the Low Countries. The depression of these powers, if not a positive, was a relative benefit. As other princes descended, the English queen appeared to rise on the scale of reputation and power.

In what proportion the merit or demerit of these and of other measures should be shared between Elizabeth and her counsellors, it is impossible to

cal's son." Lingard[d] denies the story that Elizabeth indicated James by a sign, but it is generally accepted.

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determine. On many subjects she could see only with their eyes and hear with their ears, yet it is evident that her judgment or her conscience frequently disapproved of their advice.[1] Sometimes, after a long struggle, they submitted to her wisdom or obstinacy; sometimes she was terrified or seduced into the surrender of her own opinion; generally a compromise was effected by mutual concessions. This appears to have happened on most debates of importance, and particularly with respect to the treatment of the unfortunate queen of Scots. Elizabeth may perhaps have dissembled; she may have been actuated by jealousy or hatred; but if we condemn, we should also remember the arts and frauds of the men by whom she was surrounded, the false information which they supplied, the imaginary dangers which they created, and the despatches which they dictated in England to be forwarded to the queen through the ambassadors in foreign courts, as the result of their own judgment and observation.

It may be that the habitual irresolution of Elizabeth was partially owing to her discovery of such practices; but there is reason to believe that it was a weakness inherent in the constitution of her mind. To deliberate, appears to have been her delight; to resolve, her torment. She would receive advice from any, from foreigners as well as natives, from the ladies of her bedchamber no less than the lords of her council; but her distrust begot hesitation, and she always suspected that some interested motive lurked under the pretence of zeal for her service. Hence she often suffered months, sometimes years, to roll away before she came to a conclusion; and then it required the same industry and address to keep her steady to her purpose as it had already cost to bring her to it.

The ministers, in their confidential correspondence, perpetually lamented this infirmity in the queen; in public they employed all their ingenuity to screen it from notice, and to give the semblance of wisdom to that which, in their own judgment, they characterised as folly.

Besides irresolution, there was in Elizabeth another quality equally, perhaps more, mortifying to her counsellors and favourites: her care to improve her revenue, her reluctance to part with her money. That frugality in a sovereign is a virtue deserving the highest praise could not be denied; but they contended that in their mistress it had degenerated into parsimony, if not into avarice. Their salaries were, indeed, low; she distributed her gratuities with a sparing hand; and the more honest among them injured their fortunes in her service; yet there were others who, by the sale of places and of patronage, by grants and monopolies, were able to amass considerable wealth, or to spend with a profusion almost unexampled among subjects. The truth, however, was, that the foreign policy of the cabinet had plunged the queen into a gulf of unfathomable expense. Her connection with the insurgents in so many different countries, the support of a standing army in Holland, her long war with Spain, and the repeated attempts to suppress the rebellion of Tyrone, were continual drains upon the treasury, which the revenue of the crown, with every adventitious aid of subsidies, loans, fines, and forfeitures, was unable to supply. Her poverty increased as her wants multiplied. All her efforts were cramped; expeditions were calculated on too limited a scale,

[1] It is, moreover, observed by one who had the means of judging, that "when the busynesse did turn to better advantage, she did moste cunningly commit the good issue to hir own honour and understandinge; but, when ought fell oute contrarie to hir wyll and intente, the council were in great straite to defende their owne actinge, and not blemyshe the queen's goode judgmente. Herein hir wyse men did oft lacke more wysdome; and the lorde treasurer woude ofte shed a plenty of tears on any miscarriage, well knowynge the difficulte parte was, not so muche to mende the matter itself as his mistresse's humour."—HARINGTON.[m]

and for too short a period; and the very apprehension of present served only to entail on her future and enormous expense.

An intelligent foreigner had described Elizabeth, while she was yet a subject, as haughty and overbearing; on the throne she was careful to display that notion of her own importance, that contempt of all beneath her, and that courage in the time of danger, which were characteristic of the Tudors. She seemed to have forgotten that she ever had a mother, but was proud to remind both herself and others that she was the daughter of a powerful monarch, of Henry VIII. On occasions of ceremony she appeared in all her splendour, accompanied by the great officers of state, and with a numerous retinue of lords and ladies dressed in their most gorgeous apparel. In reading descriptions of her court, we may sometimes fancy ourselves transported into the palace of an eastern princess. When Hentzner[n] saw her she was proceeding on a Sunday from her own apartment to the chapel. First appeared a number of gentlemen, barons, earls, and knights of the garter; then came the chancellor with the seals, between two lords carrying the sceptre and the sword. Elizabeth followed; and wherever she cast her eyes, the spectators instantly fell on their knees.

She was then in her sixty-fifth year. She wore false hair of a red colour, surmounted with a crown of gold. The wrinkles of age were imprinted on her face; her eyes were small, her teeth black, her nose prominent. The collar of the garter hung from her neck, and her bosom was uncovered, as became an unmarried queen. Her train, of great length, was borne by a marchioness; behind her followed a number of noble ladies, mostly dressed in white; and on each side stood a line of gentlemen pensioners, with their gilt battle-axes and in splendid uniforms.

Yet while she maintained this state in public and in the palace, while she taught the proudest of the nobility to feel the distance between themselves and their sovereign, she condescended to court the goodwill of the common people. In the country they had access to her at all times; neither their rudeness nor importunity appeared to offend her; she received their petitions with an air of pleasure, thanked them for their expressions of attachment, and sought the opportunity of entering into private conversation with individuals. Her progresses were undoubtedly undertaken for pleasure; but she made them subservient to policy, and increased her popularity by her affability and condescension to the private inhabitants of the counties in which she made her temporary abode.

From the elevation of the throne, we may now follow her into the privacy of domestic life. Her natural abilities were great; she had studied under experienced masters; and her stock of literature was much more ample than that of most females of the age. Like her sister Mary, she possessed a knowledge of five languages; but Mary did not venture to converse in Italian, neither could she construe the Greek Testament, like Elizabeth. The queen is said to have excelled on the virginals, and to have understood the most difficult music. But dancing was her principal delight, and in that exercise she displayed a grace and spirit which were universally admired. She retained her partiality for it to the last; few days passed in which the young nobility of the court were not called to dance before their sovereign; and the queen herself condescended to perform her part in a galliard with the duke of Nevers, at the age of sixty-nine.

Of her vanity the reader will have noticed several instances in the preceding pages; there remains one of a more extraordinary description. It is seldom that females have the boldness to become the heralds of their own

charms; but Elizabeth by proclamation announced to her people that none of the portraits which had hitherto been taken of her person did justice to the original; that at the request of her council she had resolved to procure an exact likeness from the pencil of some able artist; that it should soon be published for the gratification of her loving subjects; and that on this account she strictly forbade all persons whomsoever to paint or engrave any new portraits of her features without license, or to show or publish any of the old portraits till they had been re-formed according to the copy to be set forth by authority.

The courtiers soon discovered how greedy their sovereign was of flattery. If they sought to please, they were careful to admire; and adulation the most fulsome and extravagant was accepted by the queen with gratitude and rewarded with bounty. Neither was her appetite for praise cloyed; it seemed rather to become more craving by enjoyment. After she had passed her grand climacteric, she exacted the same homage to her faded charms as had been paid to her youth; and all who addressed her were still careful to express their admiration of her beauty in the language of oriental hyperbole.

But however highly she might think of her person, she did not despise the aid of external ornament. At her death two—some say three—thousand dresses were found in her wardrobe, with a numerous collection of jewellery, for the most part presents which she had received from petitioners, from her courtiers on her saint's day, and at the beginning of each year, and from the noblemen and gentlemen whose houses she had honoured with her presence. To the austere notions of the bishop of London this love of finery appeared unbecoming her age, and in his sermon he endeavoured to raise her thoughts from the ornaments of dress to the riches of heaven; but she told her ladies that if he touched upon that subject again, she would fit him for heaven. He should walk there without a staff, and leave his mantle behind him. In her temper Elizabeth seemed to have inherited the irritability of her father. The least inattention, the slightest provocation, would throw her into a passion. At all times her discourse was sprinkled with oaths; in the sallies of her anger it abounded with imprecations and abuse. Nor did she content herself with words; not only the ladies about her person, but her courtiers and the highest officers in the state, felt the weight of her hands. She collared Hatton, she gave a blow on the ear to the earl marshal, and she spat on Sir Matthew Arundel, with the foppery of whose dress she was offended.

To her first parliament she had expressed a wish that on her tomb might be inscribed the title of "the virgin queen." But the woman who despises the safeguards must be content to forfeit the reputation of chastity. It was not long before her familiarity with Dudley provoked dishonourable reports. At first they gave her pain, but her feelings were soon blunted by passion; in the face of the whole court she assigned to her supposed paramour an apartment contiguous to her own bed-chamber, and by this indecent act proved that she had become regardless of her character and callous to every sense of shame.[1]

[1] Quandra, bishop of Aquila, the Spanish ambassador in the beginning of 1561, informs the king that, according to common belief, the queen "lived with Dudley"; that in one of his audiences Elizabeth spoke to him respecting this report, and, in proof of its improbability, showed him the situation of her apartment and bed-chamber, *la disposicion de su camera y alcoba*. But in a short time she deprived herself of this plea. Under the pretext that Dudley's apartment in a lower story of the palace was unhealthy, she removed him to another, contiguous to her own chamber; *una habitacion alta junto a su camera, pretestando que la que tenia era mal sana*. In September of the same year these rumours derived additional credit from the change in the queen's appearance. "*La reigna (a lo que entiendo) se hace hydropica,*

But Dudley, though the most favoured, was not considered as her only lover; among his rivals were numbered Hatton, and Raleigh, and Oxford, and Blount, and Simier, and Anjou; and it was afterwards believed, according to Osborn,[o] that her licentious habits survived even when the fire of wantonness had been quenched by the chill of age. The court imitated the manners of the sovereign. It was a place in which, according to Faunt,[p] "all enormities reigned in the highest degree,"[1] or according to Harington,[m] "where there was no love but that of the lusty god of gallantry, Asmodeus."

Elizabeth firmly believed and zealously upheld the principles of government established by her father—the exercise of absolute authority by the sovereign, and the duty of passive obedience in the subject. The doctrine with which the lord-keeper Bacon opened her first parliament was indefatigably inculcated by all his successors during her reign, that if the queen consulted the two houses it was through choice, not through necessity, to the end that her laws might be more satisfactory to her people, not that they might derive any force from their assent.



ENTRANCE TO FROCESTER COURT, GLOUCESTER COUNTY

An intolerable grievance was the discretionary power assumed by the queen of gratifying her caprice or resentment by the restraint or imprisonment of those who had given her offence. Such persons were ordered to present themselves daily before the council till they should receive further notice, or to confine themselves within their own doors, or were given in custody to some other person, or were thrown into a public prison. In this state they remained, according to the royal pleasure, for weeks, or months, or years, till they could obtain their liberty by their submission, or through the intercession of their friends, or with the payment of a valuable composition.

The queen was not sparing of the blood of her subjects. The statutes inflicting death for religious opinion have been already noticed. In addition, many new felonies and new treasons were created during her reign; and the ingenuity of the judges gave to these enactments the most extensive applica-

y comienza ya a hincharse notablemente . . . lo que se parece es que anda discarda y flaca en extremo, y con un color de muerta . . . que la marquesa di Noramton y milady Coban tengan a la reyna por pelegrosa y hydropica, no hay duda." The original despatches are at Simancas, with several letters from an English lady, formerly known to Philip (probably the marchioness of Winchester), describing in strong colours the dissolute manners both of Elizabeth and her court. Philip II received at court a supposed son of Elizabeth and Leicester.

[1 Keightley[e] discounts the complaint of this "rigid querulous Puritan; as if there ever was a court which would not appear licentious and dissolute in the eyes of an austere religionist."]

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tion. In 1595 some apprentices in London conspired to release their companions who had been condemned by the Star Chamber to suffer punishment for a riot; in 1597 a number of peasants in Oxfordshire assembled to break down enclosures and restore tillage; each of these offences, as it opposed the execution of the law, was pronounced treason by the judges; and both the apprentices in London and the men of Oxfordshire suffered the barbarous death of traitors.

We are told that her parsimony was a blessing to the subject, and that the pecuniary aids voted to her by parliament were few and inconsiderable in proportion to the length of her reign. They amounted to twenty subsidies, thirty tenths, and forty fifteenths. We know not how we are to arrive at the exact value of these grants, but they certainly exceed the average of the preceding reigns; and to them must be added the fines of recusants, the profits of monopolies, and the moneys raised by forced loans; of which it is observed by Naunton,[c] that "she left more debts unpaid, taken upon credit of her privy seals, than her progenitors did take, or could have taken up, that were a hundred years before her."

The historians who celebrate the golden days of Elizabeth have described with a glowing pencil the happiness of the people under her sway. To them might be opposed the dismal picture of national misery drawn by the Catholic writers of the same period. But both have taken too contracted a view of the subject. Religious dissension had divided the nation into opposite parties of almost equal numbers, the oppressors and the oppressed. Under the operation of the penal statutes many ancient and opulent families had been ground to the dust; new families had sprung up in their place; and these, as they shared the plunder, naturally eulogised the system to which they owed their wealth and their ascendancy. But their prosperity was not the prosperity of the nation; it was that of one half obtained at the expense of the other. It is evident that neither Elizabeth nor her ministers understood the benefits of civil and religious liberty. The prerogatives which she so highly prized have long since withered away; the bloody code which she enacted against the rights of conscience has ceased to stain the pages of the statute-book; and the result has proved that the abolition of despotism and intolerance adds no less to the stability of the throne than to the happiness of the people.[d]

HUME CONCERNING ELIZABETH'S CHARACTER

Mary Stuart's animosity against Elizabeth may easily be conceived, and it broke out in an incident which may appear curious. While the former queen was kept in custody by the earl of Shrewsbury she lived during a long time in great intimacy with the countess; but that lady entertaining a jealousy of an amour between her and the earl, their friendship was converted into enmity, and Mary took a method of revenge which at once gratified her spite against the countess and that against Elizabeth. She wrote to the queen, informing her of all the malicious scandalous stories which, she said, the countess of Shrewsbury had reported of her: That Elizabeth had given a promise of marriage to a certain person, whom she afterwards often admitted to her bed; that she had been equally indulgent to Simier, the French agent, and to the duke of Anjou; that Hatton was also one of her paramours, who was even disgusted with her excessive love and fondness; that though she was, on other occasions, avaricious to the last degree, as well as ungrateful, and kind to very few, she spared no expense in gratifying her amorous pas-

sions; that notwithstanding her licentious amours, she was not made like other women, and all those who courted her marriage would in the end be disappointed; that she was so conceited of her beauty as to swallow the most extravagant flattery from her courtiers, who could not, on these occasions, forbear even sneering at her for her folly; that it was usual for them to tell her that the lustre of her beauty dazzled them like that of the sun, and they could not behold it with a fixed eye. She added that the countess had said that Mary's best policy would be to engage her son to make love to the queen; nor was there any danger that such a proposal would be taken for mockery; so ridiculous was the opinion which she had entertained of her own charms.

She pretended that the countess had represented her as no less odious in her temper than profligate in her manners and absurd in her vanity; that she had so beaten a young woman of the name of Scudamore as to break that lady's finger, and in order to cover over the matter, it was pretended that the accident had proceeded from the fall of a candlestick; that she had cut another across the hand with a knife, who had been so unfortunate as to offend her. Mary added, that the countess had informed her that Elizabeth had suborned Rolstone to pretend friendship to her in order to debauch her, and thereby throw infamy on her rival.

This imprudent and malicious letter was written a very little before the detection of Mary's conspiracy, and contributed, no doubt, to render the proceedings against her the more rigorous. How far all these imputations against Elizabeth can be credited may perhaps appear doubtful; but her extreme fondness for Leicester, Hatton, and Essex, not to mention Mountjoy and others, with the curious passages between her and Admiral Seymour, contained in Haynes, render her chastity very much to be suspected.

Her self-conceit with regard to beauty we know from other undoubted authority to have been extravagant. Even when she was a very old woman, she allowed her courtiers to flatter her with regard to her "excellent beauties." Her passionate temper may also be proved from many lively instances, and it was not unusual with her to beat her maids of honour. The blow she gave to Essex before the privy council is another instance. There remains in the Museum a letter of the earl of Huntingdon's in which he complains grievously of the queen's pinching his wife very sorely on account of some quarrel between them. Had this princess been born in a private station, she would not have been very amiable; but her absolute authority, at the same time that it gave an uncontrolling swing to her violent passions, enabled her to compensate her infirmities by many great and signal virtues.

Most of Queen Elizabeth's courtiers feigned love and desire towards her, and addressed themselves to her in the style of passion and gallantry. Sir Walter Raleigh, having fallen into disgrace, wrote the following letter to his friend Sir Robert Cecil, with a view, no doubt, of having it shown to the queen:

"My heart was never broke till this day, that I hear the queen goes away so far off, whom I have followed so many years with so great love and desire in so many journeys, and am now left behind her in a dark prison all alone. While she was yet near at hand, that I might hear of her once in two or three days, my sorrows were the less; but even now my heart is cast into the depth of all misery. I, that was wont to behold her riding like Alexander, hunting like Diana, walking like Venus, the gentle wind blowing her fair hair about her pure cheeks, like a nymph, sometimes sitting in the shade like a goddess, sometimes singing like an angel, sometimes playing like Orpheus; behold the sorrow of this world! once amiss hath bereaved me of all. O glory that only

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shineth in misfortune! what is become of thy assurance? All wounds have scars but that of fantasy, all affections their relenting but that of womankind. Who is the judge of friendship but adversity, or when is grace witnessed but in offences? There were no divinity but by reason of compassion; for revenges are brutish and mortal. All those times past, the loves, the sighs, the sorrows, the desires, cannot they weigh down one frail misfortune? Cannot one drop of gall be hid in so great heaps of sweetness? I may then conclude, *Spes et fortuna, valete.* She is gone in whom I trusted, and of me hath not one thought of mercy, nor any respect of that which was. Do with me now, therefore, what you list. I am more weary of life than they are desirous I should perish; which if it had been for her, as it is by her, I had been too happily born."

It is to be remarked that this nymph, Venus, goddess, angel, was then about sixty. Yet five or six years after she allowed the same language to be used to her.[i]

CREIGHTON'S ESTIMATE

Elizabeth's imperishable claim to greatness lies in her instinctive sympathy with her people. She felt, rather than understood, the possibilities which lay before England, and she set herself the task of slowly exhibiting and impressing them on the national mind. She educated Englishmen to a perception of England's destiny, and for this purpose fixed England's attention upon itself.

Personally, she was attracted by physical endowments, and let herself go in accordance with her feelings up to a certain point. But she was both intellectually and emotionally cold. In politics and in private life alike she cared little for decorum, because she knew that she could stop short whenever prudence made it needful.

Elizabeth was hailed at her accession as being "mere English"; and "mere English" she remained. Round her, with all her faults, the England which we know grew into the consciousness of its destiny.[r]

BACON'S ESTIMATE OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

Elizabeth both in her nature and her fortune was a wonderful person among women, a memorable person among princes. The government of a woman has been a rare thing at all times; felicity in such government a rarer thing still; felicity and long continuance together the rarest thing of all. Yet this queen reigned forty-four years complete, and did not outlive her felicity.

I account also as no small part of Elizabeth's felicity the period and compass of her administration; not only for its length, but as falling within that portion of her life which was fittest for the control of affairs and the handling of the reins of government. She was twenty-five years old (the age at which guardianship ceases) when she began to reign, and she continued reigning till her seventieth year; so that she never experienced either the disadvantages and subjection to other men's wills incident to a ward, nor the inconveniences of a lingering and impotent old age. Now old age brings with it even to private persons miseries enough; but to kings, besides those evils which are common to all, it brings also decline of greatness and inglorious exits from the stage. Nor must it be forgotten withal among what kind of

people she reigned; for had she been called to rule over Palmyrenes or in an unwarlike and effeminate country like Asia, the wonder would have been less; a womanish people might well enough be governed by a woman; but that in England, a nation particularly fierce and warlike, all things could be swayed and controlled at the beck of a woman, is a matter for the highest admiration.

Observe, too, that this same humour of her people, ever eager for war and impatient of peace, did not prevent her from cultivating and maintaining peace during the whole time of her reign. And this her desire of peace, together with the success of it, I count among her greatest praises, as a thing happy for her times, becoming to her sex, and salutary for her conscience. Some little disturbance there was in the northern counties about the tenth year of her reign, but it was immediately quieted and extinguished. The rest of her years flourished in internal peace, secure and profound. And this peace I regard as more especially flourishing from two circumstances that attended it, and which, though they have nothing to do with the merit of peace, add much to the glory of it. The one, that the calamities of her neighbours were as fires to make it more conspicuous and illustrious; the other, that the benefits of peace were not unaccompanied with honour of war—the reputation of England for arms and military prowess being by many noble deeds not only maintained by her, but increased.

For the aids sent to the Low Countries, to France, and to Scotland; the naval expeditions to both the Indies, some of which sailed all around the globe; the fleets despatched to Portugal and to harass the coasts of Spain; the many defeats and overthrows of the rebels in Ireland—all these had the effect of keeping both the warlike virtues of our nation in full vigour and its fame and honour in full lustre. Which glory had likewise this merit attached —that while neighbour kings on the one side owed the preservation of their kingdoms to her timely succours, suppliant peoples on the other, given up by ill-advised princes to the cruelty of their ministers, to the fury of the populace, and to every kind of spoliation and devastation, received relief in their misery; by means of which they stand to this day.

Upon another account also this peace so cultivated and maintained by Elizabeth is matter of admiration; namely, that it proceeded not from any inclination of the times to peace, but from her own prudence and good management. For in a kingdom labouring with intestine faction on account of religion, and standing as a shield and stronghold of defence against the then formidable and overbearing ambition of Spain, matter for war was nowise wanting; it was she who by her forces and her counsels combined kept it under; as was proved by an event the most memorable in respect of felicity of all the actions of our time. For when that Spanish fleet, got up with such travail and ferment, waited upon with the terror and expectation of all Europe, inspired with such confidence of victory, came ploughing into our channels, it never took so much as a cock-boat at sea, never fired so much as a cottage on the land, never even touched the shore; but was first beaten in a battle and then dispersed and wasted in a miserable flight, with many shipwrecks; while on the ground and territories of England peace remained undisturbed and unshaken.

Again, the reigns of women are commonly obscured by marriage, their praise and actions passing to the credit of their husbands; whereas those that continue unmarried have their glory entire and proper to themselves. In her case this was more especially so, inasmuch as she had no helps to lean upon in her government, except such as she had herself provided; no own brother,

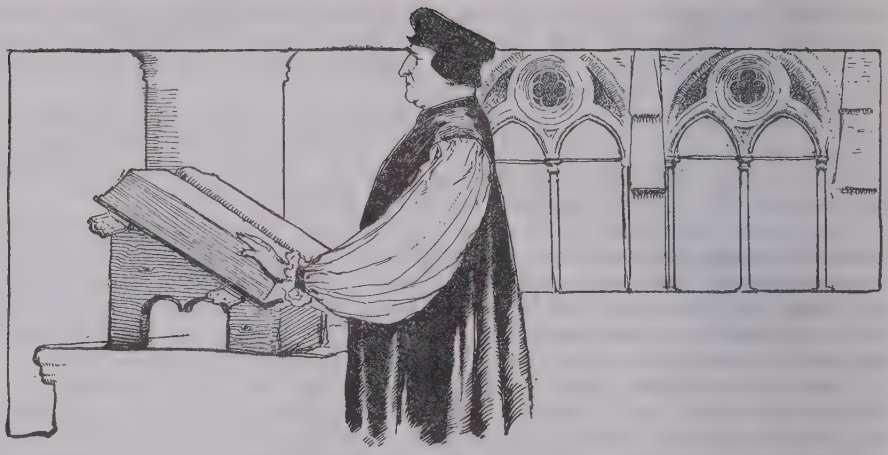
no uncle, no kinsman of the royal family to share her cares and support her authority. Childless she was indeed, and left no issue of her own; a thing which has happened also to the most fortunate persons, as Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar, Trajan, and others.

To crown all, as she was most fortunate in all that belonged to herself, so was she in the virtue of her ministers. For she had such men about her as perhaps till that day this island did not produce. But God when he favours kings raises also and accomplishes the spirits of their servants.

And if any man shall say in answer, as was said to Cæsar, "Here is much indeed to admire and wonder at, but what is there to praise?" surely I account true wonder and admiration as a kind of excess of praise. Nor can so happy a fortune as I have described fall to the lot of any, but such as, besides being singularly sustained and nourished by the divine favour, are also in some measure by their own virtue the makers of such fortune for themselves.

As for those lighter points of character—as that she allowed herself to be wooed and courted, and even to have love made to her, and liked it, and continued it beyond the natural age for such vanities—if any of the sadder sort of persons be disposed to make a great matter of this, it may be observed that there is something to admire in these very things, whichever way you take them. For if viewed indulgently, they are much like the accounts we find in romances of the queen in the blessed islands, and her court and institutions, who allows of amorous admiration but prohibits desire. But if you take them seriously, they challenge admiration of another kind and of a very high order; for certain it is that these dalliances detracted but little from her fame and nothing at all from her majesty, and neither weakened her power nor sensibly hindered her business; whereas such things are not unfrequently allowed to interfere with the public fortune.

Nor was she spoiled by power and long reigning: but the praises which pleased her most were when one so managed the conversation as aptly to insinuate that even if she had passed her life in a private and mean fortune she could not have lived without some note of excellency among men; so little was she disposed to borrow anything of her fortune to the credit of her virtue. Thus much I have said in a few words, according to my ability. But the truth is that the only true commender of this lady is time, which, so long a course as it has run, has produced nothing in this sex like her, for the administration of civil affairs.[8]



CHAPTER XIV

THE RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF ELIZABETH'S REIGN

> ELIZABETH believed, like all her contemporaries, that the formation of new bodies in the church without her permission was as flagrant rebellion as the establishment of courts and officers of justice unauthorised by her would have been. The English nation was now divided into three theological and political parties: the Churchmen, who considered the ecclesiastical revolution as already sufficient; the Puritans, who sought a more perfect reformation by agitating the minds of the people; and the Catholics, who, supported by all the great powers of the Continent, did not despair of re-establishing the ancient church by another revolution. These sects constituted the parties of Elizabeth's reign.—SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH.[b]

MACAULAY'S ESTIMATE OF THE ENGLISH REFORMATION

THE history of the Reformation in England is full of strange problems. The most prominent and extraordinary phenomenon which it presents to us is the gigantic strength of the government, contrasted with the feebleness of the religious parties. During the twelve or thirteen years which followed the death of Henry VIII the religion of the state was thrice changed. Protestantism was established by Edward; the Catholic was restored by Mary; Protestantism was again established by Elizabeth. The faith of the nation seemed to depend on the personal inclinations of the sovereign. Nor was this all. An established church was then, as a matter of course, a persecuting church.

Edward persecuted Catholics; Mary persecuted Protestants; Elizabeth persecuted Catholics again. The father of those three sovereigns had enjoyed the pleasure of persecuting both sects at once, and had sent to death on the same hurdle the heretic who denied the real presence and the traitor who denied the royal supremacy. There was nothing in England like that fierce and bloody opposition which, in France, each of the religious factions in its

turn offered to the government. We had neither a Coligny nor a Mayenne, neither a Moncontour nor an Ivry.

No English city braved sword and famine for the reformed doctrines with the spirit of La Rochelle, or for the Catholic doctrines with the spirit of Paris. Neither sect in England formed a league. Neither sect extorted a recantation from the sovereign. Neither sect could obtain from an adverse sovereign even a toleration. The English Protestants, after several years of domination, sank down with scarcely a struggle under the tyranny of Mary. The Catholics, after having regained and abused their old ascendancy, submitted patiently to the severe rule of Elizabeth. Neither Protestants nor Catholics engaged in any great and well-organised scheme of resistance. A few wild and tumultuous risings, suppressed as soon as they appeared—a few dark conspiracies, in which only a small number of desperate men engaged—such were the utmost efforts made by these two parties to assert the most sacred of human rights, attacked by the most odious tyranny. The explanation of these circumstances which has generally been given is very simple, but by no means satisfactory. The power of the crown, it is said, was then at its height, and was in fact despotic. This solution, we own, seems to us to be no solution at all. It has long been the fashion—a fashion introduced by Mr. Hume—to describe the English monarchy in the sixteenth century as an absolute monarchy. And such undoubtedly it appears to a superficial observer.

The truth seems to be that the government of the Tudors was, with a few occasional deviations, a popular government, under the forms of despotism. The Tudors committed many tyrannical acts. But in their ordinary dealings with the people they were not, and could not safely be, tyrants. It cannot be supposed that a people who had in their own hands the means of checking their princes, would suffer any prince to impose on them a religion generally detested. It is absurd to suppose that if the nation had been decidedly attached to the Protestant faith, Mary could have re-established the papal supremacy. It is equally absurd to suppose that if the nation had been zealous for the ancient religion, Elizabeth could have restored the Protestant church. The truth is, that the people were not disposed to engage in a struggle either for the new or for the old doctrines. In plain words, they did not think the difference between the hostile sects worth a struggle. There was undoubtedly a zealous Protestant party and a zealous Catholic party. But both these parties, we believe, were very small. We doubt whether both together made up, at the time of Mary's death, a twentieth part of the nation. The remaining nineteen-twentieths halted between the two opinions, and were not disposed to risk a revolution in the government for the purpose of giving to either of the extreme factions an advantage over the other.

The religion of the English was a mixed religion, like that of the Samaritan settlers, described in the second book of Kings, who "feared the Lord, and served their graven images"; like that of the Judaising Christians who blended the ceremonies and doctrines of the synagogue with those of the church; like that of the Mexican Indians, who, during many generations after the subjugation of their race, continued to unite with the rites learned from their conquerors the worship of the grotesque idols which had been adored by Montezuma and Guatemotzin.

These feelings were not confined to the populace. Elizabeth herself was by no means exempt from them. A crucifix, with the wax-lights burning round it, stood in her private chapel. She always spoke with disgust and anger of the marriage of priests. "I was in horror," says Archbishop Parker, "to hear such words to come from her mild nature and Christian learned

conscience, as she spake concerning God's holy ordinance and institution of matrimony." Burghley prevailed on her to connive at the marriage of churchmen. But she would only connive; and the children sprung from such marriages were illegitimate till the accession of James I.

That which is the great stain on the character of Burghley is also the great stain on the character of Elizabeth. Being herself an Adiaphorist, having no scruple about conforming to the Romish church when conformity was necessary to her own safety, retaining to the last moment of her life a fondness for much of the doctrine and much of the ceremonial of that church, she yet subjected that church to a persecution even more odious than the persecution with which her sister had harassed the Protestants. We say more odious; for Mary had at least the plea of fanaticism. She did nothing for her religion which she was not prepared to suffer for it. She had held it firmly under persecution. She fully believed it to be essential to salvation. If she burned the bodies of her subjects, it was in order to rescue their souls. Elizabeth had no such pretext. In opinion, she was little more than half a Protestant. She had professed, when it suited her, to be wholly a Catholic. There is an excuse, a wretched excuse, for the massacres of Piedmont and the *autos-da-fe* of Spain. But what can be said in defence of a ruler who is at once indifferent and intolerant?[d]

HALLAM ON THE CATHOLIC PERSECUTIONS

It will not surprise those who have observed the effect of all persecution for matters of opinion upon the human mind, that during this period the Romish party continued such in numbers and in zeal as to give the most lively alarm to Elizabeth's administration. One cause of this was beyond doubt the connivance of justices of the peace, a great many of whom were secretly attached to the same interest, though it was not easy to exclude them from the commission, on account of their wealth and respectability. The facility with which Catholic rites can be performed in secret was a still more important circumstance. Nor did the voluntary exiles established in Flanders remit their diligence in filling the kingdom with emissaries. The object of many at least among them, it cannot for a moment be doubted, from the era of the bull of Pius V, if not earlier, was nothing less than to subvert the queen's throne. They were closely united with the court of Spain, which had passed from the character of an ally and pretended friend to that of a cold and jealous neighbour, and at length of an implacable adversary. Though no war had been declared between Elizabeth and Philip, neither party had scrupled to enter into leagues with the disaffected subjects of the other. Such sworn vassals of Rome and Spain as an Allen or a Parsons were just objects of the English government's distrust; it is the extension of that jealousy to the peaceful and loyal which we stigmatise as oppressive, and even as impolitic.

The grievous penalties on recusancy, as the wilful absence of Catholics from church came now to be denominated, were doubtless founded on the extreme difficulty of proving an actual celebration of their own rites. But they established a persecution which fell not at all short in principle of that for which the Inquisition had become so odious. Nor were the statutes merely designed for terror's sake, to keep a check over the disaffected, as some would pretend. They were executed in the most sweeping and indiscriminating manner, unless perhaps a few families of high rank might enjoy a connivance.

It had certainly been the desire of Elizabeth to abstain from capital punishments on the score of religion. The first instance of a priest suffering death by her statutes was in 1577, when one Mayne was hanged at Launceston, without any charge against him except his religion, and a gentleman who had harboured him was sentenced to imprisonment for life. In the next year, if we may trust the zealous Catholic writers, Thomas Sherwood, a boy of fourteen years, was executed for refusing to deny the temporal power of the pope, when urged by his judges. But in 1581, several seminary priests from Flanders having been arrested whose projects were supposed (perhaps not wholly without foundation) to be very inconsistent with their allegiance, it was unhappily deemed necessary to hold out some more conspicuous examples of rigour. Of those brought to trial, the most eminent was Campion, formerly a Protestant, but long known as the boast of Douai for his learning and virtues. This man, so justly respected, was put to the rack, and revealed through torture the names of some Catholic gentlemen with whom he had conversed. He appears to have been indicted along with several other priests, not on the recent statutes, but on that of 25 Edward III, for compassing and imagining the queen's death. Nothing that we have read affords the slightest proof of Campion's concern in treasonable practices, though his connections, and profession as a Jesuit, render it by no means unlikely. If we may confide in the published trial, the prosecution was as unfairly conducted, and supported by as slender evidence, as any perhaps which can be found in our books.[1]



Old Fortifications at Rye

The public executions, numerous as they were, scarcely form the most odious part of this persecution. The common law of England has always abhorred the accursed mysteries of a prison-house, and neither admits of torture to extort confession, nor of any penal infliction not warranted by a judicial sentence. But this law, though still sacred in the courts of justice, was set aside by the privy council under the Tudor line. The rack seldom stood idle in the Tower for all the latter part of Elizabeth's reign. To those who remember the annals of their country, that dark and gloomy pile affords associations not quite so numerous and recent as the Bastille once did, yet enough to excite our hatred and horror. But standing as it does in such striking contrast to the fresh and flourishing constructions of modern wealth, the proofs and the rewards of civil and religious liberty, it seems like a captive tyrant, reserved to grace the triumph

[1] The trials and deaths of Campion and his associates are told in the continuation of Holinshed *a* with a savageness and bigotry which, I am very sure, no scribe for the Inquisition could have surpassed. But it is plain, even from this account, that Campion owned Elizabeth as queen. See particularly the insulting manner in which this writer describes the pious fortitude of these butchered ecclesiastics.

of a victorious republic, and should teach us to reflect in thankfulness how highly we have been elevated in virtue and happiness above our forefathers.

Such excessive severities under the pretext of treason, but sustained by very little evidence of any other offence than the exercise of the Catholic ministry, excited indignation throughout a great part of Europe. The queen was held forth in pamphlets, dispersed everywhere from Rome and Douai, not only as a usurper and heretic, but a tyrant more ferocious than any heathen persecutor, for inadequate parallels to whom they ransacked all former history. These exaggerations, coming from the very precincts of the Inquisition, required the unblushing forehead of bigotry; but the charge of cruelty stood on too many facts to be passed over, and it was thought expedient to repel it by two remarkable pamphlets, both ascribed to the pen of Lord Burghley.

The strictness used with recusants, which much increased from 1579 or 1580, had the usual consequence of persecution, that of multiplying hypocrites. For, in fact, if men will once bring themselves to comply, to take all oaths, to practise all conformity, to oppose simulation and dissimulation to arbitrary inquiries, it is hardly possible that any government should not be baffled. Fraud becomes an over-match for power. The real danger, meanwhile, the internal disaffection, remains as before or is aggravated.

The Catholic martyrs under Elizabeth amount to no inconsiderable number. Dodd[h] reckons them at one hundred and ninety-one; Milner[i] has raised the list to two hundred and four. Fifteen of these, according to him, suffered for denying the queen's supremacy, one hundred and twenty-six for exercising their ministry, and the rest for being reconciled to the Romish church. Many others died of hardships in prison, and many were deprived of their property.[1] There seems nevertheless to be good reason for doubting whether anyone who was executed might not have saved his life by explicitly denying the pope's power to depose the queen.[2] It was constantly maintained by her ministers that no one had been executed for his religion. This would be an odious and hypocritical subterfuge if it rested on the letter of these statutes, which adjudge the mere manifestation of a belief in the Roman Catholic religion, under certain circumstances, to be an act of treason. But both Lord Burghley, in his *Execution of Justice*, and Walsingham, in a letter published by Burnet,[e] positively assert the contrary; and we are not aware that their assertion has been disproved.

This certainly furnishes a distinction between the persecution under Elizabeth (which, unjust as it was in its operation, yet, as far as it extended to capital

[1] Butler, 178. In Coke's famous speech in opening the case of the Powder-plot, he says that not more than thirty priests and five receivers had been executed in the whole of the queen's reign, and for religion not anyone.

Doctor Lingard[j] says of those who were executed between 1588 and the queen's death, "the butchery, with a few exceptions, was performed on the victim while he was in full possession of his senses." We should be glad to think that the few exceptions were the other way. Much would depend on the humanity of the sheriff, which one might hope to be stronger in an English gentleman than his zeal against the papacy. But there is reason to believe the disgusting cruelties of the legal sentence to have been frequently inflicted. In an anonymous memorial among Lord Burghley's papers, written about 1586, it is recommended that priests persisting in their treasonable opinion should be hanged, 'and the manner of drawing and quartering forborne."—STRYPE.[k] This seems to imply that it had been usually practised on the living. And Bacon,[l] in his observat ons on a libel written against Lord Burghley in 1592, does not deny the "bowellings" of Catholics, but makes a sort of apology for it, as "less cruel than the wheel or forcipation, or even simple burning."

[2] The balance of blood between the two religions may be thus stated: During the forty-five years of Elizabeth about two hundred Catholics, it is said, were executed as traitors, while in the six years of Mary nearly three hundred Protestants were burned solely on account of their religion.—KEIGHTLEY.[m]

inflictions, had in view the security of the government) and that which the Protestants had sustained in her sister's reign, springing from mere bigotry and vindictive rancour, and not even shielding itself at the time with those shallow pretexts of policy which it has of late been attempted to set up in its extenuation. But that which renders these condemnations of popish priests so iniquitous is, that the belief in, or rather the refusal to disclaim, a speculative tenet, dangerous indeed, and incompatible with loyalty, but not coupled with any overt act, was construed into treason; nor can any one affect to justify these sentences who is not prepared to maintain that a refusal of the oath of abjuration, while the pretensions of the house of Stuart subsisted, might lawfully or justly have incurred the same penalty.[r]

FORMS OF TORTURE USED IN ENGLAND

The following were the kinds of torture chiefly employed in the Tower:

The rack was a large open frame of oak, raised three feet from the ground. The prisoner was laid under it, on his back, on the floor; his wrists and ankles were attached by cords to two rollers at the ends of the frame; these were moved by levers in opposite directions, till the body rose to a level with the frame. Questions were then put, and if the answers did not prove satisfactory, the sufferer was stretched more and more till the bones started from their sockets.

The scavenger's daughter was a broad hoop of iron, so called, consisting of two parts, fastened to each other by a hinge. The prisoner was made to kneel on the pavement and to contract himself into as small a compass as he could. Then the executioner, kneeling on his shoulders and having introduced the hoop under his legs, compressed the victim close together, till he was able to fasten the extremities over the small of the back. The time allotted to this kind of torture was an hour and a half, during which time it commonly happened that from excess of compression the blood started from the nostrils; sometimes, it was believed, from the extremities of the hands and feet.—See Bartoli.[n]

Iron gauntlets, which could be contracted by the aid of a screw. They served to compress the wrists, and to suspend the prisoner in the air, from two distant points of a beam. He was placed on three pieces of wood, piled one on the other, which, when his hands had been made fast, were successively withdrawn from under his feet. "I felt," says F. Gerard, one of the sufferers, "the chief pain in my breast, belly, arms, and hands. I thought that all the blood in my body had run into my arms, and began to burst out at my finger ends. This was a mistake; but the arms swelled, till the gauntlets were buried within the flesh. After being thus suspended an hour, I fainted, and when I came to myself I found the executioners supporting me in their arms; they replaced the pieces of wood under my feet; but as soon as I was recovered, removed them again. Thus I continued hanging for the space of five hours, during which I fainted eight or nine times."

A fourth kind of torture was a cell called "little ease." It was of so small dimensions, and so constructed, that the prisoner could neither stand, walk, sit, nor lie in it at full length. He was compelled to draw himself up in a squatting posture, and so remained during several days. We will add a few lines from Rishton's *Diary*,[o] that the reader may form some notion of the proceedings in the Tower.

December 5th, 1580. Several Catholics were brought from different prisons. December 10th. Thomas Cottam and Luke Kirby, priests (two of the

number), suffered compression in the scavenger's daughter for more than an hour. Cottam bled profusely from the nose. December 15th. Ralph Sherwine and Robert Johnson, priests, were severely tortured on the rack. December 16th. Ralph Sherwine was tortured a second time on the rack. December 31st. John Hart, after being chained five days to the floor, was led to the rack. Also Henry Orton, a lay gentleman. January 3rd, 1581. Christopher Thomson, an aged priest, was brought to the Tower, and racked the same day. January 14th. Nicholas Roscaroc, a lay gentleman, was racked.

Thus he continues till June 21st, 1585, when he was discharged.*i*

THE PURITANS

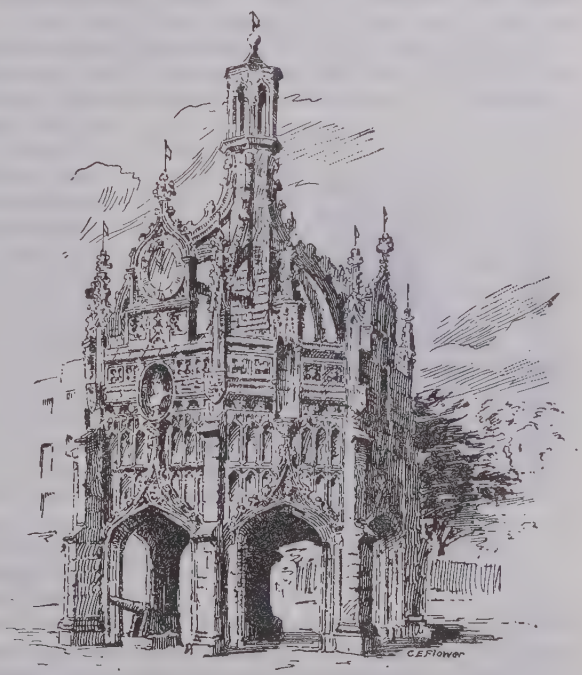
But the other description of non-conformists, opposite as were most of their principles and objects, gave, even in this early stage of their existence, nearly as much trouble as the Catholics. The origin of the Protestant dissenters may be traced to the very dawn of the Reformation; for the principles of Wycliffe in this country, and of Huss and Jerome of Prague on the Continent, were certainly much more nearly allied to what in a later age was styled Puritanism than to the doctrine of the established church. But the first appearance of Puritanism in England as an element at variance with the spirit of the establishment was in the reign of Edward VI. In some of their notions, indeed, even the original founders of the establishment, Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and their associates, may be regarded as having been puritanically inclined in comparison with their successors, the restorers of the reformed church in the reign of Elizabeth.

Puritanism was first imported into England after the establishment of the Reformation by certain foreign divines, Peter Martyr, Bucer, John Laski, and others, who came over from Germany on the accession of Edward VI, and by one or two Englishmen who had studied or travelled in that country. Of these last the celebrated John Hooper was the most distinguished; and the first disturbance occasioned in the newly founded church by the principles of Puritanism was when Hooper, in 1550, on being nominated to the bishopric of Gloucester, refused to submit to the appointed forms of consecration and admission. At this date, however, English Puritanism—which, indeed, was not even yet known by that name—was a mere mustard-seed in comparison with what it afterwards became. Accidentally, one of the most remarkable and enduring consequences of the restoration of the papacy in England in the reign of Mary was the eventual introduction into the country of a new spirit of Puritanism. This was brought about through the large emigration of English Protestants to the Continent at the commencement of Mary's persecutions, and their return home on the accession of Elizabeth, fraught, many of them, with notions which they had acquired in the schools of Calvin, Zwingli, and other foreign reformers, whose principles were on many points wholly adverse to those which prevailed in the reconstruction of the English church.

Great contentions, in fact, had taken place among the exiles while resident abroad, on the subject of the rites and ceremonies retained in King Edward's Book of Common Prayer; and at last, while the party in favour of these forms retained possession of the church at Frankfort, their opponents retired for the most part to Geneva, and there, under the eye of Calvin and the immediate pastoral care of his disciple Knox, set up a new service of their own, mostly borrowed from that of the French Protestants, in which there were no litany, no responses, and hardly any rites or ceremonies; and a direc-

tory of which they published in English under the title of the *Service, Discipline, and Form of Common Prayer and Administration of Sacraments used in the English Church of Geneva.* Even many of those who had been members of the church at Frankfort brought back with them inclinations in favour of a wider departure from the papal worship than Elizabeth would consent to in her Reformed church.

The church of England, it is always to be remembered, no more adopts or sanctions the principle of the private interpretation of Scripture than does the church of Rome. Differing from the church of Rome in holding the Scripture to be the sole rule of faith, it still insists that the Scripture shall be received not as any individual may interpret it for himself, but as it is expounded in the articles and other formularies of the church. It may, indeed, be doubted if the Puritans themselves at this early period had arrived at what it has been common in later times to speak of as the great fundamental principle of Protestantism — the right of every individual to be his own interpreter of the Word of God; for this, when carried out, would seem to lead directly to the conclusion that the church ought to be unrestrained by any articles or formularies whatever. To this height, certainly, no class of Protestants had soared in the days of which we are speaking.



MARKET CROSS, CHICHESTER
(Erected 1500)

The utmost that was demanded by the first dissenters from the church of England was, that certain points about which they felt scruples should be left as matters indifferent; these being, for the present, principally such mere matters of outward or ceremonial observance as the habits of the priesthood and the forms of public worship. In one sense these things were left by the church as indifferent: they were admitted to be indifferent as matters of faith—that is to say, dissent in regard to them was not held to be heresy; but it was still held to be schism, and was made equally to exclude the individual maintaining and acting upon it from the fellowship of the church. In this respect the act of uniformity bore as hard upon the Puritans as it did upon the papists. Nor was even the act of supremacy acceptable to the former any more than to the latter; for, in general, the Puritans now felt scruples as to the acknowledgment in any terms of the king or queen as the head of the church. These beginnings, too, soon led to further differences:

in the words of Southey,[p] "the habits at first had been the only or chief matter of contention; all the rites of the church were soon attacked, and finally, its whole form and structure." The avowed object of the non-conformists, indeed, soon came to be to substitute, for the established forms of worship and discipline, the Geneva system in all its parts; nor were there wanting some of them who would have made a Geneva republic of the state as well as of the church.

Throughout the present period, too, and for a long time after, it is important to remark, the Puritans equally with the church abominated and strenuously stood out against any toleration of those who differed from themselves in respect to what they considered essential points. They held that such persons ought not only to be excluded from communion with the brethren, but restrained and punished by the law of the land.

At first many of the Puritans so far overcame their scruples as to comply with the required forms and accept of livings in the establishment. Neal,[q] the writer of their history, maintains that, if they had not done this, in hopes of the removal of their grievances in more settled times, the Reformation would have fallen back into the hands of the papists; "for it was impossible," he observes, "with all the assistance they could get from both universities, to fill up the parochial vacancies with men of learning and character."



For some years the Puritans who had joined the church were winked at by the authorities in many deviations from the appointed forms which they introduced into the public service.

Archbishop Parker has the chief credit of having instigated the proceedings that were taken to enforce in all the clergy a rigid compliance with the rubric. He and some of his Episcopal brethren, having been constituted ecclesiastical commissioners for that purpose by the queen, summoned the clergy of the several dioceses before them, and suspended all who refused to subscribe an agreement to submit to the queen's injunctions in regard to the habits, rites, and ceremonies.

Great numbers of ministers, including many of those most eminent for their zeal and piety and their popularity as preachers, were thus ejected from both the service and the profits of their cures, and sent forth into the world in a state of entire destitution. The course pursued towards them was in some respects of the harshest and most oppressive character.

THE SEPARATISTS

It was in these circumstances that, feeling all chance of reconciliation at an end, the ejected clergymen resolved to separate themselves from the establishment, breaking off from the public churches, and assembling, as they had opportunity, in private houses or elsewhere, to worship God in a manner that

might not offend against the light of their consciences. This separation took place in 1566.

The preachings of the deprived ministers in the woods and private houses gave rise to the new offence of what was called frequenting conventicles, the putting down of which now afforded abundant employment to the queen and her ecclesiastical commissioners.

The Puritans were brought in great numbers before the commissioners, and fined, imprisoned, and otherwise punished, both under the authority of the act of parliament enforcing attendance upon the parish churches, and by the more ample powers of the act of supremacy, to which scarcely any bounds were set. Meanwhile the controversy with the church began to spread over a wider field, chiefly through the preaching of the celebrated Thomas Cartwright, fellow of Trinity College and Lady Margaret professor of divinity at Cambridge, a most learned, eloquent, and courageous non-conformist.

The university of Cambridge was a great stronghold of Puritanism, and here Cartwright was for some time protected and permitted to disseminate his opinions, while most of his brethren were silenced; but he, too, was at last reached by the ecclesiastical commissioners, and, on the interference of Cecil, the chancellor, was in 1570 deprived of his professorship. He was afterwards also deprived of his fellowship, and expelled from the university. The temper, however, of a formidable minority in the new parliament, which met in 1571, showed that the principles of Puritanism, though expelled from the church, and almost driven from the face of day, were still making progress in the nation. Notwithstanding all the efforts of the government, the non-conformists found means to maintain the defence of their opinions through the press; numerous books and pamphlets were published by them, printed it could not be discovered by whom or where, nor was it possible to prevent them from being bought and read.

Archbishop Parker died in 1575; and if his successor Grindal had been allowed to follow his own inclinations, or had been left in the real government of the church over which he nominally presided, the Puritans would have had a breathing-time from their sufferings during the ten years of his occupation of the metropolitan dignity. But the circumstances in which he was himself placed, and the activity of some of his brethren of another spirit and temper—especially of Sandys, bishop of London, who from a violent professor had become a still more violent persecutor of puritanic principles —prevented Grindal from being able to do anything to change the course of rigour and severity that had been begun under his predecessor. When, in the second year of his primacy, he ventured to write to the queen, recommending milder measures, her majesty answered his letter by an order from the Star Chamber confining him to his house, and suspending him from his archiepiscopal functions altogether; and so suspended he remained till within about a year of his death. It was by this sort of boldness and decision that Elizabeth throughout her reign kept the non-conformists at bay.

The house of commons which met in 1581 was more puritanic than ever, and actually began its proceedings by voting that the members should, on the second Sunday after, meet together in the Temple Church, there to have preaching and to join together in prayer, with humiliation and fasting, for the assistance of God's Spirit in all their consultations! But when the queen was informed of this extraordinary proceeding, she instantly took measures to check it. Hatton, her vice-chamberlain, was sent down with a message to the effect that "she did much admire at so great a rashness in that house as to put in execution such an innovation without her privity and pleasure

first made known to them." Upon which it was forthwith moved and agreed to "that the house should acknowledge their offence and contempt, and humbly crave forgiveness, with a full purpose to forbear committing the like for the future."

It was during this very session that the act was passed raising the penalty for non-attendance upon the parish church to £20 per month; and also another act (23 Elizabeth, c. 2), entitled "An act against seditious words and rumours uttered against the queen's most excellent majesty," by which the devising and speaking seditious rumours against her majesty was made punishable with the pillory and loss of both ears; the reporting of such rumours, with the pillory and loss of one ear; the second offence in either case being made felony without clergy; and by which the printing, writing, or publishing any manner of book, rhyme, ballad, letter, or writing containing any false, seditious, and slanderous matter, to the defamation of the queen, etc., were constituted capital crimes. This last act was especially levelled at the Puritans, whose complaints and remonstrances from the press were daily growing sharper as well as more abundant, and several of them were put to death under its provisions.

To this date is assigned the rise of what has been designated the third race of Puritans—the Brownists—afterwards softened down into the Independents—whose founder was Robert Browne, a preacher in the diocese of Norwich, descended of a good family. "These people," says Neal,[a] "were carried off to a total separation, and so far prejudiced as not to allow the church of England to be a true church, nor her ministers true ministers; they renounced all communion with her, not only in the prayers and ceremonies, but in hearing the Word and the sacraments."

Archbishop Grindal, dying in 1583, was succeeded by Doctor Whitgift, who held the primacy during the remainder of the reign, and proved a ruler of the church altogether to her majesty's mind. As soon as he was seated in his place of eminence and authority he commenced a vigorous crusade against the non-conformists. Within a few weeks after he became archbishop he suspended many hundreds of the clergy in all parts of his province for refusing subscription to a new set of articles or regulations he thought proper to issue. He then procured from the queen a new ecclesiastical commission, drawn up in terms much more comprehensive than had ever before been employed, conveying, indeed, powers of inquisition and punishment in regard to every description of offence that could by any colour be brought within the category of spiritual or ecclesiastical delinquency. A set of articles, which Whitgift drew up for the use of this court in the examination of the clergy, were so strong as to startle even Cecil, and make him write to the archbishop (though to no purpose) to get him to mitigate them somewhat. "I have read over your twenty-four articles," he says, ". . . and I find them so curiously penned that I think the Inquisition of Spain used not so many questions to comprehend and to trap their priests."

The archbishop's proceedings had thrown the nation into the greatest ferment when parliament met in November, 1584; and the commons immediately proceeded to take into consideration a number of bills for restraining the power of the church. But as soon as they had passed the first of them a thundering message from the queen again stopped them in an instant. In 1592, at the same time with the "act against popish recusants," another act was passed (35 Elizabeth, c. 1), entitled 'An act to retain the queen's subjects in obedience," to meet the case of the Protestant non-conformists. It was enacted that all persons above sixteen years of age who should for a

whole month refuse to attend divine service according to law, or should attend unlawful conventicles, or should persuade others to dispute the queen's authority in matters ecclesiastical, should be sent to prison, there to remain until they should openly conform and submit themselves; and that all offenders convicted, and not conforming and submitting within three months, should abjure the realm, and should, if they returned, be put to death, as for felony, without benefit of clergy.

Fines, imprisonment, and the gibbet continued to do their work in the vain attempt of the church and the government to put down opinion by these inefficient arms, till within four or five years of the close of the reign.

But the history of the church and of religion during this reign ought not to be brought to a close without the mention of one instance in which the old writ *de hæretico comburendo* was again called into use, and the stake and the fagot were employed by Elizabeth to punish a mere religious opinion, exactly in the same manner as they had been employed by her father and her sister. On Easter day, 1575, twenty-seven German anabaptists, as they were called, were apprehended in the city of London, having been found assembled at worship in a private house beyond Aldersgate. Four of them consented to recant; the others, refusing to abjure, were brought to trial in the consistory court, by which eleven of them were condemned to be burned. Nine of the eleven were banished; but the remaining two, named John Wielmacker and Hendrick Ter Woort, were actually, on the 22nd of July, consigned to the flames in Smithfield.

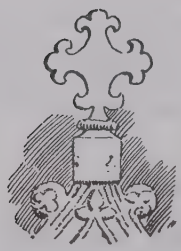
This execution was Elizabeth's own act: to his eternal honour, John Fox, the venerable martyrologist, ventured to interfere in behalf of the unfortunate men, and wrote an earnest and eloquent letter in Latin to the queen, beseeching her to spare their lives; but his supplication was sternly rejected. Fox seems to have been almost the only man of his time who was at all shocked at the notion of destroying these poor anabaptists; and yet he merely objected to the degree, and more especially to the kind, of the punishment. His argument is not so much for toleration as against capital punishments, and above all against the punishment of burning. "There are excommunications," he says, "and close imprisonments; there are bonds; there is perpetual banishment, burning of the hand, and whipping, or even slavery itself. This one thing I most earnestly beg, that the piles and flames in Smithfield, so long ago extinguished by your happy government, may not now be again revived."[1]

HOOKER'S ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY: ITS CHARACTER

But while these scenes of pride and persecution on one hand, and of sectarian insolence on the other, were deforming the bosom of the English church, she found a defender of her institutions in one who mingled in these vulgar controversies like a knight of romance among caitiff brawlers, with arms of finer temper and worthy to be proved in a nobler field. Richard Hooker, master of the Temple, published the first four books of his *Ecclesiastical Polity* in 1594; the fifth, three years afterwards; and, dying in 1600, left behind three which did not see the light till 1647. This eminent work may justly be reckoned to mark an era in our literature; for if passages of much good sense and even of a vigorous eloquence are scattered in several earlier writers in prose, yet none of these, except perhaps Latimer and Ascham, and Sir Philip Sidney in his *Arcadia*, can be said to have acquired enough reputation to be generally known even by name, much less are read in the present day; and it is,

indeed, not a little remarkable that England until near the end of the sixteenth century had given few proofs in literature of that intellectual power which was about to develop itself with such unmatchable energy in Shakespeare and Bacon.

We cannot, indeed, place Hooker (but whom dare we to place?) by the side of these master spirits, yet he has abundant claims to be counted among the luminaries of English literature. He not only opened the mine, but explored the depths, of our native eloquence. So stately and graceful is the march of his periods, so various the fall of his musical cadences upon the ear, so rich in images, so condensed in sentences, so grave and noble his diction, so little is there of vulgarity in his racy idiom, of pedantry in his learned phrase, that we know not whether any later writer has more admirably displayed the capacities of our language, or produced passages more worthy of comparison with the splendid monuments of antiquity. If we compare the first book of the *Ecclesiastical Polity* with what bears, perhaps, most resemblance to it of anything extant, the treatise of Cicero, *De Legibus*, it will appear somewhat, perhaps, inferior, through the imperfection of our language, which, with all its force and dignity, does not equal the Latin in either of these qualities, and certainly more tedious and diffuse in some of its reasonings, but by no means less lofty in sentiment or less bright in fancy, and far more comprehensive and profound in the foundations of its philosophy.[r]









CHAPTER XV

ELIZABETHAN COMMERCE, ART, AND LITERATURE

> NEVER was English monarch surrounded by such an illustrious band of statesmen and administrators. Never was reign more renowned for its galaxy of literary splendour, for its merchant princes, and for its bold navigators, who by their enterprise and courage made the name of England famous across unknown seas and in distant lands. It was called, with pardonable exaggeration, the Golden Age and the Augustan Age of the country's history, filling "the spacious times of great Elizabeth with sounds that echo still." It formed the theme of *Kenilworth*, one of the greatest of Scott's romances. Men flourished of whom any nation and any period might well be proud.—W. H. S. AUBREY.[b]

IT is interesting to notice that the two worst kings of English history—John and Henry VIII—were the founders and creators of the English navy. During the following reigns English commerce, which had entered upon a new era, mainly occasioned by the discovery of a new world, and the ten thousand wants which it had created, went onward with a strength and steadiness which the mines of Peru and Mexico, and the wealth of Ormus, failed to impart to Spain and Portugal.

The Newfoundland cod fishery, into which the English entered in 1536, was encouraged by Edward VI, and exempted from the levies which had been imposed upon it, so that it quickly grew into a source of national profit; and in 1554 the English Russia Company was incorporated by a charter of Queen Mary, in consequence of the encouragement given to traffic with England by the Muscovite sovereign, Ivan Vasilievitch, otherwise known as Ivan the Terrible. The Steelyard Company, a corporation of German or Hanseatic merchants, residing in England, and possessed of exclusive privileges by which they held a monopoly in certain branches of trade, was abolished, as subversive of the necessary freedom of merchandise; and the advancement of the

English merchant-adventurers promoted in its room, by which native activity and enterprise were more fully called into exercise.

But in spite of this growing liberality the laws against usury, or the taking of interest, continued to be repeated, as a crime odious in the sight of God and hurtful to the welfare of man. Ten per cent. had hitherto been allowed as a lawful rate of interest, but in the reign of Edward VI this permission was repealed, and a law enacted that "whoever shall henceforth lend any sum of money for any manner of usury, increase, lucre, gain, or interest to be had, received, or hoped for, over and above the sum so lent," was not only to forfeit the amount of the loan, but to suffer fine and imprisonment according to the king's pleasure.

It is perhaps unnecessary to add, that this unnatural law only aggravated the evil it was meant to cure. Merchants from the first had found out, what legislators as yet did not understand, that traffic could not be carried on, or mercantile credit maintained, without such accommodations, and that a "fool who lent out money gratis" was not to be found in those places "where merchants most do congregate." The obnoxious statute, after a twenty years' trial, was repealed; but though ten per cent. was once more made the established rate of interest, all beyond this was branded with the name of usury, and made liable to the former pains and penalties.

All this mercantile progress, however, had been but a prelude to that which it made during the reign of Elizabeth. The navigation laws, which had commenced so early as the latter part of the twelfth century, prohibiting all exports or imports in any other than English vessels, were rescinded in her first parliament, as productive of national jealousies and dissensions, and injurious to the true interests of commerce; and in their stead a slight tax was imposed upon cargoes imported or exported by foreign shipping. This was of itself sufficient to expand, in an immense ratio, the sphere of English traffic; and the effect of the impulse was manifested in the quantities of English wool and cloth consigned to the fairs of Holland and the Netherlands. Of these commodities, there was a trade to both countries amounting to £2,400,000 annually—an immense sum compared with its rate in the present day.

In Antwerp was also an English bourse or exchange, to which merchants of various countries repaired for an hour every morning and evening, accompanied by brokers and interpreters, and bargained for those articles of English produce, which they afterwards resold in the markets of Italy and Germany. As an English exchange, however, was still more necessary at London than at Antwerp, this want was soon supplied, and that, too, not by public subscription but the princely liberality of a single merchant. This was Sir Thomas Gresham, who, perceiving the inconvenience of the usual mercantile place of meeting, which was in Lombard Street, in the open air, resolved to build a covered walk for the purpose similar to that of Antwerp. His only demand upon the city on this occasion was for a site; and when this was readily granted he erected upon it in 1567 a stately edifice of brick, roofed with slate, which, by the command of the queen, was proclaimed with the sound of trumpets and the voice of heralds, the Royal Exchange.

VOYAGES OF EXPLORATION

It was now full time that England should enter upon that track of discovery which other nations had so successfully opened, and the first experiment tried during this reign was the attempt to find a new passage to India.

This was commenced in 1567 by Martin Frobisher, who set sail upon the bold adventure with no better armament than two barks of twenty-five tons each, and a pinnace of ten tons. He entered the strait leading to Hudson Bay, thenceforth called Frobisher Strait, and took possession of the neighbouring coast in the name of the queen, but was unable to proceed farther from sickness among his crew.

A second voyage which he made in 1577, with more ample means, was not, however, in quest of an Indian passage, but of gold with which it was thought the country he had discovered abounded, but which was never found. A third voyage, which he made in 1578, with fifteen ships, was for the discovery of a northwest passage, to which the strait of his own name was thought to lead, as well as a search for gold, but in either case his attempt was unsuccessful. His first voyage, indeed, although with such humble means, was his most successful, by the islands and coasts it enabled him to discover, as well as an entrance into the Polar seas.

Another adventurous navigator of the same period was Sir Francis Drake, who left England in 1577 with the double purpose of discovering new countries and plundering the Spaniards, with whom England was still at peace; in both of these attempts he was successful. After an absence of nearly two years, in which he explored the western coast of America, crossed the Pacific, and circumnavigated the globe—having been the first Englishman who performed that feat—he returned triumphantly to England laden with Spanish plunder.

A third adventurer was Sir John Davis, who made three voyages in search of the northwest passage; and although he was unsuccessful in finding it, he enlarged the geographical knowledge of his countrymen, while he perpetuated his own name by the discovery of Davis Strait. A fourth in the list of English naval adventure was Thomas Cavendish, who, like Drake, performed the periplus of the globe; and in a second expedition one of his captains (John Davis, who has already been mentioned) discovered the Falkland Islands.

Besides these, other expeditions were fitted out towards the close of Elizabeth's reign, which had for their chief object the exploration of the South Seas, and the discovery of a northwest passage. While these attempts were prosecuted with such diligence, the paths that had already been opened up by foreign navigators were not neglected; and among the foremost of these was India, the great commercial mart both of the ancient and modern world. For this purpose, the Turkey Company was incorporated in 1581, and the East India Company in 1600. The splendid results with which this enterprise was crowned belong to a later period of the commercial history of England.

COLONIZATION

As Britain was finally destined to be the "mighty mother" of colonies, England commenced her great vocation during this stirring period of adventure by attempting experiments in colonisation upon the North American continent. The first of these, undertaken by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1576 and 1583, accompanied by his more renowned step-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, were unsuccessful; and in the last of these voyages Gilbert himself, and four of the five ships that composed his armament, were lost at sea. Undeterred by this fatal example, Sir Walter in the following year fitted out two ships, which he sent to the coast of North America, with instructions as to the direction in which they were to sail; and the result was the discovery of Virginia, which was so named by Elizabeth herself in honour of her own state of celibacy.

As Raleigh by letters-patent had obtained the right of property in this discovery, which comprised at that time both what is now called Virginia and North Carolina, he sent to his new territory a fleet of colonisation consisting of seven ships; but although this trial, which proved a failure, was followed by repeated attempts and sacrifices, Virginia was not at this early stage to become the home of an English population. Every successive landing was followed by an attack from the natives, under which the newcomers perished, and at last the attempt was abandoned in despair. England was thus fated to learn at the outset that to colonise a country is more difficult than to discover it, but bravely she persisted and enduringly she persevered, until the lesson was learned and the prize obtained.

A glance at the history of England during the reign of Elizabeth will suffice to show how necessary this mercantile spirit was, not only for national prosperity, but even for very existence. Spain, which had taken the lead in maritime discovery and been enriched with the treasure of America as her reward, was enabled in consequence to fit out an Armada which, according to human calculation, was justly termed the Invincible.

Had England remained indifferent to her mercantile advantages as an island, the utmost she could have done in such a crisis would have been to abide the uncertain issue of an invasion, by which she would have been thrown back for a century at least in progress, even if she had been finally victorious. The former sovereigns had been obliged in their difficulties to apply for shipping to such foreign ports as Genoa, Dantzic, Hamburg, and Venice, but in the present case such a resource would have been useless. Happily, however, her commerce had already created not only a numerous and well-manned navy, but skilful commanders; and thus, when the battle was confined to the ocean, the Spaniards were confronted by men as inured to naval conflict as themselves. At the end of the reign of Elizabeth the royal navy amounted to 17,110 tonnage, while at the end of the reign of Mary it had only amounted to 7,110. Of these ships of Elizabeth the largest was of 1,000 tons burden, and carried three hundred and forty seamen and forty guns; while the whole royal navy amounted to forty sail, with a crew of about three hundred men for each vessel.[c]

The progress of trade might, however, have been slower if it had depended alone on those exact calculations of advantage from accessible and well-understood sources, which are its natural province. But the voyages of the Spaniards and Portuguese had disclosed to the dazzled imaginations of mankind new worlds and races of men before unknown; the owners of treasures apparently unbounded, which they had neither power to defend nor skill to extract from the earth. The spirit of commerce mingled with the passion for discovery, which was exalted by the grandeur of vast and unknown objects. A maritime chivalry arose, which equipped crusades for the settlement and conquest of the New World; professing to save the tribes of that immense region from eternal perdition, and somewhat disguising these expeditions of rapine and destruction under the illusions of military glory and religious fanaticism.

Great noblemen, who would have recoiled with disgust from the small gains of honest industry, eagerly plunged into associations which held out wealth and empire in the train of splendid victory. The lord treasurer, the lord steward, the lord privy seal, and the lord high-admiral were at the head of the first company formed for the trade of Russia, on the discovery of that country. For nearly a century it became a prevalent passion among men of all ranks, including the highest, to become members of associations framed

for the purposes of discovery, colonisation, and aggrandisement, which formed a species of subordinate republics—the vassals of the crown of England. By links like these the feudal world was gradually allied with the commercial, in a manner which civilised the landholder and elevated the merchant.[d]

In the words of Allen B. Hinds: "The loss of Calais is one of the most important events in English history. When the news first became generally known, foreigners as well as Englishmen thought that the importance of England as a European power had ceased to exist. Having allowed this great fortress and seaport to slip out of their hands, the English would henceforth be doomed to remain shut up within the narrow limits of their little island. No one suspected that the loss of Calais, while marking the close of an important era in foreign relations, prepared the way for a brilliant and more congenial sphere of action in another direction. The loss of the last possessions in France forms the final scene of a period and a policy which dates from William the Conqueror. At last, after many centuries, England had emerged from the thick swirl of European politics. Once launched on this career of maritime enterprise and colonisation, England never abandoned it. Naturally, however, the beginnings were feeble and tentative. The sea-dogs, with all their daring and brilliance, accomplished very little of permanent importance. The only colony founded during Elizabeth's reign—Raleigh's settlement at Virginia—broke up miserably. The expeditions of Drake and his fellows were little better than buccaneering forays. Yet their work was of the first importance. It was something to have asserted the right of England to colonise. England had been brought face to face with Spain on many and various occasions, and had invariably proved the stronger on the sea. Finally, when James proceeded to follow in the footsteps of his predecessor, the way had been prepared for him and the difficulties smoothed away. What had shortly before seemed impossible became an accomplished fact." [e]

In the internal traffic of England, the greater part of it, as in other countries, was carried on by fairs, held annually or more frequently, at stated periods, in some noted place of resort; and such were the local advantages derived from these great musters that every means was adopted to make them attractive, as well as to retain them in existence in those towns where they were found no longer necessary. The great meeting of this kind for the metropolis itself was Bartholomew Fair, to which multitudes annually repaired from the several English counties, and even from foreign countries, so that if any epidemic happened to prevail in London during the season that the fair was held, there was some danger that the infection might thus be carried over the whole kingdom. Such was especially the case in 1593, while the plague was raging in the metropolis, so that its holding was prohibited; but so necessary had Bartholomew Fair now become for the welfare of the realm, that the people were willing to brave the danger; and all that the authorities could therefore effect was merely to appoint certain regulations by which the risk might be lessened.

We now turn from the commercial to the agricultural state of England at this period. The subdivision of farms, and increase of rent, compelled the use of a better kind of cultivation; and this was followed with such success, that by the end of the reign of Elizabeth the produce of each cultivated acre was at least doubled. The same active spirit which necessity had thus kindled into new life, was also manifested in better farmhouses and cottages, and a more comfortable style of living than had hitherto prevailed. While improvements in farming had thus been going on, those of gardening had not been neglected; for while plums, cherries,

currants, apricots, pippins, and gooseberries, which had been introduced from abroad during the reign of Henry VIII, were now carefully cultivated and brought into general use, the garden was also ornamented with the damask and musk rose, the gillyflower, rose of Provence, and carnation, which were imported into England towards the latter end of the sixteenth century.

ELIZABETHAN ARCHITECTURE

From the yeomanry of merry England we now pass to the dwellings of the rich and the noble. Much of the former occupation of these magnates had now departed along with the political power and sway which they were no longer entitled to hold; but this deprivation only strengthened their desire for more comfortable homes and a superior style of living. It was only thus that they could still retain their superiority as the descendants of nobles and princes; and as models, they could have found few better fitted, according to the age, for their imitation, than Henry VIII and his gorgeous prime-minister Wolsey, the former of whom built, completed, or improved ten splendid palaces.

The style of building now introduced into the palatial residences of the English nobles has been generally called the Tudor style, and prevailed during the sixteenth century. The change thus introduced is worthy of particular notice. Ecclesiastical architecture had now so far retrograded, and become so mixed up with foreign features, that its distinctive English character was gone. Henry VIII patronised Italian artists, and these, having no feeling for the Gothic of the North, could not appreciate its beauties, and sought to engraft their own ideas on a style which, as it had such hold on the national mind, they could not at once throw aside. The beautiful proportions of the old style were not seen, and when it was copied it was without knowledge or feeling. The result was that step by step the ancient features were supplanted by the new introduction, until at length all character was lost, and churches were built in debased imitation of the classic styles. It will therefore be unnecessary in this place to treat further of ecclesiastical edifices.

In domestic architecture, also, the same influences were at work, and produced a somewhat similar change; but other causes in this case led to modifications in the style of building and living. The cessation of the wars which had so long devastated England, and the consequent feeling of security under the house of Tudor, rendered no longer necessary the military character which had hitherto distinguished the dwellings of the aristocracy. The castellated form to which the mind had been so long accustomed was still retained; but it was no longer a military fortress, in which all domestic arrangements were compelled to give way to the necessities of defence. The windows, which before were small, were now gradually enlarged, until they became the most important feature of the building. Towers and turrets were still used, but only for ornament; and as they were no longer required for watch-towers, or to be manned with warders or bowmen, the flat leads within the parapet were no longer necessary, and they were finished with ornamental roofs, richly crocketed and finialed, and ending in gay weather-vanes or armorial devices. Chimneys, too, now became an important feature of ornamentation. They were mostly of brick, and consisted of large stacks of tall slender shafts, issuing from a square basement, frequently of stone. These shafts were richly moulded and often twisted, and they were generally orna-

mented over their whole surface with various diaper patterns and armorial bearings.

Turrets and chimneys, with the general prevalence of the octagonal over the square form for towers, etc.; large square windows, divided into lights by mullions and cross-bars; the extensive use of panelling and of the Tudor flower; and other details of the late Perpendicular style—and also of armorial bearings, with the general use of brick—may be taken as the characteristics of the genuine Tudor style before its foreign admixture. But before the end of the reign of Henry VIII it had become materially altered; the castellated form was lost, and it passed gradually into the Elizabethan style.

In the latter part of this style all trace of military character was lost, and the Gothic features were mixed with and gradually replaced by Italian. The Grecian and Roman orders were generally used, but were copied in an impure manner. From these apparently discordant materials designs were formed which have at least great picturesque effect to recommend them. The windows, however, still retained their mullions and transoms, but they were increased in size in some instances (as at Hardwick) to such an excess that the walls were reduced to mere window frames.



ENTRANCE TO GRAMMAR SCHOOL, STRATFORD-ON-AVON
(Where Shakespeare was educated)

Indeed the buildings of this reign were built for pomp and pleasure, for banquets and pageants; and therefore splendid apartments, approached by grand staircases, and above all, a gallery for dancing, and which frequently extended the length of the building, were essential in a house of any pretensions. The ceilings were richly and profusely ornamented with flowers, foliage and arabesques, figures, and classic allusions.

On the exterior, the sloping ground was cut into wide and stately terraces for promenading. These were generally bounded by massive stone balustrades connected by steps, and ornamented with statues, etc.

The princely houses, or rather palaces, which rose in this reign are numerous, many even yet remaining to attest the splendour of the reign of the Virgin Queen. Of these may be mentioned Burghley, Kirby, Oxnead, etc.[c]

The Elizabethan manor-house is too well known to need any description. It is generally a plain building with two projecting wings and a central porch. The initial letter of Elizabeth has been held to have suggested this form. In its homely provision for domestic convenience, the manor-house is more completely identified with the prevailing character of English society than the more gorgeous mansion could be. The manor-house had its hall and its buttery, its dining-room and its parlour, sometimes its chapel, always its great kitchen.

It was surrounded with a moat, it possessed its little flower-garden. When the tobacco which Raleigh introduced ceased to be worth its weight in silver, the smoking-room was added. On great festival days the rich plate is brought out and displayed on the court-cupboard of the dining-parlour, and "it is merry in hall, when beards wag all."

ELIZABETHAN LITERATURE

The historian Hume,[g] in his desire to exhibit the reign of Elizabeth as a period of uncontrolled despotism, says: "It is remarkable that in all the historical plays of Shakespeare, where the manners and characters, and even the transactions, of the several reigns are so exactly copied, there is scarcely any mention of civil liberty." Hallam,[h] without adverting to this passage, has furnished an answer to it: "These dramatic chronicles borrowed surprising liveliness and probability from the national character and form of government. A prince, and a courtier, and a slave, are the stuff on which the historical dramatist would have to work in some countries; but every class of free men, in the just subordination without which neither human society nor the stage, which should be its mirror, can be more than a chaos of huddled units, lay open to the selection of Shakespeare."



HOUSE IN STRATFORD-ON-AVON
(Where Shakespeare was born)

The "manners and characters" not only of Shakespeare's historical plays, but of all his other dramas, are instinct with all the vitality that belongs to a state of social freedom, in which what we hold as tyranny was exceptional. The very fact which Hume alleges, but which must be taken with some limitation, that in Shakespeare's historical plays "there is scarcely any mention of civil liberty," is really a proof of the existence of such liberty. In our own time a French writer has recorded that after attending a debate in our house of commons he observed to an English statesman that he had heard no assertion of the general principles of constitutional freedom. The answer was, "We take all that for granted."

We are not about to analyse the characters of Shakespeare's dramas to show that "they comprise every class of free men." We believe of Shakespeare, as we believe of Chaucer that neither of these great poets could have existed except under a condition of society which permitted a very large amount of civil liberty. But this is not the place to set forth any detailed reasons for this belief; and we should scarcely have alluded to the assertion of Hume, except to show that he properly looked beyond courts and parliaments to discover the spirit of an age. All poetry, as all other art, must in a great degree be the reflection of the time in which it is produced. The Elizabethan poetry—and especially the drama—the Elizabethan music, the

Elizabethan architecture, bear the most decided impress of their own time. The rapid and therefore imperfect view which we shall take of the most prominent indications of intellectual progress will be principally to exhibit them as characteristics of their period.

The stormy reigns of Edward VI and of Mary were not favourable to the cultivation of literature. Wyatt and Surrey belonged to the time of Henry VIII, before the elements of religious contention had penetrated much below the surface of society. But when the nation came to be divided into two great opposing classes, earnest in their convictions even to the point of making martyrs or being martyrs, the sonneteer and the lyrist would have little chance of being heard. There were a few such poets—Vaux, Edwards, Hunnis—but even their pleasant songs have a tincture of seriousness. The poet who at the very beginning of the reign of Elizabeth struck out a richer vein—Thomas Sackville—breathes the very spirit of the gloomy five years of persecution and almost hopeless bigotry through which England had passed into a healthier existence. There was then a long interval during which poetry was strengthening her wings for her noblest flights.

Beginnings of Drama

The drama was emerging from the childishness and buffoonery of her first period of separation from the shows of Catholicism. The same Thomas Sackville, early in the reign of Elizabeth, produced his tragedy of *Gorboduc*,



Cottage of Anne Hathaway, the wife of Shakespeare

of which it may be sufficient to say that Sidney in his *Defense of Poesy* describes it as "full of stately speeches and well-sounding phrases, climbing to the height of Seneca his style."

English dramatic poetry was not born with the courtly Sackville. It was struggling into life when it first seized upon the popular mind as an instrument of education, and, in Heywood's words, "made the ignorant more apprehensive, taught the unlearned the knowledge of many famous histories, instructed such as cannot read in the discovery of all our English chronicles." Roughly was that useful work originally done, but it was a reflection of the national spirit, and it produced its effect upon the national character.

The early dramatists, if we may credit one of their eulogists, Nash, proposed great moral lessons in their representations. "In plays, all cozenages,

all cunning drifts, overgilded with outward holiness, all stratagems of war, all the canker-worms that breed on the rust of peace, are most lively anatomised; they show the ill-success of treason, the fall of hasty climbers, the wretched end of usurpers, the misery of civil dissension, and how just God is evermore in punishing of murder." Such passages have been again and again quoted, but we repeat them to show how thoroughly the English drama became adapted to its time, even before its palmy state. It went forth from the courtly direction of the master of the revels at Whitehall and Greenwich, to delight multitudes at the Bell Savage and the Bull. The bones of brave Talbot were "new embalmed with the tears of ten thousand spectators at least."

It was a rude stage in which the place of action was "written in great letters upon an old door"; a stage without scenes, so that "a hideous monster came out with fire and smoke, and then the miserable beholders are bound to take it (the stage) for a cave." And yet the most elaborate mechanism, the most gorgeous decoration, never produced the delight which the unassisted action and the simple dialogue of these early plays excited. The spectators were in a new world. They were there to believe, and not to criticise. "You shall have three ladies walk to gather flowers, and then we must believe the stage to be a garden." The thousands who paid each their penny did so believe. They gave up their imaginations to the delusion, and were taken out of themselves into a higher region than that of their daily labours.

When the transition period arrived, in which the first rude utterings of a mimetic life were passing into the higher art of the first race of true dramatists —of which race Marlowe was the undoubted head—there was extravagance in action and character; bombast in language; learning—for Marlowe, Peele, Greene, Lodge, Kyd, were scholars—but learning falsely applied; yet there was real poetical power. They dealt in horrors; their comedy was for the most part ribaldry. The drama, says Sidney, "like an unmannerly daughter, showing a bad education, causeth her mother Poesy's honesty to be called in question." But the bad education of the unmannerly daughter was to be greatly attributed to the examples of the outer world in which she was born. She asserted her divine origin when strength and refinement had become united, in the greater assimilation of character between the courtly and the industrious classes; when rough ignorance was not held to be the necessary companion of martial prowess, and elegance and effeminacy had ceased to be confounded.

Against the growing refinement which was a natural consequence of the more general diffusion of wealth, the satirist, whether he belonged to the severe religionists or to the class held by them as the licentious, directed his constant invectives. There was a general belief that luxury, was lowering the national character. Harrison denounces the chimneys which had taken the place of the reredos in the hall; the feather bed and the sheets which had driven out the straw pallet; the pewter vessels which were splendid at the yeoman's feasts, instead of the wooden platters; the carpets and the tapestry, the bowl for wine, and the dozen silver spoons.

The town wits held the growing riches of the citizens as the spoils of usury and brokery; and the lawyers who "fatted on gold" were counted the oppressors of the poor. All this is indicative of a great change of manners, resulting from the growing opulence of the middle classes and the wide increase of competition. There was a general activity of intellect; and it was one of the fortunate circumstances of the social condition of England, that there was a great national cause to fight for, which lifted men out of the selfishness of unwonted industrial prosperity.

Edmund Spenser

At such a period arose the two greatest poets of that age, Spenser and Shakespeare. They each essentially belonged to their time. They each in their several ways reflected that time.

Spenser dealt much more largely than Shakespeare with the events and characteristics of his age. In his *Shepherd's Calendar* he is a decided church-reformer. In the *Faërie Queene* he shadows forth "the most excellent and glorious person" of Elizabeth; and many historical personages may be traced in the poem. Amongst the numerous allegorical characters we find Una, the true church, opposed to Duessa, the type of Romanism. But it is not in these more literal marks of the time that we discover in Spenser the spirit of the time. It is not in his *Mother Hubberd's Tale*, where we find the boldest satire against courtly corruption—justice sold, benefices given to the unworthy, nobility despised, learning little esteemed, the many not cared for—that we must look for the general reflection in Spenser's verse of the spirit of his age. His fate had been "in suing long to bide," and he took a poet's revenge for the neglect. It is in the general elevation of the tone of the *Faërie Queene*, and of the other poems of his matured years, that we may appreciate the moral and intellectual tastes of the educated classes of Elizabeth's latter period.



EDMUND SPENSER
(1552–1599)

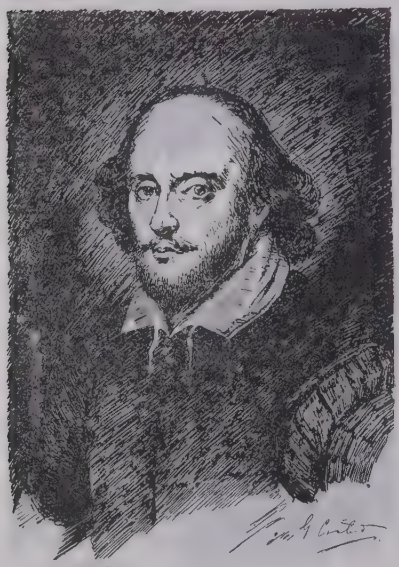
Unquestionably the poet, by his creative power, may in some degree shape the character of an age, instead of being its mirror; but in the relations of a great writer to his readers there is a mutual action, each inspiring the other. The tone of Spenser's poetry must at any rate have been in accordance with the mental condition of those with whom the *Faërie Queene* became at once the most popular of all books. It ceased to be popular after two generations had passed away, and the Rochesters and Sedleys were the great literary stars.

The heroic age to which Spenser belonged was then over. "Fierce wars and faithful loves" had become objects of ridicule. The type of female perfection was not "heavenly Una, with her milk-white lamb," but Mistress Nelly in the side-box. "The goodly golden chain of chivalry" was utterly worthless compared with the price paid for Dunkirk. Such were the differences of morals and intellect between 1600 and 1670. Spenser was the most popular of poets while the ideal of chivalry still lingered in the period that had produced Sidney, and Essex, and Raleigh, and Grenville—when the rough Devonshire captains fought the Spaniards with an enthusiastic bravery and endurance that the Orlandos and the Red Cross Knights of Ariosto and Spenser could not excel. The great laureate's popularity was gone when the Dutch sailed up the Medway; for the spirit of the Elizabethan "golden time" was gone.

William Shakespeare

The age of Elizabeth may pre-eminently claim the distinction of having called up a great native literature. The national mind had already put forth many blossoms of poetry, and in the instance of Chaucer the early fruit was of the richest flavour. But in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign England had a true garden of the Hesperides. It has been most justly observed by Macaulay[i] that "in the time of Henry VIII and Edward VI, a person who did not read French or Latin could read nothing or next to nothing." Hence the learned education of the ladies of that period.

The same writer asks, "Over what tragedy could Lady Jane Grey have wept, over what comedy could she have smiled, if the ancient dramatists had not been in her library?" Lady Jane Grey meekly laid her head upon the block in 1554. Had she lived fifty years longer she would have had in her library all Shakespeare's historical plays, except *King John* and *King Henry VIII*; she would have had *Romeo and Juliet*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Much Ado about Nothing*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Hamlet*—for all these were printed before that period. She might have seen all these acted; and she might also have seen *As You Like It*, *All's Well that Ends Well*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Twelfth Night*, and *Othello*.



WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE
(1564–1616)

Her pure and truly religious nature would not have shrunk from the perusal of these works, which might worthily stand by the side of her *Terence* and her *Sophocles* in point of genius, and have a far higher claim upon her admiration. For they were imbued, not with the lifeless imitation of heathen antiquity, but with the real vitality of the Christian era in which they were produced; with all the intellectual freedom which especially distinguished that era from the past ages of Christianity. The deities of the old mythology might linger in the pageants of the court; but the inspiration of these creations of the popular dramatist was derived from the pure faith for which the lady Jane died.

From no other source of high thought could have originated the exquisite creations of female loveliness which Shakespeare and Spenser equally presented. Some portion of what was tender and graceful in the Catholic worship of "Our Lady" passed into the sober homage involuntarily paid to the perfectness of woman by the two great Protestant poets.

In Shakespeare was especially present a more elevated spirit of charity than belonged to the government of his times, although his toleration must have abided to a great extent amongst a people that had many common ties of brotherhood whatever were their differences of creed. Hence the patriotism of Shakespeare—a considerate patriotism founded upon that nationality by which he is held "to have been most connected with ordinary men." But

Shakespeare lived in an age when nationality was an exceeding great virtue, which alone enabled England, in a spirit of union, to stand up against the gigantic power which sought her conquest through her religious divisions. All around the dramatist, and reflected by him in a thousand hues of "many-coloured life," were those mixed elements of society, out of whose very differences results the unity of a prosperous nation. There was a great industrious class standing between the noble and the peasant, running over with individual originality of character, and infusing their spirit into the sovereign, the statesman, and the soldier. The gentlemen of Shakespeare are distinct from those of any other poet in their manly frankness; and the same quality of straightforward independence may be traced in his yeomen and his peasants. His clowns even are the representatives of the national humour which itself was a growth of the national freedom. There was a select lettered class, who, having shaken off the trammels of the scholastic philosophy, were exploring the depths of science and laying the foundations of accurate reasoning.

Shakespeare stood between the new world of bold speculation that was opening upon him, and the world of submission to authority that was passing away. Thus, whilst he lingers amidst the simplicity and even the traditionary superstitions of the multitude with evident delight—calls up their elves and their witches and their ghosts, but in no vulgar shapes—he asserts his claim to take rank with the most elevated of the world's thinkers in the investigation of the hardest problems of man's nature.

Such are a few of the relations in which the art of Shakespeare stood to the period in which he lived; and although it has been truly said, "he was not for an age, but for all time," we hold that he could not have been produced except in that age and in the country of which he has become the highest glory. There must have been a marvellous influence of the social state working upon the highest genius, to have called forth those dramas for the people, which, having their birth in a yeoman's house at Stratford, "show, sustain, and nourish all the world."

Lyric Poets

The lyrical poetry of the Elizabethan time was chiefly written to be married to music. As Shakespeare's drama was drama to be acted, so his songs were songs to be sung. Their grace, their simplicity, their variety of measure, were qualities which are found in the lyrical poems of Marlowe, Greene, Lodge, Raleigh, Breton, Drayton, and others less known to fame, who contributed to the delight of many a tranquil evening in the squire's pleasure garden and by the citizen's sea-coal fireside, where Morley's *Airs*, and other popular collections, were as familiarly known as Moore's *Melodies* in our own day.

It was not that the musical taste of England was first developed in this period, but that it had spread from the court to the people. There was a greater diffusion of wealth, and therefore more leisure for the cultivation of the elegancies of life. Property was secure. The days of feudal tyranny were past. The whole aspect of the country was necessarily changed. If we open the county histories of this period we find an enumeration of "principal manor-houses," which shows how completely the English gentleman of moderate fortune had in every parish taken the place of the baron or the abbot, who were once the sole proprietors of vast districts. A poet of the period has noticed this change in his description of rural scenery.

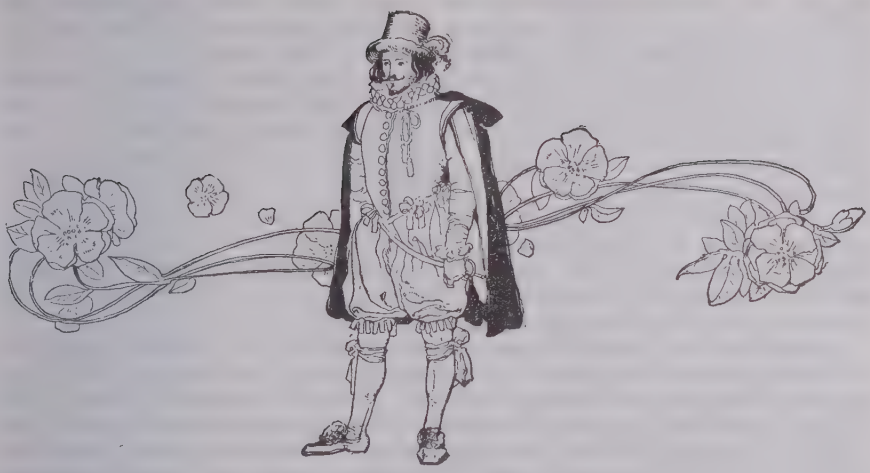
"Here on some mount a house of pleasure vanted
Where once the warring cannon had been planted."

These lines are from the *Britannia's Pastorals* of William Browne, whose poems, unequal as they are, contain many exquisite descriptions of country life.

But nearly all the poetry of this age shows how thoroughly the realities of that life had become familiar to the imaginative mind. The second-hand images with which town poets make their rural descriptions wearisome are not found in the Elizabethan poets. The commonest objects of nature uniformly present their poetical aspects in Shakespeare, as they did in Chaucer. The perpetual freshness and variety of creation were seen by these great masters with that rapid power of observation which belongs to genius. But the minor poets of the end of the sixteenth century evidently studied rural scenery with that feeling of the picturesque which is always a late growth of individual or national cultivation.

The country, to the educated proprietor of the soil, had become something more than the source of his revenue. His ancestral trees had now for him a higher interest than to furnish logs for his hall-fire. His garden was no longer a mere place for growing kail and pot-herbs: it was to have choice flowers and shady seats; the stately terrace and the green walk; the fountain and the vase. The poets reflect the prevailing taste. They make their posies of the peony and the pink, the rose and the columbine. They go with the huntsman to the field, and with the angler to the river. They are found nutting with the village boys, and they gather strawberries in the woods. They sit with the lady of the May in her bower, and quaff the brown ale at the harvest-home. The country has become the seat of pleasant thoughts; and the poets are there to aid their influences.

The reign of Elizabeth, which witnessed such an outburst of native literature, had not neglected that cultivation of ancient learning upon which sound literature and correct taste must in a great degree be built. New colleges had been founded at Oxford and Cambridge. Elizabeth had also founded Trinity College, Dublin. James VI had erected the university of Edinburgh, in addition to the Scottish academical institutions, and Marischal College, Aberdeen, was built in his reign. To the London grammar schools of St. Paul's and Christ church had been added Westminster school by the queen, and Merchant Taylors' school by the great city company of that name. The grammar schools were essentially the schools of the people; and it is a sufficient praise of Elizabeth's new foundation of Westminster to say that Camden there taught and that Jonson there learned.*f*



CHAPTER XVI

THE STUART DYNASTY: JAMES I

[1603–1625 A.D.]

UNDER no other dynasty in the world have large national changes depended so completely on the personal ideas of monarchs as in England under the Tudors. But now the energetic Tudor line had vanished from the throne. By right of inheritance, another family ascended, whose origins and associations were in Scotland, the crown of which it now united to that of England.—VON RANKE.[b]

ENGLAND appeared as despotic a country at the death of Elizabeth as any in Europe, and it was only by the concurrence of two circumstances that it did not lose its liberties altogether. The first of these was that the wiliest and most ambitious of her kings had no standing army. When a monarch has the interest of a superstitious priesthood and the ignorance of the multitude in his favour, he needs only a military force to strike out the last spark of freedom. When Henry VII, therefore, had broken the nobility and gained the church, and quieted the people, there would have been no power able to oppose him if he had had a soldiery in his pay; as it was, he had to trust to the national force—the archers of the different parishes and men raised for a limited time. The English army was a militia, officered by the gentry of the land; so Henry VII and his imperious son had not the means of consolidating the tyrannic power which circumstances enabled them to exercise for a time.

The other circumstance was the very strange one that the degradation of the house of commons tempted the first Tudors to use it as an ostensible instrument of their authority, till the people, who were not aware of the personal baseness and subserviency of their representatives, seeing every great event attributed to parliament, began to believe that it was mightier than the king. They saw a church overthrown, and another church established; a queen divorced, and another executed; Mary declared illegitimate, and the

kingdom left to the disposal of the sovereign, all by act of parliament; and there was no limit to their confidence in these magic words. The crawling sycophants who sat on the packed benches of the commons began to be invested with a part of the majesty which the policy of the kings had thrown over the assembly to cloak their own designs; and towards the end of Elizabeth's reign the belief in the dignity of parliament had seized even on some of the members, and they reasoned, remonstrated, accused, and finally made terms, as if they had in reality some of the influence which had belonged to them in the times of the Plantagenets. Nothing, however, would persuade the new race of kings that parliament was anything but a collection of their clerks and servants; and all through the next two reigns the point in dispute was the usurped, but constantly exerted, supremacy of the crown, and the theoretical, but long disused, supremacy of parliament.

Fortunately for the parliament, the representative of absolute monarchy, who now presented himself in the person of James, was not rendered very dangerous by his vigour of mind or body. Even the country he came from detracted from his popularity; for the long wars between the realms had made Scotland a disagreeable sound in English ears. The people were considered barbarous, and their land a desert. A flight of locusts was looked upon as a similar infliction to an incursion of the hungry Scots, whether as friends or foes. The behaviour of James, since his accession to his native throne, had not raised his reputation for courage or plain dealing; and reports must have been already widely spread of his garrulity, selfishness, pedantry, and awkwardness, which made him a very unfit president of the most accomplished, learned, and high-spirited court in Christendom. A courtier like Sir Walter Raleigh, hearing an argument of Bacon in the morning and a play of Shakespeare in the afternoon, could have had little appetite for the laborious and jocular platitudes of the Solomon of the north. Yet with all the advantages of an undisputed right, and bearing with him the prospect not only of peace, but union, between the two peoples who inhabited the island, the great-grandson of Margaret of England took peaceable possession of the throne of the Plantagenets and Tudors. It was taking the people back to the olden time, of which every new generation entertains such a fond recollection, when they saw in the son of the beauteous Mary—representative in the third degree of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York—a blending once more of the white and red roses, and never were king and nation more pleased at the parts they were to play. His journey from the north was a perpetual triumph. Arches covered the streets, and orations exhausted the eloquence of mayors; and his speeches in reply transcended their understanding. He ate, and drank, and spouted Latin, and made poems in a manner never heard of before; he also made knights on all occasions.

But the habits and temper of the new king came out in more disagreeable colours in the course of the same journey. Gentlemen, accustomed to the stately cavalcades of Elizabeth, and even her affected and grandiose style of walking, were at first astonished to see a little fat personage, with large and wandering eyes; a bonnet cast by chance upon his head, and sticking on as it best could; his legs too thin for his weight; his clothes so thickly padded out to resist a dagger-stroke, of which he was in continual dread, that he looked more like a vast seal than a man; a flabby, foolish mouth, widened for the freer extrusion of remarkably broad Scotch—and all these surmounting a horse saddled after the manner of an arm-chair, with appliances for the rider's support, in spite of which his majesty not unfrequently managed to tumble most ungracefully to the ground; and before the courtly nobles who had

[1603 A.D.]

met him at the borders had time to be reconciled to his appearance, he gave them a specimen of his regard for law which was of evil omen for his future conduct. At Newark-upon-Trent a pickpocket was detected in the act, and, without waiting for judge or jury, the king directed a royal warrant to the recorder to hang the man without delay, and the culprit was suspended at once. Completing his first impression by the coarse and contemptuous manner in which he spoke of his great predecessor, whose death had silenced all recent cavils and only recalled the triumphs and glories of her reign, he showed his disregard of her example—in guarding the honour of the English peerage only for the most deserving and celebrated of her subjects—by lavishing titles on dozens at a time, including in the list his hungry and grasping followers, who had shown no quality except the attachment to their native sovereign, which made them forsake the wilderness of their patrimonial domains for the rich estates with which they were presented in the different shires of England.[1]

He now began to govern. He was an advocate for peace at any price, particularly if the price was to be paid into his exchequer; and as England had been a great support to the Netherlands in their noble insurrection against Philip, and James thought no insurrection justifiable on any provocation, both parties were encouraged to approach him. Henry IV of France and the Hollanders sent over to request his continued aid, and bribed in a very handsome manner to obtain their end. Philip III, however, had not the dogged obstinacy of his father, and sent over an ambassador to patch up an agreement between him and his revolted subjects, under the mediation of James, and in a few months the king looked with pride on the motto he had chosen for the royal arms, "Blessed are the Peacemakers." The independence of the Provinces was virtually acknowledged, and Spain continued the downward course which threw her helpless at the feet of the blood-stained Inquisition, denuded her realm of the vigour and genius of the Moors and Hebrews and the spirit and enterprise of the Dutch, leaving her the impotent victim of ignorance and pride. But affairs were not so peaceful at home. James had been so disgusted by the aggressive insolence of the Presbyterian leaders in his old dominion, that he had held out hopes to the Catholics of a leaning to their cause. On finding, however, that the English church, though as much opposed as himself to the levelling and republican tendencies of Geneva, was equally hostile to the doctrines of Rome, he gave public marks of his adhesion to the strongest side, and issued edicts against all manner of dissenters, whether Calvinist or papist. Toleration was formally disavowed, and an internecine war seemed impending.

Puritans and Catholics joined in a plot to get quit of the present order in church and state, each sect determining to exterminate the other when their common enemy was overthrown. The king was to be seized, the government altered, and freedom of conscience proclaimed.[e]

The coronation had taken place on the 25th of July, amidst the gloom and consternation of the people of London, for the plague was making the most fearful ravages in the city. The sight of the pageant was confined to the nobility and the court. On this account, as alleged, a parliament was not summoned, according to the usual course upon the accession of a new sovereign.

[1 "I hear our new king," writes Harington,[c] "hath hanged one man before he was tried; 'tis strangely done; now if the wind bloweth thus, why may not a man be tried before he hath offended?" But James' notion of kingly rewards was as absurd as his notion of kingly punishments. During his journey of thirty-two days from Edinburgh to London, he showered the honour of knighthood on two hundred and thirty-seven gentlemen who were presented to him. Elizabeth bestowed such honours sparingly upon her statesmen and soldiers. James made the noblest title of the old chivalry ridiculous.—KNIGHT.[d]]

THE "MAIN" AND THE "BYE" PLOTS

At the death of Elizabeth the rivalry which had sprung up between Robert Cecil and Raleigh was to have its triumph in the confirmed favour of James to the minister with whom he had for some time been in secret communication. The wily secretary of state was far too strong for the bold captain of the guard. Raleigh was deprived of his offices, and within a few months was under a charge of high treason. Hume, in a very brief relation of "the discovery of a conspiracy to subvert the government, and to fix on the throne Arabella Stuart, a near relation of the king by the family of Lennox, and descended equally from Henry VII," mixes up the accounts of two alleged conspiracies. He says Roman Catholic priests; Lord Grey, a Puritan; Lord Cobham, a profligate man; and Raleigh, a freethinker, were engaged in "a conspiracy"; and he asks, "What cement could unite men of such discordant principles in so dangerous a combination?" The Roman Catholic conspiracy was wholly different from that in which Raleigh, Cobham, and Grey were accused of engaging, and was known as "the treason of the priests," or the "Bye" [or the Surprise]—the cant word by which it was designated upon the trials of the accused. Its object was to seize the person of the king. The other treason was known as the "Main," and its purposes were so ill-defined that, half a century afterwards, it was described by Rushworth*g* as "a dark kind of treason"; the author of the *Historical Collections* adding, "in his time the veil still rested upon it." Subsequent investigations have not withdrawn the veil.

Cobham, a very weak man, though possessed of great power from his position, had taken part with Raleigh in his jealousy of the earl of Essex; and James, who considered that Essex had been sacrificed through his anxiety to promote that claim to the succession which Elizabeth did not recognise, held them both in great dislike. Cecil, who was equally united with them in jealousy of Essex, had propitiated the king of Scotland, and to him was confided the chief power of the government when James came to the English throne. There is little in these alleged treasons that deserves any minute relation, except as they involve the trial and conviction of one of the most remarkable men in the history of the country. The mind of Raleigh never was exhibited in a more heroic attitude than in his conduct on this memorable trial. On the 17th of November, 1603, a special commission was held at Winchester, the plague then raging in London and other parts. Sir Walter Raleigh had been indicted on the previous 21st of August upon a charge of high treason; the overt acts alleged being that he had conferred with Lord Cobham as to advancing Arabella Stuart to the crown of England, dispossessing the king; and that it was arranged that Lord Cobham should go to the king of Spain and the archduke of Austria, to obtain six hundred thousand crowns for the support of Arabella's title. Raleigh pleaded not guilty.

The conduct of the attorney-general upon this trial was such as made even Cecil remonstrate against his unfairness. Coke's brutality to the prisoner remains as a perpetual warning to the bar and the bench, that if the character of the gentleman is ever publicly dissociated from that of the lawyer in the administration of justice, the greatest learning, the most elevated rank will not save the trickster or the bully from the contempt of his own generation and of future times. Coke began by declaring that the treason of Raleigh was "the treason of the Main, the others were the Bye," and then went on to mix him up with both treasons. "I pray you, gentlemen of the jury," said Raleigh, "remember I am not charged with the Bye, which was the

treason of the priests." To this quiet observation Coke replied: "You are not; but your lordships will see that all these treasons, though they consisted of several points, closed in together, like Samson's foxes, which were joined in the tails, though their heads were severed."

Let us pursue this dialogue a little further. Coke went on, again travelling far out of the indictment, to associate Raleigh with every charge against other conspirators of whose proceedings it is manifest that he knew nothing. "To what end do you speak all this?" said the prisoner. "I will prove you to be the most notorious traitor that ever came to the bar," rejoined Coke. "Thou art a monster. Thou hast an English face but a Spanish heart." Coke then proceeded with a recital of his charges against Cobham. "If my lord Cobham be a traitor, what is that to me?" said Raleigh. Then the great lawyer replied, "All that he did was by thy instigation, thou viper, for I thou thee, thou traitor!"[1] When Coke came to the words about "destroying the king and his cubs," which rested upon a declaration of one of the priests of what the Jesuits intended, Raleigh lost patience for a moment, and exclaimed, "O barbarous! Do you bring the words of these hellish spiders against me?" Coke retorted, "Thou art thyself a spider of hell." Such were the flowers of rhetoric with which the attorney-general of that day sustained the dignity of English justice.

The charge against Raleigh rested solely upon the accusation of Lord Cobham, of which a contemporary letter-writer says it "was no more to be weighed than the barking of a dog." Raleigh demanded that Cobham should be confronted with him. He contended that by the law of treasons two witnesses were necessary to conviction. His eloquence was unavailing. He was found guilty and sentenced to death. The opinion of after times is expressed by Hallam:[h] "His conviction was obtained on the single deposition of Lord Cobham, an accomplice, a prisoner, not examined in court, and known to have already retracted his accusation. Such a verdict was thought contrary to law, even in that age of ready convictions." Raleigh's contemporaries felt that his conviction was most unjust. Raleigh was unpopular, for he was proud; but his trial produced a complete change in the general feeling. One who was present at Winchester affirmed "that whereas when he saw him first he was so led with the common hatred that he would have gone a hundred miles to see him hanged, he would, ere he parted, have gone a thousand to save his life." The priests and Brooke were found guilty of the "Bye" plot, and were executed. Cobham, Grey, and Markham were found guilty, and were brought upon the scaffold to die.[d]

The strangest and most heartless treatment of prisoners which has ever occurred in English annals took place on this occasion. Raleigh was placed at his window in the Tower, which commanded a view of the scaffold. It was Friday morning, and he was to die on the following Monday. First he saw George Markham, one of his confederates, led up to the block, and when preparations had been made for his death, he was led away again, and there was silent expectation in the crowd for an hour or two. Lord Grey then made his appearance, and sustained the character for manly self-command he had won at the trial. He prayed, and said farewell to his friends; and when thus the bitterness of death was past, and he was about to lay his head upon the block, a movement took place among the spectators, and he also

[1 If Raleigh's trial is remarkable for the distinct enunciation by the judges of the harsh principles which were then in repute amongst lawyers, it is equally worthy of memory, as giving the first signal of the reaction which from that moment steadily set in in favour of the rights of individuals against the state.—GARDINER.]

was led away. Lastly, Lord Cobham was brought forth, and with brazen audacity, which could only arise from a knowledge of what was to happen,[1] reiterated his accusations of Raleigh and his friends, and affected to seal the faith of his words with his blood. But again the crowd was moved, and Markham and Grey were brought back. Face to face they gazed on each other, each surprised to find the other alive. Shouts now rent the air; hats were thrown up, and joyous acclamations sounded from the hill and were echoed all through the city, for a messenger had appeared with the royal mercy, and the shameless cruelty of playing with men's feelings in such awful circumstances was lost in the delight at their deliverance; from which we may conclude that very few people believed in the plot. Raleigh was reprieved along with the others, but old enmity rankled in James' heart, for the interest of Raleigh had been employed against him when he used to be knocking humbly as a poor kinsman at Elizabeth's door. It was a reprieve, and not a pardon.[e]

Raleigh's twelve years of imprisonment were not spent in vain repining. In his prison chamber he wrote his *History of the World*—a noble book, worthy of the man and of the days in which he had gloriously lived; full of poetry and high philosophy, and in its solemn recognitions of the "power, light, virtue, wisdom, and goodness" of the "Omnipotent Cause" and "Almighty Mover," furnishing the best answer to the scurrility of the attorney-general, who called him "damnable atheist," and of the chief justice who, in sentencing him, said, "You have been taxed by the world, Sir Walter Raleigh, with holding heathenish, atheistical, and profane opinions, which I list not to repeat, because Christian ears cannot endure to hear them; but the authors and maintainers of such opinions cannot be suffered to live in any Christian commonwealth."[d]

THE HAMPTON COURT CONFERENCE

When James was on his way to London the Puritan clergy had presented their Millenary petition,[2] praying for reformation in the church. They desired that the sign of the cross should not be made in baptism, or that rite be administered by women; that the ring be disused in marriage; that confirmation be abolished; that the clergy no longer wear the cap and surplice, nor teach the people to bow at the name of Jesus; that the service be curtailed, and the Apocrypha be no more read as part of it; that church music be reformed; that the Lord's Day be not profaned, nor the observation of other holidays enjoined. They also prayed that none but able men should be ordained, and that they should be obliged to reside on their cures; that bishops should not hold livings *in commendam*; that men should not be excommunicated for small matters, etc. The two universities forthwith set forth violent declarations against the petitioners, and in favour of the present state of the church. The king, having been brought up in the kirk of Scotland, which rejected all that was complained of, could not with decency slight the petition. He therefore issued (October 24th) a proclamation for a conference between the two parties to be held in his own presence at Hampton Court.

[1 Gardiner,*j* however, thinks that James may have merely desired to know what their 'ast confessions would be without putting them to death.]

[2 So called, as it was to have been signed by one thousand (*mille*) clergymen. [Only 750 preachers assented to it. As Gardiner*j* points out, there seem to have been no signatures at all.]

[1604 A.D.]

The conference commenced on the 14th of January, 1604. On the side of the church appeared the primate Whitgift, Bancroft, bishop of London, seven other prelates, and eight dignitaries; the Puritans were represented by Reynolds and three others, who had been selected by the king himself. The first day the Puritans were not admitted, and the king made a speech, in which he expressed his joy that "he was now come into the promised land; that he sat among grave and reverend men, and was not a king, as formerly, without state, nor in a place where beardless boys would brave him to his face."[1] He assured them that he did not propose any innovation, but that he only desired to remove such disorders as might appear. The amendments which he proposed were adopted without hesitation, and next day (16th) the Puritans were admitted, and the king required them to state their objections.

To each of their arguments James himself replied. At length, when Reynolds made proposals for holding assemblies of the clergy, and referring cases thence to the diocesan synod, the king lost his temper. He told them, as was the truth, that they were aiming at a Scottish presbytery, "which," said he, "agrees with monarchy as well as God and the devil. Then Jack and Tom and Will and Dick shall meet, and at their pleasure censure both me and my council. Therefore, pray stay one seven years before you demand that of me; and if then you find me pursy and fat, and my windpipe stuffed, I will perhaps hearken to you; for let that government be up, and I am sure I shall be kept in breath." Then turning to the bishops, and putting his hand to his hat, he said, "My lords, I may thank you that these Puritans plead for my supremacy; for, if once you are out and they in place, I know what will become of my supremacy; for, no bishop, no king." He then asked Reynolds if he had anything more to say; but that divine, finding the cause prejudged, declined to proceed. "If this be all your party have to say," said the king, rising, "I will make them conform themselves, or else hurry them out of this land, or do worse."

The prelates were overjoyed at the behaviour of the king. Whitgift protested that he had spoken from the spirit of God. Bancroft exclaimed, "I protest my heart melteth with joy, that Almighty God, of his singular mercy, has given us a king as since Christ's time hath not been." The chancellor said he "had never seen the king and priest so fully united in one person." Next day the Puritans were called in to hear the alterations made in the prayer-book. Their entreaties for indulgence to some men of tender consciences only excited anger; the conference thus terminated, and on the 5th of March a proclamation was issued enjoining strict conformity.[i]

Persecution now began, which, except in the absence of fire and rope, was as fierce as bloody Mary's. Spies wormed their way into conventicles and prayer-meetings; preachers without a license were thrown into prison; three hundred rectors and vicars were turned out of their livings; fines and dungeons were the fate of all who resisted the law; and already the awful lessons of the Old Testament were conned over with ominous admiration. Men driven from house and home, despised and insulted by persons whom they considered worse than heathens or idolaters, found consolation in the denunciations of evil-doers and the promises of revenge held forth to the people of God. Samuel was a Puritan divine, and Agag lived at Whitehall.

Having thus embroiled himself with one of the orders of the state, James next showed his arbitrary spirit in his treatment of parliament [assembled March 19th, 1604]. His powerful predecessors had shown great skill in their

[1] Alluding to the rudeness which he had experienced from some hot-headed young ministers in Scotland, of which various instances are on record.

management of the popular assembly. They treated it with respect, and increased its apparent influence in order to turn it to their own advantage. If Elizabeth interfered at an election, it was secretly; if there was any bribery or intimidation, it was denied with the same affectation of abhorrence as at the present time; but James published a proclamation telling his people what sort of men to return. If any person was nominated contrary to his instructions, the borough was to be fined and the member sent to gaol. Parliament deserved a good deal of contempt for its remissness of late years, but this was too much. The pride of city and county revolted against this dictation, and Puritans and Presbyterians were returned in great numbers. The first session was passed in disputes. The king made no secret of his belief in his own perfect supremacy over lords and commons. The commons, unaccustomed to such language from sovereigns they had feared and respected, assumed at last the duty of champions of the nation. "Your majesty would be misinformed," they said, "if any man should deliver that the kings of England have any absolute power in themselves either to alter religion, or make any laws concerning the same, otherwise than, as in temporal causes, by consent of parliament."

The laws against the Catholics were not in the slightest degree relaxed during these destructive onslaughts on the Puritans. The church, which had been originally set apart as a neutral ground, was now a strong-walled battery firing against both. The assault became more furious as the cannonade was more fatal, and at last the patience of the papists could stand no more.[e]

PERSECUTIONS OF THE CATHOLICS, AND THE GUNPOWDER PLOT

The Puritans in their discontent had accused the king of papistry. He persecuted, they said, the disciples, while he favoured the enemies of the gospel. James hastened to rescue himself from the charge. Another proclamation was published February 22nd, 1604, enjoining the banishment of all Catholic missionaries; regulations were adopted for the discovery and presentment of recusants; and orders were sent to the magistrates to put the penal laws into immediate execution. He even deemed it expedient to deliver his sentiments in the Star Chamber, to declare his detestation of papistry, and to repeat his wish that none of his children might succeed him if they were ever to depart from the established church. These proceedings afforded some consolation. If one opening were closed, another was offered to the exertions of the zealots. If they were not suffered to purge the church from the dregs of superstition, they might still advance the glory of God by hunting down the idolatrous papist.

The execution of the penal laws enabled the king by an ingenious comment to derive considerable profit from his past forbearance. It was pretended that he had never forgiven the penalties of recusancy; he had merely forbidden them to be exacted for a time, in the hope that this indulgence would lead to conformity; but his expectations had been deceived; the obstinacy of the Catholics had grown with the lenity of the sovereign; and as they were unworthy of further favour, they should now be left to the severity of the law. To their dismay the legal fine of £20 per lunar month was again demanded, and not only for the time to come, but for the whole period of the suspension; a demand which, by crowding thirteen separate payments into one of £260, exhausted the whole annual income of men in respectable but moderate circumstances. Nor was this all. By law, the least default in these

[1604 A.D.]

payments subjected the recusant to the forfeiture of all his goods and chattels, and of two-thirds of his lands, tenements, hereditaments, farms, and leases. All the cattle on the lands of the delinquent, his household furniture, and his wearing apparel were seized and sold; and if on some pretext or other he was not thrown into prison, he found himself and family left without a change of apparel or a bed to lie upon.

The sums thus extorted from the sufferers formed, most opportunely for James, a fund, out of which he could relieve himself from the claims and clamours of the needy Scotsmen who had pursued him from their own country, and now importuned him for a share in the good things of the land of promise. Of the moneys thus extorted, a considerable portion was known to be appropriated to these adventurers. Nor was this appropriation thought of itself a small grievance at a time when the jealousies between the two nations had grown to a height of which we can form but a very inadequate notion at the present day. The sufferers bitterly complained that they were reduced to beggary for the support of a crowd of foreign beggars; that the last remnant of their property was wrung from them to satisfy the rapacity of the Scottish harpies that followed the court. But they complained in vain.



THE GATE HOUSE, ASHBY, ST. LEGER'S, NOTTS

(Residence of the Catesbys)

Among the sufferers was Robert Catesby, descended from an ancient and opulent family. His father, Sir William Catesby, more than once had been imprisoned for recusancy. Together with several of his friends the son had joined the earl of Essex, and in the ill-directed attempt of that nobleman was wounded, taken, and committed to prison. He had, indeed, the good fortune to escape the block, but was compelled to purchase his liberty with the sum of £3,000. After his discharge he attached himself, through the same motive, to the Spanish party among the Catholics, and bore a considerable share in their intrigues to prevent the succession of the Scottish monarch. When these had proved fruitless, he acquiesced in the general opinion of his brethren, and cherished with them the pleasing hope of indulgence and toleration.

But the delusion soon vanished. Catesby, reverting to his original pursuit, revolved in his mind every possible means of relief. To succeed by insurrection he saw was hopeless; the Catholics were the weaker party, and disunited among themselves; to look for sufficient aid from the princes abroad was equally visionary; the king of France, the king of Spain, and even the pontiff all professed themselves the friends of James. At length there suggested itself to his mind a plan which required not the help of foreigners, nor the co-operation of many associates, but a plan so atrocious in principle and so sanguinary in execution, that it is difficult to conceive how it could be harboured in the mind of any human being—the plan of blowing up the parliament-house with gunpowder, and involving in one common destruction the

king, the lords, and the commons, all those who framed, with the chief of those who executed, the penal laws against the English Catholics.

The person to whom Catesby first opened his mind was an intimate friend, Thomas Winter. Winter was struck with horror at the communication. But Catesby attempted its justification. He sought not, he observed, any private revenge or personal emolument. His sole object was to suppress a most unjust and barbarous persecution by the only expedient which offered the prospect of success.

This was at the time when Velasco, the constable of Castile, had arrived in Flanders to conclude a peace between England and Spain. The two friends, after a long discussion, resolved to postpone their direful purpose till they had solicited the mediation of the Spaniard with their sovereign. With this view Winter repaired to Bergen, near Dunkirk, where a private conference with the ambassador convinced him that, though he might speak in favour of the English Catholics, he would make no sacrifice to purchase for them the benefit of toleration. From Bergen, Winter hastened to Ostend, where he met with Guy Fawkes,[1] a native of Yorkshire, and a soldier of fortune. Fawkes had long served in the Netherlands, had borne an important command under Sir Thomas Stanley, and had visited Madrid in the company of Winter as agent for the exiles of the Spanish party. His courage, fidelity, and military experience pointed him out as a valuable auxiliary.[2] He consented to return with Winter to England, but was kept for some time in ignorance of the part which he was designed to act.

Before their arrival Catesby had communicated the plan to two others, Percy and Wright. Thomas Percy was a distant relation and steward to the earl of Northumberland. He had embraced the Catholic faith about the same time as Catesby, and had shared with him in the disastrous enterprise of Essex. His brother-in-law, John Wright, was formerly a follower of Essex, and noted as the best swordsman of his time. He had lately become a Catholic, and on that account had been harassed with prosecutions and imprisonment. He joined the conspirators, and after a short trial Fawkes was added to the number. All five having previously sworn each other to secrecy, May 1st, received, in confirmation of their oath, the sacrament from the hand of Father Gerard, the Jesuit missionary.[k] [3]

After many meetings and much consultation, a house was hired by Percy —who was a gentleman usher of the court—abutting on the houses of parliament, and a hole was resolved on from the back buildings into the vaults under the great chamber of the lords, where the king was to open the session, and where the whole house of commons would be assembled. Interrupted more than once by prorogations and other incidents, they never faltered in

[1 We observe that Faukes always writes his name with u.—LINGARD.[k]]

[2 Father Greenway, who knew all the conspirators intimately, describes him as "a man of great piety, of exemplary temperance, of mild and cheerful demeanour, an enemy of broils and disputes, a faithful friend, and remarkable for his punctual attendance upon religious observances." His society is stated, by the same authority, to have been "sought by all the most distinguished in the archduke's camp for nobility and virtue." If this account of his character is correct, we are to look upon this man not according to the popular notion, as a mercenary ruffian, ready for hire to perform the chief part in any tragedy of blood, but as an enthusiast whose understanding had been distorted by superstition, and in whom fanaticism had conquered the better feelings of nature. His language and conduct after the discovery of the plot are characteristic of a resolute fanatic, acting upon perverted notions of right and wrong, but by no means destitute of piety or humanity.—JARDINE.[l]]

[3] This fact was brought to light by the confessions of Winter and Fawkes, who out of the five were the only two then living. But they both acquit Gerard of having been privy to their secret. Winter says that "they five administered the oath to each other in a chamber, in which no other body was," and then went into another room to receive the sacrament.

their purpose, and having at length, with great labour, effected a communication, and filled the cellar with gunpowder casks, it was resolved that Fawkes, the most resolute of the party, should fire the train on the 5th of November, and effect his escape, if possible, before it reached the barrels; if not, he was quite ready to die in so holy a cause. But one of them had a friend in the house of lords whom he was anxious to save. He wrote a mysterious note to Lord Monteagle, warning him not to attend the opening ceremony. Monteagle was puzzled, and showed it to others; at last it reached the king. James had a natural talent for unravelling plots; he smelled them out even where they did not exist, and had therefore no difficulty in following the scent on the present occasion. The cellars were searched, and there, gloomy and firm, they found Guy Fawkes, match in hand, watching for the expected signal.

Tortures were applied. Fawkes named his confederates, and among them people were shocked to hear of such men as the young and wealthy Sir Everard Digby, Rookwood of Coldham, and Tresham, the writer of the warning to Lord Monteagle. The conspirators had taken flight, and found their way to Warwickshire, where there was a meeting [at the Old Lion Hotel in Dunchurch] of Catholic gentlemen anxiously waiting for the event. They had collected at the house of Sir Everard Digby under pretence of a hunting party on Dunsmore Heath. The first glance at Rookwood's face revealed the dreadful truth. They were all doomed men, and must fly for their lives. The meeting dispersed, and Catesby, Digby, and four or five more took horse and made for Wales, where they expected the Catholics to rise. They were followed by the sheriff and his men. The house they were in—Holbach House in Staffordshire—was surrounded. Preferring immediate death to the lingering agonies of an execution, they presented themselves to their besiegers at the windows, and were shot. Some few appeared, sword in hand, at the door, and the house was set on fire. Rookwood, severely wounded, Digby, Littleton, and Winter were taken prisoners and carried to London, Tresham was arrested in the city, and the plot was at an end.



THE OLD LION HOTEL, DUNCHURCH, WARWICK

Priests, and particularly the Jesuits Garnett and Greenway, were suspected of guilty knowledge, if not of more; but the faithfulness of all except Tresham, and Bates, the servant of Catesby—the only one of ignoble blood concerned in the plan—was proof against every means used to make them implicate their spiritual guides. The traitors confessed the priests' participation in this and other treasons, the weight, however, of Tresham's revelation being

diminished by a retractation of it on his death-bed a few days after; but enough was proved to embitter a hundredfold the national enmity to the old religion. Even the Puritans, subdued and persecuted themselves, urged on more furious laws against the Catholics. The tortured death of all the survivors did not awaken the pity of a single Protestant heart; the crime was too great, the meditated slaughter too remorseless, and the consequences of success in their plans too appalling, to permit any sentiment but horror; and even the merit they claimed as zealous and obedient sons of the only true church was an addition to the hatefulness of their crime.

The king and parliament were therefore left at liberty, as far as public opinion went, to trample on the Catholics as they chose. Parliament accordingly passed sanguinary laws against the preachers of murder and rebellion, and James imposed fines upon the wealthy Romanists, to the great enlargement of his income. He levied a penalty on the earl of Northumberland of thirty thousand pounds, principally because he was chief of the family to which Percy, the conspirator, belonged; and having enriched himself with the spoil, and claimed all the glory of discovering the plot, he ordered a form of prayer and thanksgiving for his providential escape, which defaced the prayer-book by blasphemy and injustice for two hundred and fifty-four years, having only been authoritatively disused in 1859. There was great interest felt in the examination of Garnett, the Jesuit, as he was expected to make revelations compromising many who were still unsuspected. His talents and acquirements also made him a peculiar object of curiosity, and his "skill of fence" at his trial, though it could not save him from the savage insolence of Coke, gained him the admiration of the king. He was condemned and executed with several other Catholics, clerical and lay, and the Roman church took its usual revenge by converting a victim of the law into a martyr of the faith. Garnett was canonised as a saint.[e]

THE NEW PENAL CODE AGAINST THE CATHOLICS

After a long succession of debates, conferences, and amendments, the new code received the royal assent, May 27th, 1606. It repealed none of the laws then in force, but added to their severity by two new bills, containing more than seventy articles, inflicting penalties on the Catholics in all their several capacities of masters, servants, husbands, parents, children, heirs, executors, patrons, barristers, and physicians. (1) Catholic recusants were forbidden, under particular penalties, to appear at court, to dwell within the boundaries, or ten miles of the boundaries, of the city of London, or to remove on any occasion more than five miles from their homes, without a special license under the signatures of four neighbouring magistrates. (2) They were made incapable of practising in surgery or physic, or in the common or civil law; of acting as judges, clerks, or officers in any court or corporation; of presenting to the livings, schools, or hospitals in their gift; or of performing the offices of administrators, executors, or guardians. (3) Husbands and wives, unless they had been married by a Protestant minister, were made to forfeit every benefit to which he or she might otherwise be entitled from the property of the other; unless their children were baptised by a Protestant minister within a month after the birth, each omission subjected them to a fine of one hundred pounds; and if, after death, they were not buried in a Protestant cemetery, their executors were liable to pay for each corpse the sum of twenty pounds. (4) Every child sent for education beyond the sea was

from that moment debarred from taking any benefit by devise, descent, or gift, until he should return and conform to the established church, all such benefit being assigned by law to the Protestant next of kin. (5) Every recusant was placed in the same situation as if he had been excommunicated by name; his house might be searched, his books and furniture, having or thought to have any relation to his worship or religion, might be burned, and his horses and arms might be taken from him at any time by order of the neighbouring magistrates. (6) All the existing penalties for absence from church were continued.

But two improvements were added: (1) It was made optional in the king whether he would take the fine of twenty pounds per lunar month, or in lieu of it all the personal and two-thirds of the real estate; and (2) every householder, of whatever religion, receiving Catholic visitors, or keeping Catholic servants, was liable to pay for each individual ten pounds per lunar month. The first of these two enactments led to an additional and perhaps unintended grievance. Hitherto the power reserved to the king of entering into possession of two-thirds of a recusant's lands could be exercised only in punishment of his default by the non-payment of the fine of twenty pounds per month; but now that it had become optional on the king's part, at any time, whether the fines had been paid or not, the royal favourites were not slow to discover the benefit which it might enable them to derive from the indulgence of the sovereign. They prevailed on James to make over to them a certain number of the most opulent recusants, who, to prevent the two-thirds of their lands from being seized at the suit of the crown, would deem it advisable to compound with the grantees, whatever sacrifices such composition might cost them.

But that which effectually broke the power of the Catholic body in England, by dividing them into two parties marshalled against each other, was the enactment of a new oath of allegiance, for the avowed purpose of drawing a distinction between those Catholics who denied and those who admitted the temporal pretensions of the pontiff. The former, who it was supposed would take the oath, were made liable by law to no other penalties than those which have been enumerated; the latter were subjected to perpetual imprisonment, and the forfeiture of their personal property and of the rents of their lands during life; or, if they were married women, to imprisonment in the common jail until they should repent of their obstinacy and submit to take the oath. When these enactments were published, they excited surprise and dismay. The French ambassador pronounced them characteristic of barbarians rather than Christians; the lords of the council, ashamed of their own work, deliberated on expedients to mitigate their severity; and many Catholics, alarmed at the prospect before them, bade adieu to their native country, while those who remained animated each other to forfeit their liberty, property, and lives, rather than forsake their religion.

COURT LIFE UNDER JAMES

When James prorogued the parliament in 1606 he had been more than three years on the throne, and yet had made no progress in the esteem, had acquired no place in the affections of his English subjects. It was in vain that he sought by speeches and proclamations to earn the reputation of political wisdom; his inattention to business and his love of dissipation provoked remonstrances and complaints. Twice in the week the king of England devoted

his time to the amusements of the cockpit;[1] day after day the chase kept him on horseback from the dawn till the evening; and the fatigue of the chase was always relieved by the pleasures of the table, in which he frequently indulged to excess. The consequence was that questions of great national importance were suffered to remain unnoticed; and not only foreign ambassadors, but even his own ministers were occasionally debarred, during weeks together, from all access to the royal presence. On their knees they prayed him to give more attention to the public business; anonymous writers admonished him of his duty by letters; the players held up his foibles to ridicule on the stage; but the king was not to be moved. He replied that he did not intend to make himself a slave; that his health, which "was the health and welfare of them all," required exercise and relaxation; and that he would rather retrace his steps to Scotland than consent to be immured in his closet or chained to the council-table.[2]

His consort, Anne of Denmark, had brought with her as her dower the Shetlands and the Orkneys, which for the last century had been pawned to the crown of Scotland. This princess could boast of some pretensions to beauty, to which she added considerable abilities and spirit. She hesitated not to avow her contempt for the weakness of the king, and on some occasions presumed even to dispute the royal authority. To display to advantage the grace of her person and the richness of her dress, to shine the first among her ladies in a succession of balls and masks, became her principal study. No expense, no decoration, was spared to give splendour to these entertainments; the first poets of the age were employed to compose the speeches, the first artists to frame the machinery; and Anne herself, with her favourite attendants, surprised and delighted the court by appearing successively in the disguise of a goddess or a nereid, of a Turkish sultana or an Indian princess. There was, however, one drawback from the pleasure of such exhibitions, which will hardly be anticipated by the reader. Inebriety at this period was not confined to the male sex, and on some occasions females of the highest distinction, who had spent weeks in the study of their respective parts, presented themselves to the spectators in a state of the most disgusting intoxication.

James had scarcely recovered from the panic excited by the gunpowder treason when he was alarmed by an insurrection in the very heart of the kingdom. It was provoked by the rapacity of the lords of manors, who had enclosed for their own use large parcels of lands which had hitherto been common, and had thus diminished the usual means of subsistence to their poorer tenants. The practice was begun by those who, having obtained church lands during the Reformation, sought to make the most of their new possessions; and it had been continued to the reign of James, in defiance of popular tumults, legislative enactments, and royal proclamations. There was no grievance which the people felt more keenly, or which they were more disposed to redress by open violence. Suddenly lawless assemblages of men, women, and children were observed in the three counties of Northampton,

[1] The fee of the master of the cocks, two hundred pounds per annum, was equal to the united salaries of two secretaries of state.

[2] The players represented him in his passion, sometimes cursing his hounds and falcons, sometimes striking his servants, and drinking to intoxication at least once a day.—BODERIE.[m] On one occasion the king's favourite dog Jowler, which had been lost, returned with the following letter tied to his neck: "Good Mr. Jowler, we pray you speak to the king (for he hears you every day, and so doth he not us), that it will please his majestie to go back to London, for els the contry wil be undoon: all our provision is spent already, and we are not able to intertayne him longer."—LODGE.[n]

[1607 A.D.]

Warwick, and Leicester, May 15th. They seldom amounted to less than one thousand men; at Hill Norton, the former estate of Francis Tresham, they reached to three thousand, at Cottesbich to five thousand. They appeared to be under the guidance of certain unknown persons, who were never seen in public without masks; Reynolds, the avowed leader, took the name of Captain Pouch, from an enormous pouch which he carried on one side. This man was an impostor or an enthusiast. He pretended to act under the inspiration of God and with the license of the king; he pronounced himself invulnerable, and declared that he carried in his pouch a spell which would insure success to his followers. He strictly forbade them to use profane words, to employ personal violence, or to perform any illegal act, which was not necessary for the abatement of the new enclosures. They faithfully obeyed his orders.

The park walls were demolished, fences levelled, and dikes filled up. Wherever the rioters appeared the inhabitants received them with expressions of joy, and through fear or affection supplied them with tools and provisions. If any gentleman ventured to remonstrate, he was immediately placed among the labourers and compelled to join in the work of demolition. The insurgents were commanded by proclamation, May 27th, to disperse; but they maintained that their occupation was lawful. Several bodies of horse were gradually formed; they hastened to the disturbed districts and traversed them in every direction, charging, routing, and slaying the insurgents wherever they attempted to make resistance. To the commissioners appointed to punish the guilty, James recommended moderation and pity. Captain Pouch and his chief associates suffered as traitors, because they had appeared in arms against the king; several of his followers as felons, because they had not dispersed at the reading of the proclamation.



ANNE OF DENMARK
(1574–1619)

In the estimation of thinking men the ministers were not less culpable than their sovereign. If he displayed no solicitude to establish himself in the affections of his English subjects, they were thought too willing to indulge him in that indolence and dissipation which transferred to them in a great measure the government of the kingdom. The chief among them were Cecil (who in 1604 had been created Viscount Cranborne, and in the next year earl of Salisbury) and Henry Howard, earl of Northampton, who, from sworn brothers and associates, had at last become rivals in the pursuit of wealth and power. But it was not long before Salisbury secured the ascendancy. His slow and cautious policy, the fertility with which he invented expedients to disguise his own projects, and the sagacity with which he discovered the real or imaginary designs of foreign courts, endeared him to the timid and suspicious disposition of James, and the familiar appellation of "my little beagle" proved the high place which he held in the estimation of the sporting monarch.

EFFORT AT UNION OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

Among the projects which James had formed there was one upon which he had set his heart, but in which he was strongly opposed by the prejudices of his subjects of both nations. His accession had given to England and Scotland the same head; he wished to unite them in one body. Their obedience to a common sovereign had removed the ancient causes of hostility; but the king looked to a more perfect incorporation, which should communicate to all his subjects the same rights, and should make them all amenable to the same laws. It was a magnificent but a premature and therefore an imprudent design. The name of union was received with horror by the Scots, who associated with the sound the idea of national subjection; by the English with scorn, as an invitation given to their poorer neighbours to descend from their mountains and fatten on the good things of the land. The liberality of the king to his Scottish followers had created a strong prejudice against any measure which might draw more of his countrymen into England; and the pretensions of the Scottish nobility to take precedence according to the antiquity of their titles had alarmed the pride of many among the English peers who belonged to new families, the descendants of men ennobled since the Reformation.

By the English parliament the king's proposal was received with coldness, by the Scottish with aversion; nor could the prayer of James obtain from the former nor his threats extort from the latter anything more than the appointment of commissioners to meet and deliberate on the question. These, after several conferences, agreed December 2nd, 1607, that all hostile laws between the two kingdoms ought to be repealed; that the border courts and customs should be abolished; that there should be free intercourse of trade throughout the king's dominions, and that the subjects of each should be naturalised in the other. Though these propositions did not equal the expectations of James, he was content to accept them as a foundation for the superstructure which he meditated, and therefore assumed by proclamation the new style of king of Great Britain.[1] When, however, they were laid before the parliament, the first two only were adopted. The king addressed the commons by letter; he harangued them in person; he detailed the advantages of the proposed measures; he answered their objections; he assured them of his equal attachment to his subjects of each nation. But his eloquence was poured in vain; it only provoked angry discussions, in which his own conduct was not spared, and the foulest aspersions were thrown on the national character of his countrymen. Such language exasperated the pride of the Scots; they scorned a benefit which was grudged to them by the jealousy of their opponents; and the inflexible hostility of the two people compelled the king to withdraw his favourite question from the consideration of either parliament.

He had, however, the means of establishing the naturalisation of all his subjects in both kingdoms by a decision in the courts of law. During the conferences several of the judges had given their opinion that all persons born under the king's obedience[2] were by that very circumstance naturalised in

[1 James I was very fond of calling himself "king of Great Britain," a geographical description which reminds one of Canute's "king of all England." And the same style was freely used by his successors. But the kingdom of Great Britain did not really begin till Anne's Act of Union. The more accurate though rarer style of the Stuarts is "king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland."—GARDINER.]

[2 From being born after his accession they were called the *Post-nati*.]

all places under his dominion at the time of their birth; a doctrine most important in its consequences; for, though it excluded the generation in existence at his accession, yet it comprehended all that followed it, and would of course confer in a few years the benefit of naturalisation on all the natives of both countries. James was careful to inculcate this doctrine in the proclamation by which he assumed his new title, and it was supported by ten out of eleven judges who were consulted by the house of lords. But the commons refused to submit to their authority; and, to bring the question to an issue, two suits, one in the chancery, another in the king's bench, were instituted in the name of Robert Calvin, a native of Scotland, born since the death of Elizabeth. The right of the *post-nati* was thus established; though the legality of the decision remained still a question amongst the most eminent lawyers, many of whom contended that the opinion of the judges had been influenced by the wishes of the sovereign.[k]

CROWN VS. COMMONS

It is most probable, as experience had indicated, that a demonstration of displeasure from Elizabeth, such as James had shown, would have insured the repentant submission of the commons. But within a few years of the most unbroken tranquillity there had been one of those changes of popular feeling which a government is seldom observant enough to watch. Two springs had kept in play the machine of her administration: affection and fear; attachment arising from the sense of dangers endured and glory achieved for her people, tempered, though not subdued, by the dread of her stern courage and vindictive rigour. For James not a particle of loyal affection lived in the hearts of the nation, while his easy and pusillanimous though choleric disposition had gradually diminished those sentiments of apprehension which royal frowns used to excite. The commons, after some angry speeches, resolved to make known to the king, through the speaker, their desire that he would listen to no private reports, but take his information of the house's meaning from themselves; that he would give leave to such persons as he had blamed for their speeches to clear themselves in his hearing; and that he would by some gracious message make known his intention that they should deliver their opinions with full liberty and without fear.

The speaker next day communicated a slight but civil answer he had received from the king, importing his wish to preserve their privileges, especially that of liberty of speech. This, however, did not prevent his sending a message a few days afterwards, commenting on their debates, and on some clauses they had introduced into the bill for the abolition of all hostile laws. And a petition having been prepared by a committee under the house's direction for better execution of the laws against recusants, the speaker, on its being moved that the petition be read, said that his majesty had taken notice of the petition as a thing belonging to himself, concerning which it was needless to press him. This interference provoked some members to resent it as an infringement of their liberties. The speaker replied that there were many precedents in the late queen's time where she had restrained the house from meddling in politics of divers kinds. This, as a matter of fact, was too notorious to be denied. A motion was made for a committee "to search for precedents of ancient as well as later times that do concern any messages from the sovereign magistrate, king or queen of this realm, touching petitions offered to the house of commons." The king now interposed by a second message, that, though the petition were such as the like had not been read in the house, and

contained matter whereof the house could not properly take knowledge, yet, if they thought good to have it read, he was not against the reading. And the commons were so well satisfied with this concession that no further proceedings were had; and the petition, says the Journal, was at length, with general liking, agreed to sleep. It contained some strong remonstrances against ecclesiastical abuses, and in favour of the deprived and silenced Puritans, but such as the house had often before in various modes brought forward.

The ministry betrayed, in a still more pointed manner, their jealousy of any interference on the part of the commons with the conduct of public affairs in a business of a different nature. The pacification concluded with Spain in 1604, very much against the general wish,[1] had neither removed all grounds of dispute between the governments, nor allayed the dislike of the nations. Spain advanced in that age the most preposterous claims to an exclusive navigation beyond the tropic, and to the sole possession of the American continent; while the English merchants, mindful of the lucrative adventures of the queen's reign, could not be restrained from trespassing on the rich harvest of the Indies by contraband and sometimes piratical voyages. These conflicting interests led of course to mutual complaints of maritime tyranny and fraud; neither likely to be ill-founded, where the one party was as much distinguished for the despotic exercise of vast power as the other by boldness and cupidity.

It was the prevailing bias of the king's temper to keep on friendly terms with Spain, or rather to court her with undisguised and impolitic partiality. But this so much thwarted the prejudices of his subjects, that no part, perhaps, of his administration had such a disadvantageous effect on his popularity. The merchants presented to the commons, in the session of 1607, a petition upon the grievances they sustained from Spain, entering into such a detail of alleged cruelties as was likely to exasperate that assembly. Nothing, however, was done for a considerable time, when, after receiving the report of a committee on the subject, the house prayed a conference with the lords. They, who acted in this and the preceding session as the mere agents of government, intimated in their reply that they thought it an unusual matter for the commons to enter upon, and took time to consider about a conference. After some delay this was granted, and Sir Francis Bacon reported its result to the lower house. The earl of Salisbury managed the conference on the part of the lords. The tenor of his speech, as reported by Bacon, is very remarkable. After discussing the merits of the petition, and considerably extenuating the wrongs imputed to Spain, he adverted to the circumstance of its being presented to the commons.

The crown of England was invested, he said, with an absolute power of peace and war; and inferred, from a series of precedents which he vouched, that petitions made in parliament, intermeddling with such matters, had gained little success; that great inconveniences must follow from the public debate of a king's designs, which, if they take wind, must be frustrated; and that, if parliaments have ever been made acquainted with matter of peace or war in a general way, it was either when the king and council conceived that it was material to have some declaration of the zeal and affection of the people, or else when they needed money for the charge of a war, in which case

[1] James entertained the strange notion that the war with Spain ceased by his accession to the throne. By a proclamation dated June 23rd, 1603, he permits his subjects to keep such ships as had been captured by them before the 24th of April, but orders all taken since to be restored to the owners.—Rymer. He had been used to call the Dutch rebels, and was probably kept with difficulty by Cecil from displaying his partiality still more outrageously.

they should be sure enough to hear of it; that the lords would make a good construction of the commons' desire, that it sprang from a forwardness to assist his majesty's future resolutions, rather than a determination to do that wrong to his supreme power which haply might appear to those who were prone to draw evil inferences from their proceedings. The commons seem to have acquiesced in this rather contemptuous treatment. Several precedents indeed might have been opposed to those of the earl of Salisbury, wherein the commons, especially under Richard II and Henry VI, had assumed a right of advising on matters of peace and war. But the more recent usage of the constitution did not warrant such an interference. It was, however, rather a bold assertion that they were not the proper channel through which public grievances, or those of so large a portion of the community as the merchants, ought to be represented to the throne.

During the interval of two years and a half that elapsed before the commencement of the next session a decision had occurred in the court of exchequer which threatened the entire overthrow of the constitution. It had always been deemed the indispensable characteristic of a limited monarchy, however irregular and inconsistent might be the exercise of some prerogatives, that no money could be raised from the subject without the consent of the estates. This essential principle was settled in England, after much contention, by the statute entitled Confirmatio Chartarum, in the twenty-fifth year of Edward I. More comprehensive and specific in its expression than the Magna Charta of John, it abolishes all "aids, tasks, and prises, unless by the common assent of the realm, and for the common profit thereof, saving the ancient aids and prises due and accustomed"; the king explicitly renouncing the custom he had lately set on wool.

Henry VII, the most rapacious, and Henry VIII, the most despotic of English monarchs, did not presume to violate this acknowledged right. The first who had again recourse to this means of enhancing the revenue was Mary, who in the year 1557 set a duty upon cloths exported beyond seas, and afterwards another on the importation of French wines. The former of those was probably defended by arguing that there was already a duty on wool; and if cloth, which was wool manufactured, could pass free, there would be a fraud on the revenue. The merchants, however, did not acquiesce in this arbitrary imposition, and as soon as Elizabeth's accession gave hopes of a restoration of English government they petitioned to be released from this burden. The administration, however, would not release this duty, which continued to be paid under Elizabeth. She also imposed one upon sweet wines. We read of no complaint in parliament against this novel taxation; but it is alluded to by Bacon, in one of his tracts during the queen's reign, as a grievance alleged by her enemies. He defends it as laid only on a foreign merchandise, and a delicacy which might be forborne.

James had imposed a duty of five shillings per hundredweight on currants, over and above that of two shillings and sixpence, which was granted by the statute of tonnage and poundage. Bates, a Turkey merchant, having refused payment, an information was exhibited against him in the exchequer. Judgment was soon given for the crown. The courts of justice, it is hardly necessary to say, did not consist of men conscientiously impartial between the king and the subject; some corrupt with hope of promotion, many more fearful of removal, or awe-struck by the frowns of power. The speeches of the chief baron Fleming, and of the baron Clark, the only two that are preserved in Lane's *Reports*, contain propositions still worse than their decision, and wholly subversive of all liberty. "The king's power," it was said, "is double—

ordinary and absolute; and these have several laws and ends. All customs (duties so called) are the effects of foreign commerce; but all affairs of commerce and all treaties with foreign nations belong to the king's absolute power; he therefore who has power over the cause must have it also over the effect. The seaports are the king's gates, which he may open and shut to whom he pleases." The ancient customs on wine and wool are asserted to have originated in the king's absolute power, and not in a grant of parliament; a point, whether true or not, of no great importance, if it were acknowledged that many statutes had subsequently controlled this prerogative. But these judges impugned the authority of statutes derogatory to their idol. That of 45 E. 3, c. 4, that no new imposition should be laid on wool or leather, one of them maintains, did not bind the king's successors; for the right to impose such duties was a part of the crown of England, which the king could not diminish.

They extolled the king's grace in permitting the matter to be argued, commenting at the same time on the insolence shown in disputing so undeniable a claim. Nor could any judges be more peremptory in resisting an attempt to overthrow the most established precedents than were these barons of King James' exchequer in giving away those fundamental liberties which were the inheritance of every Englishman. The immediate consequence of this decision was a book of rates, published in July, 1608, under the authority of the great seal, imposing heavy duties upon almost all merchandise. But the judgment of the court of exchequer did not satisfy men jealous of the crown's encroachments. The imposition on currants had been already noticed as a grievance by the house of commons in 1606. But the king answered that the question was in a course for legal determination; and the commons themselves, which is worthy of remark, do not appear to have entertained any clear persuasion that the impost was contrary to law. In the session, however, which began in February, 1610, they had acquired new light by sifting the legal authorities, and instead of submitting their opinions to the courts of law, which were in truth little worthy of such deference, were the more provoked to remonstrate against the novel usurpation those servile men had endeavoured to prop up.

Remonstrances Against Impositions

Lawyers, as learned probably as most of the judges, were not wanting in their ranks. The illegality of impositions was shown in two elaborate speeches by Hakewill and Yelverton. And the country gentlemen, who, though less deeply versed in precedents, had too good sense not to discern that the next step would be to levy taxes on their lands, were delighted to find that there had been an old English constitution, not yet abrogated, which would bear them out in their opposition. When the king therefore had intimated by a message, and afterwards in a speech, his command not to enter on the subject, couched in that arrogant tone of despotism which this absurd prince affected, they presented a strong remonstrance against this inhibition; claiming "as an ancient, general, and undoubted right of parliament to debate freely all matters which do properly concern the subject; which freedom of debate being once foreclosed, the essence of the liberty of parliament is withal dissolved. For the judgment given by the exchequer, they take not on them to review it, but desire to know the reasons whereon it was grounded; especially as it was generally apprehended that the reasons of that judgment extended much farther, even to the utter ruin of the ancient liberty of this kingdom, and of the subjects' right of property in their lands and goods."[h]

FIRST SETTLEMENT OF VIRGINIA

The commerce of the country had become an important source of its wealth; and if the king could tax merchandise without the consent of parliament, the one great restraint upon despotic power would soon be swept away. At this period there were two events connected with commerce far more important to the England of the future than in their immediate consequences, which require especial notice: the colonisation of North America, and the charter to the East India Company. The attempts to colonise North America in the time of Elizabeth had been failures. The adventurers were generally men unaccustomed to labour, and they went to lands where they believed that the fruits of the earth would merely require gathering, as in the golden age, to find that starvation could only be averted by the most incessant toil. Roanoke, the island which Grenville planted under the auspices of Raleigh, had been deserted in 1590; and whether the few colonists had perished, or had been received amongst the friendly Indian tribes, was always uncertain, although Raleigh had never lost hope of discovering them, whilst he could reward any mariners for the search. He had spent, it is said, £40,000 in his noble efforts to plant an English colony on the northern coasts of the New World. He was a state prisoner; he was defrauded of his property by his rapacious sovereign; he was filling his declining years with high contemplation instead of heroic action. But the example of his perseverance survived his misfortunes.

The colonisation of North America was still the hope of generous statesmen and bold mariners. Voyage after voyage was undertaken. Bartholomew Gosnold, having been the first to cross the Atlantic by a direct course in 1602, discovered the promontory to which he gave no dignified name, Cape Cod, and he laid the foundation of the first New England colony on Elizabeth island. Martin Pring, in 1603, surveyed the coast of Maine. George Weymouth, in 1605, ascended the western branch of the Penobscot. The undying spirit of enterprise which Raleigh had first fostered received at length some encouragement from the government. In 1606 James granted the first charters for colonising North America to a London company, and to a Plymouth company. That same year the London or South Virginia Company sent out three ships, with one hundred and five men who were to remain as settlers. The sagacity of Raleigh had pointed out the Chesapeake Bay as a favourable place of settlement. A storm drove these adventurers into that magnificent anchorage. The two headlands were named Cape Henry and Cape Charles; and having ascended a fine river which they named after their king, they planted their colony in a pleasant spot and called it Jamestown.

Newport, the commander of the ships, and John Smith, a man whose name will be ever associated with the colonisation of America, ascended the James River and saw the Indian chieftain Powhatan. The savages were hostile to the strangers; "the emperor of the country," as Powhatan was styled, protected them. But gradually the colonists, unused to manual labour, perished of want and disease. Newport left for England. Some of the leaders had serious contentions. The evil destiny of Roanoke seemed to be coming on Jamestown. But Smith, who was endowed with many of the high qualities of the Elizabethan age, rallied the hopes of the dispirited and calmed the jealousies of the quarrelsome. His fortitude never failed. He restored order, and again went forth in the summer of 1608 for new discoveries. A second body of emigrants came to join the Virginian colony. The London Company required that the ship which brought them should return with gold,

or laden with commodities. The settlers had accomplished no accumulations. It had been difficult to preserve their own existence. The company, with the same ignorance of colonial organisation which prevailed for two centuries, had thought that the unskilled and the idle, who would starve at home, might prosper in another hemisphere. Smith wrote to the corporation that when they sent again they should rather send but thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons, and even diggers up of the roots of trees, than a thousand such as had last come out. But still the energy of the man triumphed. He taught the gentlemen the use of the axe and the spade, and industry slowly achieved its rewards. A new charter was granted in 1609.

The rage for emigration extended. Other ships arrived, with men of broken fortunes and dissolute gallants. Smith still maintained his authority over the useless members of the community. But he was disabled by an accident, and he returned impoverished and enfeebled to England. When he left, there were four hundred and ninety persons in the colony. In six months they were reduced by their idleness and their excesses to sixty. The settlement was about to be abandoned when, in 1610, a new body of emigrants arrived under the leadership of Lord Delawarr, who had been appointed governor of Virginia. There was again a glimmering of prosperity; but ill-health compelled the return of the wise governor to England. In 1611 the council at home exerted itself to prevent the great scheme of American colonisation from utterly failing; and six ships, with three hundred emigrants and abundant supplies, arrived at Jamestown, under Sir Thomas Gates. A distribution of land to each emigrant as his private property gave a new stimulus to industry. The Virginian colony went on to prosper. Its members found more certain riches than mines of gold in the cultivation of tobacco. Their prosperity was confirmed by their free institutions. In 1621 they obtained a representative constitution, in which the object of government was declared to be "the greatest comfort and benefit to the people, and the prevention of injustice, grievances, and oppression."

Such were the vicissitudes which attended the first settlement of the Anglo-Saxon race on the North American continent. There was another colony formed fourteen years later, whose planters went to their task in a solemn spirit. The congregation of separatists from the church of England, who with their pastor, John Robinson, had become exiles in Holland in 1608, had thought much of the settlements in North America.[1] They had obtained a patent from the London Company, and they obtained funds, on very hard terms, from London merchants. They purchased the Speedwell, a vessel of forty tons, and hired the Mayflower, of a hundred and eighty tons. On the 22nd of July, 1620, having left some of the brethren at Leyden, they embarked at Delfshaven. Robinson, their pastor, did not accompany them, but he knelt on the shore as the emigrants ascended the decks of the Mayflower and gave them his blessings and his prayers. This event, so insignificant as it must have seemed at the time, so all-important in the real history of England, now forms the subject of a fresco in the house of lords. After a long and stormy voyage, the Pilgrim Fathers, as they are now affectionately called, reached Massachusetts Bay, at a spot which they afterwards determined to call Plymouth. As Bancroft says: "A grateful posterity has marked the rock which first received their footsteps. The consequences of that day are constantly unfolding themselves as time advances. It was the origin of New England; it was the planting of the New England institutions."

[1 The details of the history of these Pilgrims will be found in the history of Holland, and in the history of the American colonies in Volume xxii.]

CHARTER OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

On the last day of the sixteenth century a charter was granted by Queen Elizabeth to a body of adventurers, styled the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies. This charter was limited, in its exclusive liberty of trading, to the term of fifteen years, and was to be renewed if the privileges so granted were not found "prejudicial or hurtful to this our realm." A direct commercial intercourse with India had been previously carried on by the Turkey Company; but the maritime trade had been in the possession first of the Portuguese and afterwards of the Dutch. The English could not compete with these rivals, whilst the merchandise in which they trafficked was burdened with the heavier cost of an overland route. The trade of England with the East Indies was henceforth to be carried on by sea. During the reign of Elizabeth the success of the new company was very doubtful. Their privileges were invaded by James at the beginning of his reign. But in 1609 their charter was renewed without limitation of time; several voyages were attended with large profits; and in 1612 the Englishman planted his foot in India,[1] having obtained permission from the Great Mogul to establish a factory at Surat.[d]

AFFAIRS OF IRELAND AND SCOTLAND

One of the most important national events of the reign was the colonisation of the north of Ireland. On the suppression of the rebellion of the Desmonds in the late reign, their immense territories had become forfeit to the crown. A plan of colonisation was adopted, and the lands were parcelled out among undertakers (as they were named) at low rents. The grants, however, were too large and the conditions were not duly complied with; so that though Munster thus received a large accession of English blood (the stock of its nobility and gentry of the present day), the experiment was a failure. After the accession of James, the great northern chieftains O'Neil and O'Donnell fled to Spain, and their territories, amounting to half a million of acres, fell to the crown. The king and Bacon then devised a system of colonisation which was carried into effect by Sir Arthur Chichester, the lord deputy. The grants were to be in three classes of two thousand, fifteen hundred, and one thousand acres. Those who obtained the first were to build a castle and a bawn, or strong court-yard; the next a house of stone or brick and a bawn; the third a bawn only. They were all bound to plant on their lands, in certain proportions, able-bodied men of English or Lowland-Scottish birth, who were to live in villages and not dispersedly. A portion of these lands was also granted to the native Irish. This was a noble plan; and though, like everything designed for the benefit of that unhappy country, the cupidity and injustice of those who sought their profit in oppressing the natives prevented its attaining its object fully, it has been productive of great and permanent benefit; and what was formerly the wildest and most barbarous part of Ireland is now that which in industry makes the nearest approach to England.

In the fifteenth year of his reign (1617) the king had revisited his native realm. The chief object of his visit was to extend his power in matters of

[1 The history of the colonisation of India will be found in Volume xxi.]

religion, and to seek to approximate the churches of England and Scotland. In this last country, between the avidity of the great lords, who had robbed the church of its landed property without shame or remorse, the fanatic spirit of the reformed preachers, and the feebleness of the crown, the ancient system of church government had been unable to keep its ground. Episcopacy had been formally abolished, and the republican form named Presbytery erected in its place. But man is still man, under all forms; and the revolters against spiritual tyranny, pious and well-intentioned as they undoubtedly were, even exceeded the pretensions of their predecessors; and since the days of Becket, Britain had witnessed no such assumptions of immunity from civil jurisdiction as were put forth by Melville, Black, and other champions of the church and opposers of the crown in Scotland. Their conduct, however, having led to a tumult in Edinburgh, in which the king ran some risk, the parliament was induced to pass a law establishing the authority of the crown over the clergy, and the king succeeded in obtaining the consent of the clergy to his appointment of fifty-one of their number to titular prelacies, who were to sit in parliament as representatives of the church. In this state of things James had succeeded to the crown of England.

In 1606 an act of the legislature restored to the bishops a part of their revenues; they were some time after made perpetual moderators of the provincial synods, and they finally (1610) regained all their original powers, the rights of ordination and spiritual jurisdiction being vested in them. When the king visited Scotland (1617) he required that some of the rites of the church of England should be adopted, such as kneeling at the eucharist, giving it to persons on their death-bed, and the practice of confirmation by a bishop. These were rejected by the first assembly which was convened, but the following year means were found for having them received, and the Scottish clergy were thus brought into a reluctant agreement with the church, which they regarded as little better than that of Rome. The state of religion in England during this reign was far from satisfactory. After the death of Archbishop Whitgift (1603) the king had conferred the primacy on Bancroft, bishop of London, a prelate distinguished by his zeal against presbytery and Puritanism. The Puritan ministers underwent the persecution of being silenced, disgraced, and imprisoned, while Bancroft lived; but his successor, Abbot, a far better man, had a leaning toward their opinions, and they now experienced favour rather than the reverse.

Hitherto the Protestants in general had held most of the opinions which are termed Calvinistic, especially on the subject of predestination, or the absolute decrees of the Deity, as it was explained in the writings of St. Augustine; but about this time the milder doctrine of the Greek fathers had been promulgated in Holland by Arminius, from whom it was henceforth named. James, who had been reared in the opposite sentiment, was quite outraged, when Vorstius, who held these opinions, was appointed to a professorship at Leyden. The states, to propitiate him, were obliged to deprive and banish their new professor; indeed, the king hinted that they might as well have committed him to the flames. Yet James himself, and a portion of the prelates and clergy, afterwards adopted the Arminian tenets. It is rather curious, that those who thus became the most strenuous asserters of the freedom of man's will were the great upholders of the doctrines of divine right and passive obedience.[1]

[1] The following anecdote is well known: "On the day of the dissolution of the last parliament of King James I, Edmund Waller, out of curiosity or respect, went to see the king at dinner, with whom were Andrewes, the bishop of Winchester, and Neile, the bishop of Dur-

The liberties of England owe so much to the Puritans that one feels little inclined to dwell on their errors; but justice requires that they should appear in their true colours, and not be suffered to make a monopoly, as it were, of virtue and goodness. In piety and in moral conduct they were, taken on the whole, superior to their opponents; but they were harsh and morose, inquisitorial and censorious, absurdly scrupulous about trifles, and the enemies of all pleasure and innocent recreation. The modes, however, of opposing them that were employed were injudicious. The persecution of them was of a kind calculated rather to annoy and irritate than to suppress, and the publication of the *Book of Sports*, though well intended, did more harm than good. The following was the occasion of it: The Puritans had been gradually converting the Christian Lord's Day into a Judaical Sabbath—not, we may observe, the Sabbath of the Mosaic law, in which, as at all their festivals, the people of Israel were "to rejoice before the Lord," but a gloomy, sullen day of hearing sermons and shunning all innocent recreations; and this, in their usual arbitrary spirit, they would have forced on all, whatever their opinions might be.

The Catholics naturally took occasion to censure the reformed religion for this gloom and morosity, and the king and his clerical advisers thinking differently from the Puritans on the subject, a proclamation was issued, forbidding anyone to prevent the people from having, after divine service, dancing, archery, leaping, vaulting, and other manly and harmless recreations, as also May-poles, May-games, Whitsun-ales, and morris-dances. Bull-baiting, bear-baiting, interludes, and bowls were prohibited. No recusant, however, was to have the benefit of this liberty, which was confined to those who had attended divine service that day. The *Book of Sports*, as it was termed, was ordered to be read out in the churches, but Primate Abbot forbade it to be read in his presence at Croydon, and it only served to give the Puritans an occasion of representing their opponents as being totally devoid of religion.

The houses of commons during this reign were deeply pervaded by the Puritanical spirit,[1] a proof of its prevalence throughout the nation. Hence with their zeal for repressing the abuses of the prerogative and securing the liberties of the people were joined an anxiety for the persecution of the Catholics and a continued effort to extend the rigid principles of their party.

THE GREAT CONTRACT; DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT

The strong remonstrance of the house of commons, in 1610, against impositions upon merchandise, was not a solitary act of public spirit. They had stood up, session after session, to protest against the theories of the king that he was absolute, and to make him comprehend that there was a power supe-

ham, standing behind his majesty's chair. There happened something very extraordinary in the conversation these prelates had with the king, on which Waller did often reflect. His majesty asked the bishops, 'My lords, cannot I take my subjects' money when I want it, without all this formality in parliament?' The bishop of Durham readily answered, 'God forbid, sir, but you should; you are the breath of our nostrils.' Whereupon the king turned and said to the bishop of Winchester, 'Well, my lord, what say you?' 'Sir,' replied the bishop, 'I have no skill to judge of parliamentary cases.' The king answered, 'No put-offs, my lord.' 'Then, sir,' said he, 'I think it is lawful for you to take my brother Neile's money, for he offers it.' Waller said the company was pleased with this answer, and the wit of it seemed to affect the king."

[1] When in 1621 a bill was brought into the commons for the more strict observance of the Sabbath, Shepherd opposed it; he objected to the word Sabbath, justified dancing on that day by the example of King David, and was for allowing sports on it. For this boldness he was, on the motion of Pym, expelled the house! Such were Puritanical notions of freedom of speech.

rior to his arbitrary will. He had issued proclamations which assumed the character of laws; and they told him it was "the indubitable right of the people of this kingdom not to be made subject to any punishment that shall extend to their lives, lands, bodies, or goods, other than such as are ordained by the common laws of this land, or the statutes made by their common consent in parliament." Whenever the king wanted a subsidy, the commons immediately preferred a petition for redress of grievances. Cecil had a scheme for making the crown to a great extent independent of parliament, by proposing that a fixed annual revenue of £200,000 should be granted, on condition that the king should give up the right of purveyance, and the various profits derived from wardships and other branches of ancient prerogative. The session of 1610 was chiefly employed in negotiations for this object, which was termed "the great contract with his majesty"; but nothing had been settled when parliament was prorogued in July. When parliament met again in October, the commons were out of humour. Not a grievance had been redressed, although a temporary subsidy had been granted in the expectation that some of the evils of which they had complained would have been removed or mitigated. In November James had become tired of the word grievance. He would dissolve parliament. He had been patient, but "he cannot have asinine patience." He was for punishing those members who had uttered offensive speeches, some of which he thought amounted nearly to treason. The parliament was dissolved on the 9th of February, 1611, after having sat nearly seven years.

England had now no foreign policy but that of an almost ignominious neutrality. The cause of Protestantism in Europe, which was at the same time the cause of civil liberty, had lost its great leader when Elizabeth died. The son of Mary Stuart had no opinions but those which resulted from his cowardice or his selfishness. When the reforming ministers lectured him in Scotland, he favoured the papists. Whilst the terrors of the Gunpowder Plot were uppermost in his mind, he was as staunch a Protestant as the sternest Puritan in his parliament. He naturally leaned upon that party in the church of England which supported his doctrine of absolute power. In his contempt for the opinions of his subjects he thrust episcopacy upon the kirk of Scotland. For the rights of conscience he had not the slightest regard. He exhorted the states of Holland to persecute Vorstius, an Arminian professor at Leyden. In 1612 he signed a writ for the burning in Smithfield of Bartholomew Legate, an Arian, whose errors he had vainly attempted to remove by argument. This writ was not a mere formal instrument, but expressed that, the church having delivered the offender to the secular power, as a blasphemous heretic, the king, "as a zealot of justice and a defender of the Catholic faith, and willing to maintain and defend the holy church and the rights and liberties of the same," holds that the said Bartholomew Legate "ought to be burned with fire." One other atrocity of the same kind was committed [the burning of Edward Wightman]—the last of such barbarities[1] which England witnessed.

To the "religious" King James is our present translation of the Bible dedicated. That translation was an excellent work, and it was right to dedicate it to the sovereign who had encouraged the undertaking. But it was in

[1] It seems strange to us that not a word was uttered against this horrible cruelty. When, a few years afterwards, a Spanish Arian was convicted of heresy, he was allowed to linger out the rest of his life in prison. This was bad enough, but it was at least a step in advance. Since the judicial murder of Wightman no such atrocity has disgraced the soil of England.—GARDINER.

the spirit of that dangerous adulation which hid realities from James, as they were hidden from his successor, that he was told in this dedication that his conduct in going forward "with the confidence and resolution of a man in maintaining the truth of Christ, and propagating it far and near, is that which hath so bound and firmly knit the hearts of all your majesty's loyal and religious people unto you, that your very name is precious amongst them; their eye doth behold you with comfort, and they bless you in their hearts as that sanctified person who, under God, is the immediate author of their true happiness." It might be supposed, the king being herein called "the mover and author of this work," that the Bible had not been previously known in England. The translation of 1611 was founded upon the Bishop's Bible of 1568; and that was founded upon Cranmer's Bible; which was founded upon the translations of the Old and New Testament of the earlier reformers—the Tyndale who was burned and the Wycliffe whose ashes were cast into the Avon. In such a work it was the part of true wisdom to deviate as little as possible from the text with which the people had become familiar, and which their forefathers had devoured when it was dangerous to possess it.[d]

THE REIGN OF THE FAVOURITES

Shortly after this commenced a period of favouritism and injustice, for a parallel to which we must go back to the times of Edward II and Richard II. James should have reflected on the dungeons of Berkeley and Pontefract when he devoted himself to his Carrs and Buckinghams. Carr was a Scottish adventurer, who owed his promotion to the beauty of his face and figure. He was loaded with wealth and honours, and was soon lord-chamberlain and viscount Rochester, with all the royal influence in his hands. While this unprincipled minion was fawned on by the king, the fate of the lady Arabella Stuart moved the compassion of the people. She was too near the throne, and had already played too prominent a part in Raleigh's plot to be looked on without anxiety; and when it was found that she had privately given her hand to William Seymour, second son of Lord Beauchamp, and almost her equal in rank by his descent from Mary, duchess of Suffolk, the sister of Henry VIII, the wrath of the timid genealogist knew no bounds. If a child should arise from their union combining the claims of both the parents, he was afraid his own sons, Henry and Charles, might be exposed to trouble; and to prevent so great a calamity he imprisoned the fair culprit and her husband in separate houses. By disguising in man's apparel, Arabella effected her escape June 4th, 1611; Seymour also broke away, and they had appointed a meeting-place abroad. The boat conveying Arabella was taken at sea. She was brought back, locked up, neglected, and harshly used. No interference in her favour was of any avail, and finally James rejoiced in the conclusion brought to his unfounded apprehensions by the insanity and death [after four years' imprisonment, September 27th, 1615] of a kinswoman as beautiful and as unfortunate as his mother herself had been.

Henry, the prince of Wales, was of nobler qualities than either his father or brother, if the early manifestations of his character are to be believed. Brave, ambitious, and generous, he attached many friends to his person, and cast the whole nation into sorrow when he died, November 6th, 1612, in his nineteenth year—the high church party looking forward to a reign of enterprise and war from the martial tastes he showed even in his amusements, and the Puritans anticipating a reign of reform and vigour from the strong Prot-

estantism of his expressions and the regularity and sobriety of his life. In a few months after this gloomy event the princess Elizabeth was married to the prince palatine of the Rhine; and the court was saddened by the absence of so much grace and beauty, not without some misgivings of the dark fortune through which she had to pass, as the neglected daughter of England and throneless queen of Bohemia. Charles was now the hope of the nation, and the father began to look about for a fitting match for the inheritor of his crown. First, however, he was to be the go-between in a love adventure of his creature Carr, now Viscount Rochester, which leaves an indelible stain on all the parties concerned.

A dishonourable affection sprang up between Rochester and the beautiful wife of the young earl of Essex, and the ambition of the guilty woman was directed to sharing the name and fortunes of the favourite. A plea was invented against the husband in order to obtain a divorce, and the advocacy of the king was secured by a fee of £25,000. James argued and canvassed, browbeat the bishops composing the court of inquiry, and threatened Abbot, who refused his consent, with the weight of his displeasure. The majority were won over, and sentence of separation was pronounced. But Rochester had a friend of the name of Sir Thomas Overbury, who strongly dissuaded him from marrying the divorced countess; and when he confided this opposition to his bride, the evil nature of her heart was roused to madness. She vowed the death of Overbury, and before the celebration of her wedding made interest to have him imprisoned in the Tower. She attempted to bribe a good swordsman to slay him in a duel; she then took the surer way of poison, and Overbury was found dead in his room, September 15th, 1613. Meantime the king celebrated the marriage with royal pomp,[1] created Viscount Rochester earl of Somerset, and seemed to be glad of Overbury's end, as delivering him from a rival in the new earl's regard.

From the day of Overbury's death Somerset seemed a miserable man. Cold-eyed and stern-browed the guilty couple looked upon each other; and no one in the haggard and pale Somerset could have recognised the gay and graceful Carr, nor in the brazen and yet subdued partner of his crime the bright and fascinating Frances Howard. Remorse was at work, and made wreck of their happiness and beauty. Nobody, however, would whisper the dark suspicion to the king till it began to be perceived that Somerset's influence was on the wane. One day there appeared at Whitehall a youth of surpassing beauty, whose education in the highest circles of France had given a polish to his manners and motions unknown in the English court. His name was George Villiers,[2] the youngest son of a good but impoverished family in Leicestershire, and the cunning politicians who had brought him to London, and had schooled him in his behaviour on his presentation, saw that the plan was successful, and that Somerset was in their power.

Somerset and his wife were accused of the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury as soon as Villiers was installed. Their accomplices were examined and

[1 James is said to have given his favourite estates, worth a million pounds.—Von Raumer.*q*]

[2 He was handsome and active, the most elegant dancer, the swiftest runner, etc.; he had the richest wardrobe, the greatest number of love intrigues, was the first who employed men to carry him in a chair, and the first who drove in a coach and six. He amused the king with singing, dances, *fêtes*, processions, and dramatic representations, and when more powerful incentives appeared necessary, was ready to assist in all kinds of indecent and vulgar amusements. Though in some points humbling himself, his pride was unbounded, his rapacity immoderate, and even the king was exposed to his caprice and insolence.—Von Raumer.*q*]

[1613-1616 A.D.]

tortured. One of these, a beautiful woman of the name of Turner, was a dealer in love philtres to gain the affections; and another, Simon Forman, an astrologer, who foretold the future by the stars. The philtres had degenerated into poison, and Anne Turner was hanged; but her services had been so valuable to the leaders of fashion in that most base and depraved period that many ladies of the highest rank attended her execution in token of regard. Others of the inferior culprits underwent the same fate, and expectation was on tiptoe for the trial, in May, 1616, of the earl and countess of Somerset, by whose orders the crime had been committed. Some inexplicable reason urged the king to avoid the publicity of a legal process. He promised them pardon, life, and riches if they would only confess, and put an end to all further inquiry. But Somerset was firm, and dared the king to proceed. A compromise was at last arranged, by which the prisoners were to appear, sentence was to be pronounced, and the royal pardon instantly bestowed. [The countess pleaded guilty.] Somerset, however, took the double chance of pleading "Not guilty," but was unanimously condemned. He abstained from any attack on James, and was rewarded with a retiring allowance of £4,000 a year, spending the rest of his life in the hateful company of his accomplice and regrets for his fallen estate.[e]



Cavalier of the Seventeenth Century

That James should have hesitated to shed the blood of persons with whom he had been on such terms of intimacy is not strange, and hardly censurable. But unfortunately there is room to suspect that this lenity was the effect of fear more than of clemency. The haughty and even menacing demeanour of Somerset, both before and after his conviction, and the mysterious terms in which he expressed his purposes of revenge; the solicitude of the king to have him assured that his life should not be taken, and to have him brought to trial in a more submissive state of mind than he had generally evinced in his present circumstances; and the character of the letters addressed to the monarch by Sir George More, the lieutenant of the Tower, on this subject—all are matters which show that Somerset was possessed of some secret which gave him a power that he was not slow to exercise over the fears of the king. It was to prevent the threatened disclosure that James promised all he could promise with any regard to decency. It should be added that there were menaces used by Overbury towards Somerset of the same nature with those now used by Somerset towards James, and the close confinement to which that person was subject

from the time of his commitment provokes the conclusion that he also was a depository of some dangerous secret, probably the same which was more successfully employed by his patron.

In what the secret of Somerset consisted a future day must disclose. That it related to some iniquitous matter is beyond doubt; nothing short of this could have produced the confidence of the one party or the apprehension of the other.[r] Spedding,[s] the biographer of Bacon, says: "And what was it then that the king had done, of which he so dreaded the discovery? This opened a wide field for conjecture. Any crime would do that was bad enough; and as there was no evidence to guide the guesser toward any one in particular, each chose the one he liked best; preference being generally given to that class of crimes which cannot be named, because in them evidence was less to be expected. With a general presumption like this against him, it would be hard for a man to get through his life without incurring suspicion of something in particular. And the king's conduct in the prosecution of this cause was found to supply some hints for the suspicious." Spedding ridicules the theory of a nameless crime, and believes that James acted normally in this matter. Many other historians, however, do not so absolve him. Gardiner[t] thinks it may have been some secret concerning the granting of Spanish pensions.[a]

In May, 1612, had died Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury. "He was a good statesman, and no ill member of the commonwealth," says Sir Simonds d'Ewes,[t] but he died amidst "a general hate, almost of all sorts." He had left an empty treasury,[1] which he had vainly attempted to fill by his scheme for a permanent revenue. The constant manifestation of an arbitrary temper on the part of the king, "willing to wound, but yet afraid to strike," made the commons cling with great tenacity to their undoubted power of refusing supplies. Hume[f] has said, with some truth, "except during sessions of parliament, the history of this reign may more properly be called the history of the court than that of the nation." But the exception is a very considerable one. During sessions of parliament we clearly trace how the nation was growing into a power truly formidable to the arbitrary disposition of the king and the selfish indulgences of the court. The parliament which, after an interval of four years, met on the 6th of April, 1614, was called not for any purpose of general legislation, but in the expectation that by proper management it might relieve the king's necessities. Bacon, then attorney-general, Sir Henry Neville, and some others undertook to bring the commons into a gracious frame of mind, by inducing the king to relax some of his claims of prerogative, which were called grievances, and thus to obtain a liberal supply. The scheme could not be concealed, and hence these politicians obtained the name of "undertakers." [2]

The king in his opening speech protested that it was as false as it would have been unworthy of himself that he should employ "private undertakers" who "would do great matters." Bacon laughed at the notion that private men should undertake for all the commons of England. In 1621 James openly acknowledged what he had before denied. Hallam[h] points to this circumstance as showing "the rise of a systematic parliamentary influence, which

[1 Elizabeth, stingy as she was, had scarcely succeeded in making both ends meet, and James, who had the expense of providing for a family, from which Elizabeth had been free, would hardly have been able to meet his expenditure even if he had been economical. He was, however, far from economical, and had given away lands and money to his Scottish favourites.—GARDINER.[u]]

[2 The undertakers were so called because they undertook to secure the return of candidates devoted to the king's interests.]

was one day to become the mainspring of government." Hume says, "so ignorant were the commons, that they knew not this incident to be the first infallible symptom of any regular or established liberty." The commons knew better than the historian, that, whatever might have been attempted under despotic princes, there was an ancient system of "regular or established liberty," which did not require any symptoms for its manifestation. They did not acknowledge what the historian has constantly inferred, that the notion of liberty was a sudden growth of the seventeenth century; "that the constitution of England was, at that time, an inconsistent fabric, whose jarring and discordant parts would soon destroy each other." They opposed the parliamentary influence because they dreaded corruption as much as they hated tyranny. The scheme of the undertakers was entirely unsuccessful. James uttered smooth words and made specious promises; but the commons, with one voice, passed a vote against the king's right of imposing customs at the outports without the consent of parliament. A supply was demanded, under a threat that if it were not given the parliament should be dissolved. The house passed to the question of impositions. There were various bills in progress.

After a session of two months of stormy debate, the parliament was dissolved, without a single bill being passed. It was named "the addled parliament." No other parliament was called till 1621. For eleven years the statute book is a blank. The king was not satisfied with the perilous measure of attempting to govern without a parliament, but he committed to the Tower five of the members of the house of commons who had been most strenuous in their opposition. He had to supply his necessities by fines in the Star Chamber, and by exercises of the prerogative which were galling and oppressive. His first great resource was a benevolence. Oliver St. John declined to contribute, and wrote a letter setting forth his reasons for refusal. He was brought into the Star Chamber, and was fined in the sum of £5,000. The courtiers would think this a mild punishment for one who had presumed to doubt the right of the king to put his hands into the pockets of his subjects —a king who had just told his disobedient parliament, "My integrity is like the whiteness of my robe, my purity like the metal of gold in my crown, my firmness and clearness like the precious stones I wear, and my affections natural like the redness of my heart." Such was the gabble of this ridiculous pedant upon solemn occasions. When he sat at table, with a crowd of listeners, he discoursed largely of his divine right to implicit obedience, and of the superiority of his prerogative over the laws and customs of England.

THE RISE OF VILLIERS; THE FALL OF COKE

By the death of the earl of Northampton, within a week of the dissolution of parliament, the king and his courtiers had an opportunity for a scramble to recruit their finances. The office of lord privy seal having become vacant, the occasion was embraced to effect what we should now call a partial change of ministry. But this change was accomplished in a way that would be rather startling in modern times. Some of the high offices were sold. Sir Fulke Greville paid £4,000 for the chancellorship of the exchequer. Inferior places went to the highest bidder. Somerset had sold the office of cup-bearer to George Villiers. He appears to have forgotten that another might supplant him in the favour of a king who dwelt on "good looks and handsome accoutrements." The cup-bearer was a dangerous rival. "His first introduction into

favour," says Clarendon,[v] "was purely from the handsomeness of his person." The history of the country, to the end of this reign, is in great part the personal history of George Villiers—the adventurer, who had in his capacity of the king's cup-bearer been "admitted to that conversation and discourse with which that prince always abounded at his meals." In a few weeks, continues Clarendon, he mounted higher; "and, being knighted, without any other qualification, he was at the same time made gentleman of the bed-chamber and knight of the order of the Garter; and in a short time (very short for such a prodigious ascent) he was made a baron, a viscount, an earl, a marquis, and became lord high admiral of England, lord-warden of the Cinque Ports, master of the horse, and entirely disposed of all the graces of the king, in conferring all the honours and all the offices of three kingdoms without a rival."

In 1615 Coke opposed his legal knowledge to the preliminary proceedings in a detestable act of tyranny. Edmund Peachum, a clergyman in Somersetshire, had his study broken open; and a manuscript sermon being there found in which there was strong censure of the extravagances of the king and the oppressions of his officers, the preacher was put to the rack, and interrogated "before torture, in torture, between torture, and after torture." He was suspected of treason, but this horrible severity could wring no confession from him. It was doubted whether the sermon itself could be received as an overt act of treason. Bacon was directed by the king to confer with the judges of the king's bench separately; to which Coke objected, as "not according to the custom of this realm." The other judges were tampered with. Coke at length gave an opinion, which evaded the question and did not confirm the king's arguments and that of the other unscrupulous judges that the sermon itself was treasonable. The unhappy man was, however, tried and condemned; but he died in jail. The chief justice again offended by contending that the equitable jurisdiction of the court of chancery ought not to be exercised after a judgment obtained at law. But his greatest offence was in demurring to the authority of a letter which Bacon had written at the king's desire, to direct that the court of king's bench should not proceed to judgment in a case which concerned the validity of the grant of a benefice to a bishop, in connection with his bishopric. Coke said that such a letter should be written to the judges of all the courts; and that being done, he induced them to take the honourable course of certifying to the king that they were bound by their oaths not to regard any such letters, which were contrary to law. The king went into one of his usual fits of rage when his prerogative was questioned, and called the twelve judges before him to answer for their disobedience. They all tamely yielded, with the exception of Coke. He was very shortly after first suspended from his office, and then dismissed.

It is not difficult to imagine, while such scandalous revelations and suspicions were rife as those of the Overbury case; whilst the majority of the judges were slavish; whilst the court of high commission was proceeding in its arbitrary course in matters of religion (a court which, according to an unheeded remonstrance of the commons, took upon itself to fine and imprison, and passed sentences without appeal); whilst the Star Chamber was trampling upon every personal right—that the nation was growing universally disgusted with the government under which it lived. The people had no constitutional organ to proclaim their grievances. Parliaments had been laid aside. The great religious body termed Puritans were offended, in 1618, by a proclamation that all lawful recreations, such as dancing, archery, leaping, May-games, might be used on Sundays after divine service. They associated this injudicious measure—which had a tendency to make the disputes between

the two parties in the church more rancorous—with the king's visit to Scotland to enforce episcopacy upon a reluctant people. After that visit a better provision was made for the parochial clergy, by the passing of an act in the Scottish parliament which compelled the impropriators of tithes to allow a stipend to the resident minister. But the ecclesiastical policy of James in Scotland was not successful; and in 1620 the preachers were inveighing against Episcopal rule, and that general discontent was growing which in a few years broke out in bitter hostility. In neither of the kingdoms could the people be deemed happy or the government paternal.

THE END OF SIR WALTER RALEIGH

Sir Walter Raleigh had been a prisoner in the Tower somewhat more than twelve years. To a man of such activity of mind even imprisonment would not be unhappiness. His wife was permitted to dwell with him. He had access to the lieutenant's garden; and, says Sir William Wade, one of the lieutenants, "he hath converted a little hen-house to a still-house, where he doth spend his time all the day in distillations." Raleigh was the inventor of a famous cordial which went by his name. In an evil hour the tranquil studies and useful diversions of Raleigh were exchanged for schemes which were to renew the energies of his youth. The dream of a gold mine in Guiana never ceased to haunt his imagination. Indians had interviews with him in the Tower; for he had kept up a correspondence, through his agents, with the natives of the country which he had partially explored in 1595. At length he obtained permission to employ the liberty which was promised to be granted to him, through the mediation of Villiers, in again attempting to work the gold mine in whose existence he firmly believed. He was released from his prison on the 20th of March, 1616.

He was now in the sixty-fifth year of his age. But he was one of those who bated no jot of heart or hope. Raleigh risked in this scheme all he possessed in the world. When Lady Raleigh had gone on her knees to James, to beg that her family might not be robbed of the estate at Sherborne, which had been secured to them before her husband's attainder, he exclaimed, "I maun have the land—I maun have it for Carr." Eight thousand pounds had been afterwards obtained as the "competent satisfaction" for an estate worth five thousand pounds a year. This sum, with the produce of a small estate which his wife sold, was all invested in the Guiana project. James stipulated for a share of the profits of the enterprise. But the Spanish ambassador, Gondomar, who had at that time obtained great influence over the king, at first remonstrated, and declared that the expedition was for piratical purposes. Raleigh maintained that his sole object was to settle a country which belonged to England by right of discovery, and to work its gold mines; and Gondomar affected to be satisfied.

Raleigh got together a squadron of fourteen vessels, and he set sail on the 28th of March, 1617, having received a commission by which he was constituted general and commander of the expedition, and governor of the country. It was imprudent in Raleigh to go upon a doubtful adventure without having received a previous pardon, which was to be obtained for money. But it is said that Bacon, who in 1617 had accomplished the prime object of his ambition, the custody of the great seal, said to Raleigh, "The knee-timber of your voyage is money. Spare your purse in this particular; for upon my life you have a sufficient pardon for all that is past already, the king having under

his broad seal made you admiral of your fleet, and given you power of the martial law over your officers and soldiers." The outward voyage was unpropitious. There was sickness in the ships, of which many of the voyagers died. They landed in Guiana on the 12th of November, and on the 14th Raleigh wrote in a hopeful spirit to his wife: "To tell you that I might be king of the Indians were a vanity. But my name hath still lived among them here. They feed me with fresh meat and all that the country yields. All offer to obey me."

In a short time he began to have glimpses of the treacherous nature of the sovereign in whose name he had gone forth to "make new nations." James had obtained from him the most minute details of his plans, and the king had communicated them to Gondomar, who had sent them to his court at Madrid. The king's commander had been promised a free passage through the country. He found it fortified against him. He was himself weak from sickness, and was obliged to be carried in a litter. He sent his faithful follower, Captain Keymis, to sail up the Orinoco with a part of the squadron in the direction of the mine. The instructions which Raleigh had given were not obeyed. The Spaniards attacked his encampment, and a battle ensued. After much slaughter, the English drove back their assailants to the town; and the Spaniards coming out in fresh force, the son of Raleigh was killed. The governor of the town, a kinsman of Gondomar, also fell. The English burned San Tomas, in which they found refining houses and two ingots of gold. But the passes to the mine were defended by too strong a force to enable Keymis to accomplish the great object of the expedition. When he returned with his diminished crew, the reproaches of his commander led the unfortunate man to commit suicide.



RALEIGH'S CELL IN THE WHITE TOWER

The great spirit of Raleigh was crushed. He saw nothing before him but reproach and danger. In a letter to his wife he says: "I protest before the majesty of God that, as Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins died heart-broken when they failed of their enterprise, I could willingly do the like, did I not contend against sorrow for your sake, in hope to provide somewhat for you to comfort and relieve you. If I live to return, resolve yourself that it is the care for you that hath strengthened my heart." Raleigh conducted his fleet, with mutinous crews, to Newfoundland, and then sailed homeward. On the 18th of March, after his return, Howell wrote: "The world wonders extremely that so great a wise man as Sir Walter Raleigh would return, to cast himself upon so inevitable a rock as I fear he will." Two friends, the earls of Pembroke and Arundel, had pledged their honour for his return, and he would not be a cause of trouble to them. This Arundel acknowledged when Raleigh, on the scaffold, reminded him of the promise that he had made to the earl that he would return.

[1618 A.D.]

Gondomar was now supreme at the English court, negotiating a marriage between Prince Charles and the infanta of Spain. The destiny of Raleigh was in the hands of the malignant Spaniard and the revengeful king. Raleigh was arrested at Plymouth; and after some stratagems to escape to France, and to obtain delay, having feigned madness, he was conducted to his old prison in the Tower. He was examined before commissioners, upon the charge that he fraudulently pretended that he went to discover a mine, when his real object was to make a piratical attack upon the Spanish settlements. He denied these charges with constancy and boldness, but admitted his attempt to escape, and his pretence of mental derangement, which he excused by the desire which every man feels to escape death. Nothing could be obtained which could furnish a new ground of accusation.

It was determined at length that the prisoner should be executed under his former sentence, by a writ of privy seal directed to the judges. But they held that their warrant for execution could not be issued, after so long a time had elapsed since the judgment, without bringing up the prisoner to plead. Raleigh, suffering under an ague, was brought on the 24th and again on the 28th of October to the king's bench at Westminster, and there being asked why execution should not pass against him, he urged that he was discharged of the original judgment by the king's commission for his voyage, which gave him new life and vigour. Execution was granted. Raleigh asked for a little delay, to settle his affairs and his mind. He was brought out of his prison the next morning to die upon the scaffold, in the Old Palace Yard at Westminster. The night before his death he wrote these lines on a blank leaf of his Bible:

E'en such is Time; who takes in trust
Our youth, our joys, and all we have,
And pays us but with age and dust;
Who, in the dark and silent grave,
When we have wander'd all our ways,
Shuts up the story of our days.
But from this earth, this grave, this dust,
The Lord will raise me up, I trust.

The last end of this heroic man was worthy of his great genius. He received the sacrament; he declared his forgiveness of all persons; he manifested the utmost cheerfulness; he gave thanks to the Almighty who had imparted to him the strength of mind never to fear death, and to meet it with courage in the assurance of his love. He breakfasted, and smoked his usual pipe of tobacco. When he came to the scaffold he was very faint, and commenced his speech to the assembled crowd by saying that during the last two days he had been visited by two ague fits. "If therefore you perceive any weakness in me, I beseech you ascribe it to my sickness rather than to myself." His speech was of a manly tone defending himself from slanders which had been raised against him. He implored the bystanders to join with him in prayer to that great God whom he had grievously offended; "being a man full of all vanity, and one who hath lived a sinful life in such callings as have been most inducing to it; for I have been a soldier, a sailor, and a courtier, all of them courses of wickedness and vice." He was asked by the dean of Westminster in what religion he meant to die, and he replied, "In the faith professed by the church of England, hoping to be saved by the blood and merits of our Saviour." It was a bitter morning, and the sheriff proposed that he should descend from the scaffold and warm himself. "No, good Mr. Sheriff, let us despatch, for within this quarter of an hour my ague will come upon me, and if I be not dead before that, my enemies will say I quake for fear." He took

the axe in his hand, kissed the blade, and said to the sheriff, "'Tis a sharp medicine, but a sound cure for all diseases." So died the last of Elizabeth's heroes.

The execution of Raleigh called forth indignation, "not loud but deep," in the English mind. The people felt that he was sacrificed to Spain, against which power, its Jesuits and its inquisitions, he had waged no inglorious warfare. He was sacrificed by a king from whom the bold Protestant spirit was departed, and who remained supine whilst the two great principles which divided Europe were again preparing for a struggle. Thus thought the majority of the nation, at a time of extraordinary excitement in connection with foreign events.

AFFAIRS OF THE PALATINATE

The daughter of James had been married almost six years to the elector palatine. The Calvinists of Bohemia had been in insurrection upon a question of the possession of some lands of the church which were held by Catholics, and the quarrel was under arbitration at the instance of the emperor Matthias when he died. Matthias was also king of Bohemia, and the archduke Ferdinand was chosen emperor. He had been recognised as successor to the throne of Bohemia, but he was a determined zealot of Catholicism; and the Bohemians, who held that their crown was elective, offered it to Frederick, who had been one of the arbitrators to settle the difference which had led to their insurrection. The elector palatine, after some hesitation, accepted the dangerous promotion, and was crowned at Prague, in November, 1619.

The resolve was the signal for a general array of hostile forces throughout Europe.[1] The great battle of Protestantism and Catholicism appeared once more likely to be fought out. Had Elizabeth been alive she would have thrown all her force into the conflict. James at first refused to give any assistance to his son-in-law. The Protestants of England were roused to an enthusiasm which had been repressed for years. They saw the armies of Austria and Spain gathering to snatch the crown from the elective king of Bohemia and to invade the Palatinate. They saw many of the Protestant princes forming an union for his defence. Volunteers were ready to go forth from England full of zeal for the support of the elector. James was professing an ardent desire to Protestant deputies to assist his son-in-law, and at the same time vowing to the Spanish ambassador that the alliance with his Catholic master, which was to be cemented by the marriage of Prince Charles to the infanta, was the great desire of his heart.

At length the Catholic powers entered the Palatinate; and the cry to arm was so loud amongst the English and the Scotch, that James reluctantly marshalled a force of four thousand volunteers, not to support his son-in-law upon the throne of Bohemia, but to assist in defending his hereditary dominions. The scanty assistance came too late. Frederick was defeated by the Austrians at the White Hill near Prague, on the 8th of November, 1620, which decisive battle entirely destroyed his slight tenure of power in Bohemia. He was very shortly after driven from the Palatinate, which was handed over to the tender mercies of the conquerors. The supporters of the elector in Bohemia, a country which had been the refuge of persecuted reformers, were trodden down by the iron heel of Austria. The Puritan party in England considered

[1 The details of the Thirty Years' War, 1618–1648, will be found in the histories of Germany, France, Spain, and Sweden.]

this misfortune, says D'Ewes,[t] as "the greatest blow which the church of God had received since the first Reformation by Martin Luther in 1517." The union of the Protestant princes was broken up. In the words of Von Ranke,[w] "the Catholic principle passed with wonderful rapidity from a moment of the utmost danger to an omnipotent sway over the south of Germany and the Austrian provinces."

It was during the excitement of this conflict, and in the month following the victory of the Austrians at the White Hill, that James adopted one of those arbitrary measures which weak governments resort to in their imbecile desire to control public opinion. On the 27th of December, 1620, says D'Ewes, "I saw and perused a proclamation set out by his majesty, inhibiting or forbidding any of his subjects to discourse of state matters, either foreign or domestic; which all men conceived to have been procured by the count of Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador." That Englishmen should, at the bidding of an insolent government, cease interchanging their thoughts was as impossible as that they should cease thinking. Their thoughts broke out in signs not to be mistaken. The Spanish ambassador, who dwelt in the bishop of Ely's house in Holborn, was obliged to have a guard of soldiers to protect him.

THE PARLIAMENT OF 1621 AND BACON'S IMPEACHMENT

It was in this excited temper of the nation that the king at length called a parliament, which met on the 30th of January, 1621.

James was now in a gracious humour. He had something to ask of the parliament: "I have reigned eighteen years, in which time you have had peace," he said, "and I have received far less supply than hath been given to any king since the Conquest. The last queen, of famous memory, had, one year with another, above a hundred thousand pounds per annum in subsidies." James did not attempt a comparison between the manner in which the queen of famous memory spent her subsidies in the defence of her country, and in the support of Protestantism in Europe; while he was lavishing thousands upon Hay and Somerset and Villiers, impoverishing the crown and degrading the nation. Clarendon,[v] speaking of the reigning favourite of 1621 and his host of dependents, said that the demesnes and revenues of the crown were sacrificed to the enriching of a private family; "and the expenses of the court so vast and unlimited that they had a sad prospect of that poverty and necessity which afterwards befell the crown, almost to the ruin of it."

The parliament of 1621 was in no complacent mood. James said to them, "I have often piped unto you but you have not danced." They gave him a small subsidy in return for unusually gracious speeches, and then went boldly about the redress of grievances. They revived the use of the terrible word "impeachment," which had gone out of men's mouths for nearly two centuries. Monopolists were the first attacked with this constitutional weapon. One of the greatest of them, Sir Giles Mompesson, finding that the government which had granted him his patents for gold and silver thread, and for licensing inns and alehouses, would not stand up in his defence, fled beyond sea. The Sir Giles Overreach of Massinger's *New Way to Pay Old Debts* was Sir Giles Mompesson, and the Justice Greedy of the same popular play was Sir Francis Michell. The real Overreach and the real Greedy were degraded from knighthood, were fined, and were banished. Higher delinquents began to tremble. Yelverton, the attorney-general, was connected with the prevailing corruption, and when detected denounced Villiers as his enemy. The

judge of the prerogative court was impeached for venality; and the bishop of Landaff for being accessory to a matter of bribery. It was an age of universal abuses. Local magistrates were influenced by the pettiest gifts, and were called "basket-justices"—a name which in the next century was applied to the stipendiary justices of Bow street.

Upon the highest branch of this rotten tree sat Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Albans, the great lord chancellor. His contemporaries were impressed with his versatile abilities and his majestic eloquence, but they were disgusted by his profusion, and they had little confidence in his honesty. The greatness of his intellect was to be appreciated in other ages, and his faults were then to be slightly regarded while the eyes of all men were to be dazzled by the splendour of his genius. His contemporaries, with one accord, resolved that no excuse should interfere with his degradation, for what he himself called his frailty in partaking of "the abuses of the times." He was charged by the commons, before the lords, with twenty-two acts of bribery and corruption. He attempted no defence. He saw that the court would not shield him, even if it had the power. He made a distinct confession in writing of the charges brought against him; and when a deputation from the peers asked if that confession was his own voluntary act, he replied, "It is my act, my hand, my heart. O my lords, spare a broken reed." The sentence of the parliament was that the viscount St. Albans, late lord chancellor, be fined £40,000; be imprisoned in the Tower during the king's pleasure; made incapable to bear office in the commonwealth; never to sit in parliament, nor to come within the verge of the court. The king remitted the fine, and released the fallen man after an imprisonment of a few days.

It is vain to attribute Bacon's fall to the malevolence of Coke or the intrigues of Villiers. The house of commons saw that the time had come for striking at the root of some of the most flagrant of official corruptions, and Bacon, though perhaps not more guilty than many others, was struck down as a signal example to lesser offenders. Spedding,[x] the editor of Bacon's philosophical works, pointing out that the chancellor admitted the taking of presents, as he himself had taken them, to be indefensible, adds that he always denied he had been an unjust judge; or, to use his own words, "had ever had bribe or reward in his eye or thought when he pronounced any sentence or order." With regard to the degree of moral criminality, these questions are proposed: "(1) What was the understanding, open or secret, upon which the present was given or taken? (2) To what extent was the practice prevalent at the time? (3) How far was it tolerated? (4) How did it stand with regard to other abuses prevailing at the same time?" If these points could be satisfactorily ascertained the most merciful conclusion at which we could arrive would be the opinion of Bacon himself: "I was the justest judge that was in England these fifty years; but it was the justest censure in parliament that was there these two hundred years."

If the stern severity of the house of commons, in which the peers went along with them, towards every order of delinquents, from the griping usurer to the prodigal chancellor, demands our respect, we must regard with equal abhorrence the same popular assembly when carried away by a passionate fanaticism into an act of vindictive cruelty. The house was in a fever about the Palatinate; and when it became known that a Roman Catholic barrister, Edward Floyd, had expressed his joy that "Goodman Palsgrave[1] and Goodwife Palsgrave" had been driven from Prague, there was no punishment too

[1 The palsgrave or pfalzgraf was the ruler of the Palatinate.]

[1621 A.D.]

terrible to be inflicted upon the delinquent—whipping, the pillory, boring of his tongue, nailing of his ears, were small justice for such an offence. The house went beyond its powers in passing a heavy sentence upon Floyd without hearing him. He appealed to the king, denying the accusation against him; and the commons were asked by the council how they took upon them to judge offences which did not interfere with their privileges. The house paused, and Floyd was arraigned before the lords, who confirmed the sentence, with additional severities. Whipping, which was a part of this sentence, was remitted on the motion of Prince Charles. The unhappy man underwent the other unjust punishment—to pay a fine of £5,000 and to be imprisoned for life.

"There is surely no instance," says Hallam,[h] "in the annals of our own, and hardly of any civilised country, where a trifling offence, if it were one, has been visited with such outrageous cruelty." Let us not forget, as we proceed in tracing the history of this nation, that the passions of a parliament have been as marked, if not as frequent, a source of injustice as the despotic tendencies of a king; and let us feel that a due balance of the powers of the respective estates cannot be so happily preserved that prerogative and privilege may be kept equally innoxious, except under the guidance of an enlightened public opinion.

The king and the parliament had been proceeding in apparent harmony, when they were adjourned over the summer [to await the results of the fruitless mission of Lord Digby, special ambassador to Vienna]. The court had manifested no zeal about the question of the Palatinate; but the commons made a solemn protestation, which was entered in the journals, that they would spend their lives and fortunes in the defence of their religion, and of the cause of the elector. The houses met again, after an interval of five months, on the 20th of November. It was announced that troops had been sent for the defence of the Palatinate under Sir Horace Vere. The commons voted a small subsidy, which was totally inadequate to any vigorous exertions. The clamour for warlike operations was not seconded by any liberality which could rouse James to exertion. The parliament had no confidence in a king who shuddered at a drawn sword. His natural temperament and his policy were in complete accord, and it was perhaps well for the country that they were so. Had his son Henry been on the throne, who proposed the Black Prince and Henry V as his models, England might have put herself at the head of a great religious war; but she would have wasted that strength which enabled her, in another quarter of a century, to wage a greater battle at home for civil and religious liberty, without losing her power of commanding the respect of every government in Europe.

England had in this year an opportunity to draw the sword in a necessary quarrel—the suppression of the outrages of the Barbary pirates. Spain had agreed to co-operate in an attack upon Algiers, but she sent a very insufficient force to join the English flag. James went about this salutary work in his timid and parsimonious way. He directed the commander of his fleet, Sir James Mansell, not to risk his ships. The Algerians, having had only a few boats burned, defended their harbour, and Mansell came home with nothing achieved. The English merchantmen were now the prey of the African pirates, and the country bitterly complained of the national losses and the national dishonour. When the parliament reassembled, it was in no conciliating humour. Lords Essex and Oxford had returned from the Palatinate, and proclaimed that the country of the elector and the Protestant cause were lost for want of timely aid.

As we have seen, the two houses were afraid to trust the expenditure of money in incapable hands. They could not understand how James was affecting a desire to contend against the power of Spain and Austria, when he was negotiating, in secret as he believed, for the marriage of his son to the daughter of the most Catholic king. During the recess, a leading member of the commons, Sir Edwin Sandys, had been committed to the Tower; but it was protested that the commitment was unconnected with the privileges of the house. His bold manner of speaking in parliament was undoubtedly his offence. The commons passed over this matter; but they drew up a petition, prepared by Coke, against the growth of popery, urging that Prince Charles should marry one of his own religion, and that the king should turn his attention towards that power which had first carried on the war in the Palatinate. That power was Spain.



JOHN SELDEN
(1584–1654)

James had heard of this motion, and he anticipated the receipt of the petition[1] by sending a violent letter to the speaker, commanding the house not to meddle with any matter which concerned his government or the mysteries of state. He informed them also that he meant not to spare any man's insolent behaviour in parliament. The commons returned a temperate answer, in which the king was told that their liberty of speech was their ancient and undoubted right. James replied that their privileges were derived from the grace and permission of his ancestors and himself. Some excuses were made for the expressions of the king, which were called a slip of the pen.

The commons deliberately recorded their opinions, in a memorable protestation, on the 18th of December, 1621, in which they solemnly affirmed that the liberties and jurisdictions of parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England; that the affairs of the king and the state, of the defence of the realm, and of the church of England, the making of laws, the redress of grievances, are proper subjects of debate in parliament; that in handling such business every member of the house hath, and of right ought to have, freedom of speech; and that every member hath like freedom from all impeachment, imprisonment, and molestation, except by the censure of the house itself. There were great men concerned in this protestation—Coke, Pym, Selden. Eminent peers, for almost the first time in the history of the country, took part with the commons against the crown. The king dissolved the parliament, and imprisoned the earl of Oxford and the leading members of the commons.[d]

Gardiner[j] thus sums up the results of this parliament of 1621: "The houses had not sat in vain. They had rescued from oblivion the right of impeach-

[1 When the deputation of twelve came to James with the petition, he exclaimed in jest, "Bring stools for the ambassadors!" Gardiner[j] doubts the old anecdote that he called out in his broad Scotch on seeing them, "Here be twal' kings coming!"]

ment, and had taught a crowd of hungry and unscrupulous adventurers that court favour would not always suffice to screen them. They had made judicial corruption almost impossible for the future. Yet the highest of their achievements had not been of a nature to be quoted as a precedent, or to be noted down amongst the catalogue of constitutional changes. Far more truly than any member of that house dreamed, a crisis had come in which Protestantism was to be tried in the balance. There was a danger greater than any which was to be dreaded from the armies of Spinola or the policy of Maximilian—a danger lest moral superiority should pass over to the champions of the reactionary faith. And it was at such a crisis that the English house of commons placed itself in the foremost ranks of those who were helping on the progress of the world. Cecil spoke truly when he said that their declaration would do more good than if ten thousand soldiers had been on the march."[a]

The struggle which was to be fought out in the battle-field, twenty years afterwards, was already commenced in a most unmistakable manner. It was a contest for first principles. England was to be a constitutional monarchy or a despotism.

The parliament being dissolved, James again resorted to a benevolence —a voluntary contribution of the people, as the courtiers pretended. Its voluntary character may be understood from a little incident: "A merchant of London, who had been a cheesemonger, but now rich, was sent for by the council, and required to give the king £200, or to go into the Palatinate and serve the army with cheese, being a man of eighty years of age."

PRINCE CHARLES IN SPAIN (1623 A.D.)

The king, who publicly declared that "he would govern according to the good of the common weal but not according to the common will," went on with his Spanish negotiation in utter defiance of the public feeling. His son-in-law was now a refugee at the Hague, with his queen—a favourite of the English—and their family. Their misfortunes, as well as the defeat of the principle which they represented, excited the warmest sympathy. In no point of policy was there any concord between the government and the people. In February, 1623, London was startled with the extraordinary news that the prince of Wales and Villiers, now marquis of Buckingham, had gone off privately for Madrid. The negotiation for the marriage with the Spanish princess had been nearly concluded by the earl of Bristol, a special ambassador to the court of the young king Philip IV, the brother of the infanta. Only a dispensation from the pope was waited for, and James had himself written to his holiness to urge the favour. He promised all sorts of toleration, and, to give an earnest of his disposition, suddenly released from prison a large number of popish recusants, to the great anger of the Puritans.

The motives for the strange proceeding of the prince and the favourite remain a mystery. Clarendon[v] holds that Villiers originated the scheme to gain favour with the prince, who had been long jealous of him. The king was at first greatly opposed to the adventure, which was not without its danger. Smith seems to be a favourite name for disguised princes. Charles was John Smith, and the marquis Thomas Smith. They were accompanied by Sir Richard Graham. They got to Dover, after some awkward inquiries, and on the 7th of March the "sweet boys and dear ventrous knights, worthy to be put in a new romanso," as James termed them, arrived at Madrid.

Howell,[y] one of the most amusing of letter-writers, was then in the Spanish capital, and he describes how "to the wonderment of all the world, the prince and the marquis of Buckingham arrived at this court." He tells how they alighted at my lord of Bristol's house; how Mr. Thomas Smith came in at first with a portmantle, whilst Mr. John Smith stayed on the other side of the street in the dark; how Bristol brought in the prince to his bed-chamber; how the marquis the next day had a private audience of the king of Spain; how the king came to visit the prince; how the royal family went out in a coach, the infanta having a blue ribbon about her arm that the prince might distinguish her as he took the air on the Prado; and how when the lady saw her lover her colour rose very high.

The prince and his companion were seven months absent from England. To attempt to follow out the course of the intrigues that took place during this period would be far beyond our limits; nor do we conceive that, however amusing may be the relations of court festivities, the bull-fights and the tournaments, the processions and the banquets, with which the heir of England's throne was received, they are necessary to be here detailed.[1] That Charles was conducting himself with that duplicity which belonged to his nature is agreed on all hands. He was ready to promise, according to Von Ranke,[w] not only toleration for the Roman Catholics in England, but that he would never engage in any hostile measure against the church of Rome, but, on the contrary, would endeavour to bring about a unity in one faith and one church. In August James made oath to certain articles which had been agreed upon: that the infanta with her suite was to be allowed the exercise of her religion; that the early education of her children should be intrusted to her; that even if they should remain Catholic their right of succession should not be interfered with. The king also promised not to trouble the Catholics in the private exercise of their religion, nor to impose any oath against their faith, and to endeavour to obtain from parliament a repeal of all penal laws against them.

If the marriage had taken place and these conditions had been observed, England would infallibly have been plunged into civil war. As it was, after a long course of deceit either to the court of Spain or to the people of England, or to both, Charles and Buckingham returned home. The ministers of Spain had interposed many vexatious delays whilst Charles was at Madrid, and had attempted to take advantage of his presence. He made engagements which he would not have ventured to fulfil; and he sanctioned misrepresentations for his vindication when he returned to England. Buckingham was jealous of the earl of Bristol, and he conceived a dislike of the Spanish court, to which his insolent manners and his gross licentiousness were displeasing. His personal resentments, and perhaps the tastes of the prince, destroyed the web of policy which James had been so long weaving. The king had been quite willing to surrender all the outworks which defended England against a new invasion of papal supremacy, in his desire for a marriage which would give his son a princess with a great dowry, and secure, as he fondly expected, the restoration of his son-in-law to his hereditary dominions. The people would have made no compromise with Spain, and they would have boldly sought to settle the affairs of the Palatinate by the sole argument which the Catholic powers would have regarded, success in arms.

[1 It was contrary to Spanish court etiquette for Charles to see the princess except in public. Once he leaped over a wall into a garden where she was, and she fled screaming. Her confessor had said, "A comfortable bedfellow he will make! he who lies by your side and will be the father of your children is sure to go to hell."]

THE PARLIAMENT OF 1624 AND THE DEATH OF JAMES I

When the prince and Buckingham returned home, and the marriage treaty was broken off, there was universal rejoicing. The duke became immediately popular, and in his confidence in the altered tone of public feeling he persuaded the king to summon a parliament. It met on the 19th of February, 1624. The houses confided in Buckingham's artful representations of his conduct in the transactions with Spain, and he was hailed by Coke, in the commons, as the saviour of his country. The king was all graciousness. It was resolved that a grant to the extent of £300,000 should be made, for the specific purpose of recovering the Palatinate; and the war was thus necessarily a war against Spain, united as she was with the other branch of the house of Austria in holding the dominions of the elector and in endeavouring to destroy Protestantism in Europe. In this session of three months a great good was sought to be accomplished by the passing of a statute which declared all monopolies to be contrary to law, and all such grants to be void (21 Jac. I, c. 3). The struggle to effect this object had been a long one. The promises of the crown had been constantly broken; but now, by a solemn act of parliament, the exclusive privileges to use any trade and to sell any merchandise were declared to be contrary to the ancient and fundamental laws of the realm, and all grants and dispensations for such monopolies to be of none effect. How carefully the statute was respected will be seen in the next reign.

In this last parliament of James there was unquestionably a better understanding between the crown and the representatives of the people—a practical concord that, under a new king, might have been improved into a co-operation for the general good, if the altered condition of society had been understood by both parties. The commons had now acquired a full confidence in their own strength. They impeached Cranfield, earl of Middlesex, lord-treasurer of England, for bribery and other misdemeanours. He was convicted, after a trial before the peers, conducted by managers on the part of the commons, was fined £50,000, and was declared incapable of sitting in parliament. Buckingham's jealousy of the lord-treasurer's power is held to have contributed to this result. The king warned his son and his favourite that they might live to have their fill of parliamentary impeachments, but he could not resist the united force of public justice and private intrigue. From the time of the failure of the Spanish treaty, the monarch who claimed to be absolute felt that he was powerless. He had lost even the respect of his son; his insolent minion despised him.

He was forced into war against his will, and the war brought him no honour, whilst it absorbed his revenues. An army of twelve thousand men was raised in England for the service of the elector palatine. Half the number were lost from sickness by being embarked in foul and crowded ships; and their commander, Count Mansfeld, was not strong enough to undertake any offensive operations. England was not in any very glorious attitude. The people became discontented; and their discontents were not lightened when another negotiation was set on foot for the marriage of Prince Charles with Henrietta Maria, a princess of France, in which country Catholicism was again becoming intolerant and persecuting.

In March, 1625, King James was taken ill at Theobalds. He died on the 27th of that month, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and in the twenty-third year of his reign.[d]

LINGARD'S ESTIMATE OF JAMES

James, though an able man, was a weak monarch. His quickness of apprehension and soundness of judgment were marred by his credulity and partialities, his childish fears, and habit of vacillation. Eminently qualified to advise as a counsellor, he wanted the spirit and resolution to act as a sovereign. His discourse teemed with maxims of political wisdom, his conduct frequently bore the impress of political imbecility. If in the language of his flatterers he was the British Solomon, in the opinion of less interested observers he merited the appellation given to him by the duke of Sully,[1] that of "the wisest fool in Europe." Balfour[z] thus described his appearance: "He was of a middle stature, more corpulent throghe his clothes than in his bodey, zet fatt enouch: his clothes euer being made large and easie, the doubletts quilted for steletto proofe, his breeches in grate pleits, and full stuffed. He was naturally of a timorous dispositione, which was the gratest reasone of his quilted doubletts. His eyes large, euer roulling after any stranger cam in his presence, in so much as maney for shame have left the roome, as being out of countenance. His beard was werey thin; his toung too large for his mouthe, and made him drinke werey vncomlie, as if eatting his drinke, wich cam out into the cupe in each syde of his mouthe. His skin vas als softe as tafta sarsnet, wich felt so because he neuer washt his hands, onlie rubb'd his fingers ends slightly vith the vett end of a napkin. His legs wer verey weake, hauing had (as was thought) some foule playe in his youthe, or rather before he was borne, that he was not able to stand at seuin zeires of age; that weaknes made him euer leaning on other men's shoulders."

It was his misfortune, at the moment when he took into his hands the reins of government in Scotland, to fall into the possession of worthless and profligate favourites, who, by gratifying his inclinations, sought to perpetuate their own influence; and it is to that love of ease and indulgence which he then acquired that we ought to attribute the various anomalies in his character.

To this we see him continually sacrificing his duties and his interests, seeking in his earlier years to shun by every expedient the tedium of public business, and shifting at a later period the burden of government from himself to the shoulders of his favourites. It taught him to practise, in pursuit of his ends, duplicity and cunning, to break his word with as much facility as he gave it, to swear and forswear as best suited his convenience. It plunged him into debt that he might spare himself the pain of refusing importunate suitors, and induced him to sanction measures which he condemned, that he might escape from the contradiction of his son and his favourite. To forget his cares in the hurry of the chase or the exercise of golf, in carousing at table, or laughing at the buffoonery and indecencies practised by those around him, seems to have constituted the chief pleasure of his life.

Wilson[bb] says, "He loved such representations and disguises in their maskaradoes as were witty and sudden: the more ridiculous the more pleasant." Of the nature of these sports the reader may judge from the following instance. A sucking pig, an animal which the king held in the utmost abhorrence, was swathed as an infant about to be christened; the countess of Buckingham, disguised as the midwife, brought it wrapped up in a rich mantle; the duke attended as godfather, Turpin, in lawn sleeves, as minister; another brought a silver ewer with water; but just as the service commenced, the

[1 Gardiner[u] credits this *mot* to King Henry IV of France.]

[1625 A.D.]

pretended child betrayed itself by its cry, and the king turned aside, exclaiming, "Away, for shame!"

In temper James was hasty and variable, easily provoked and easily appeased. During his passion he would scream, and curse, and indulge in blasphemous or indelicate allusions; when his passion was cooled, he would forgive or sue to be forgiven.[1] Though he was no admirer of female beauty, he is charged with encouraging the immoralities of Somerset and Buckingham; and the caresses which he heaped on his favourites, joined to the indelicacy of his familiar correspondence, have induced some writers to hint a suspicion of more degrading habits. But so odious a charge requires more substantial proof than an obscure allusion in a petition, or the dark insinuation of a malicious libel, or the reports which reached a foreign and discontented ambassador.[2]

From his preceptor, Buchanan, James had imbibed the maxim that "a sovereign ought to be the most learned clerk in his dominions." Of his intellectual acquirements he has left numerous specimens in his works; but his literary pride and self-sufficiency, his habit of interrogating others that he might discover the extent of their reading, and the ostentatious display which he continually made of his own learning, though they won the flattery of his attendants and courtiers, provoked the contempt and derision of real scholars. Theology he considered as the first of sciences on account of its object, and of the highest importance to himself in quality of head of the church and defender of the faith. But though he was always orthodox, his belief was not exempt from change. For many years his opinions retained a deep tinge of Calvinism; this was imperceptibly cleared away by the conversation of Laud and Montague, and other high churchmen; and before the close of his reign he had adopted the milder, but contrary, doctrines of Arminius. To the last he employed himself in theological pursuits; and to revise works of religious institution, to give directions to preachers, and to confute the heresies of foreign divines, were objects which occupied the attention and divided the cares of the sovereign of three kingdoms.

Besides divinity there was another science with which he was equally conversant, that of demonology. With great parade of learning, he demonstrated the existence of witches and the mischiefs of witchcraft, against the objections of Scot and Wierus; he even discovered a satisfactory solution of that obscure but interesting question, "Why the devil did worke more with auncient women than others." But ancient women had no reason to congratulate themselves on the sagacity of their sovereign. Witchcraft, at his solicitation, was made a capital offence, and from the commencement of his reign there scarcely passed a year in which some aged female or other was not condemned to expiate on the gallows her imaginary communications with the evil spirit. Had the lot of James been cast in private life, he might have been a respectable country gentleman: the elevation of the throne exposed his foibles to the gaze of the public.[k]

[1] James, according to Wilson,[bb] demanded of Gibb some papers which had been delivered to his care. Gibb, on his knees, protested that he had never seen them. The king cursed, and even kicked him, and the indignant page left the court. It was then discovered that the papers had been intrusted to another; and James instantly sent to recall Gibb, and, falling on his knees, asked his pardon.

[2] That, for the amusement of the king, decency was shamefully outraged in the orgies at Buckingham house cannot be doubted—it is confirmed by the conduct of the favourite at Madrid in presence of the prince Cabala; but we may be allowed to hope that the picture in the despatches of Tillières has been too highly coloured by the prejudices of the ambassador or of his informant. The king's partiality for Spain, and the Spanish match, was a constant source of vexation to that minister, and prompted him to exaggerate and misrepresent.

Bayne's Estimate

The "fractions" of a book on James I, which Leigh Hunt rescued from Carlyle's waste-paper bag, are so picturesque in style and so illuminative as to the history of the period, that one regrets they are fractions only. Carlyle could have given us a rare book on James. In the piebald character of the man, and in the tragi-comic medley of events in his reign, he would have found exercise for dramatic sympathy and sardonic humour, and he would have had ample opportunity, in the course of the work, of indicating the "deep presaging movement" of those forces which were to convulse English society during that Puritan revolution of which his biography of Cromwell is our best literary monument. The reign of James, which we may roughly look upon as occupying the first quarter of the seventeenth century, was essentially an historical introduction to the life and times of Charles I.

Carlyle evidently demurs to the verdict of mere contemptuous execration which has commonly been pronounced upon James. "His majesty," he says, "as I perceive, in spite of calumnies, was not a coward. He knew the value, to all persons and to all interests of persons, of a whole skin; how unthrifty everywhere is any solution of continuity, if it can be avoided! He struggled to preside pacifically over an age of some ferocity much given to wrangling." We seem to detect a spark of positive enthusiasm for James in Carlyle when he speaks of his good nature and his "shining examples of justice." And yet the evidence is strong that James was both cowardly and unrighteous. It has generally been admitted to have been no shining example of justice that he gave in the case of Raleigh. The truth is, he was an aggregate of confusions and incongruities. He was a spoiled child, in a deplorably literal sense, before he was born. Nature's intention with him seems to have been to produce the ablest Stuart that ever graced the line since it sprang from the daughter of Robert Bruce; but what Carlyle might call "black art" intervened to defeat nature's intention; and the child born three months after the shock received by Mary Stuart from the drawn swords of Rizzio's murderers was physiologically a wreck—damaged irretrievably in body and mind.

To revile James as a coward because he shuddered at the flash of the cold iron is as thoughtless as it would be to scorn him because he could not stand on his legs till he was seven years old. Though damaged, however, in mind and body, he was destroyed in neither. His limbs shook; his nerves were those of a hypochondriac; yet he had physical toughness enough to enjoy field sports. His tongue was too large for his mouth; he stuttered and sputtered; but he was a loud, voluble, vivacious talker. His mind, like his body, had been shaken into grotesque incoherence. Will and intelligence, instead of being in closest conjunction, like good sword in steady hand, had been flung apart. He saw with piercing clearness what it was best to do, and with streaming eyes, stammering and whimpering, wished to do it and was not able. He would negotiate about a matter for years, fail in his object, and then sum up with the adroit shrewdness of his friend Bacon, in form of an apophthegm, the cause of his failure. There is nothing in Shakespeare wiser than the sayings or foolisher than the doings of Polonius.[cc]

THE STATE OF ENGLAND AT THIS TIME

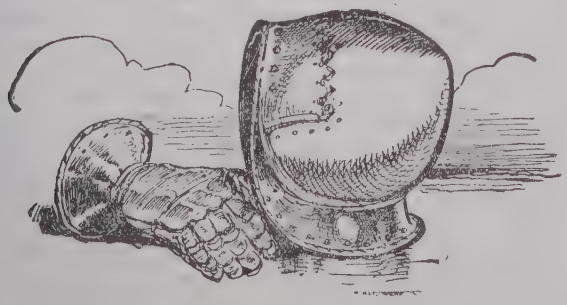
Beaumont, the French ambassador, wrote to his court: "I discover so many seeds of disease in England, so much is brooding in silence, and so many events seem inevitable, that I am inclined to affirm that for a century from

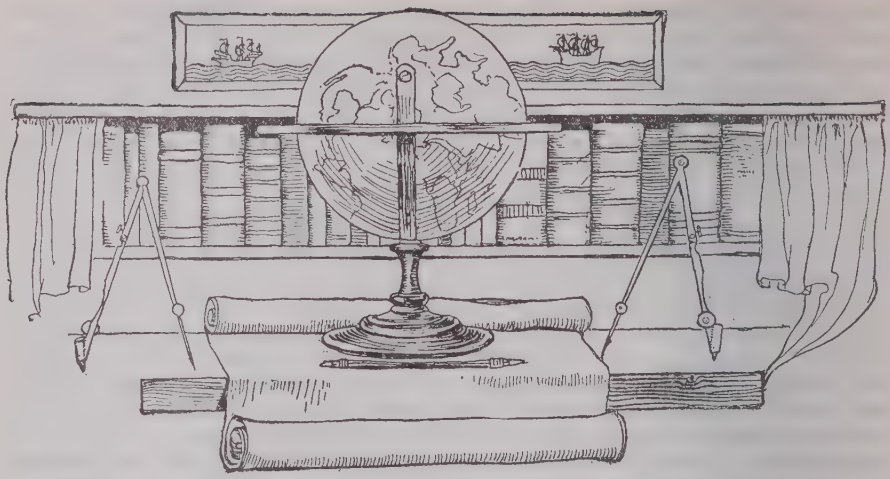
[1625 A.D.]

this time this kingdom will hardly abuse its prosperity, except to its own ruin. I can assure your majesty that you have more reason to reflect on King James' absurd conduct, and pity his subjects, than to dread his power. The courage of the English is buried in the tomb of Elizabeth. What must be the situation of a state and of a prince whom the clergy publicly abuse in the pulpit, whom the actors represent upon the stage, whose wife goes to these representations in order to laugh at him, who is defied and despised by his parliament, and universally hated by his whole people!

"His vices debilitate his mind; when he thinks to speak like a king he proceeds like a tyrant, and when he condescends he becomes vulgar. He endeavours to cover, under specious titles, disgraceful actions; and as the power to indulge in them abandons him, he feasts his eyes when he can no longer gratify his other vices. In general, he concludes by resorting to drinking. Nothing is done here in a regular and reasonable manner, but according to the pleasure of Buckingham, an ignorant young man, blinded by court favour and carried away by passion. The most important and urgent business cannot induce this king to devote a day, or even an hour to it, or to interrupt his pleasures. He does not care what people think of him or what is to become of the kingdom after his death. I believe that the breaking of a bottle of wine, or any such trifle, affects him more than the ruin of his son-in-law and the misery of his grandchildren."

We would willingly ascribe some of these expressions to the dislike of a foreigner, or the excessive severity of a gloomy-minded observer. Yet Burnet[dd] himself says: "No king could be less respected, and less lamented at his death. England, which acted so great a part, and whose queen, Elizabeth, was the arbitress of Christendom and the wonder of her age, sank under his government into utter insignificance, and King James was the laughing-stock of his age. While hungry writers at home bestowed on him the most extravagant praises, all foreign countries looked upon him as a pedant without judgment, courage, and firmness, and as the slave of his favourites." His death was certainly considered by most persons as a happy event, and very few presaged that the indestructible germs of greater convulsions would soon spring into life with redoubled energy.[q]





CHAPTER XVII

COMMERCE AND LETTERS, AND A REVIEW OF THE CONSTITUTION

[*Ca.* 1603–1625 A.D.]

COMMERCE

The commerce of England in this age, notwithstanding the impediments placed in its way by the ignorance or cupidity of the government, continued to increase. Towards the close of Elizabeth's reign the customs were farmed at £50,000 annually. In 1613 the total of this branch of revenue exceeded £148,000, and in 1622 it amounted to more than £160,000. In 1613 the customs from the exports exceeded those from the imports by about one-third. In 1622 complaints respecting the decline of trade had become loud and general; and not without an apparent cause, as the comparison of the exports and imports of the year presents a balance against the nation of £300,000. Several causes had contributed to this result. The Dutch had so far improved their woollen manufactures as to compete successfully with English merchants in the foreign markets. This staple portion of English commerce was further injured by disputes which arose between separate traders and the company of merchant-adventurers. At the same time England's almost total neglect of the herring and cod fisheries, while the Dutch were occupying themselves in such undertakings with the greatest ardour, tended to increase the wealth and the naval power of Holland, at the expense of England.

All the more important branches of commerce during this age were carried on through the medium of companies; and these chartered bodies might be found not only in the metropolis but in many parts of the country, as at Bristol, Southampton, and Exeter. The company of merchant-adventurers in the last-named place claimed their privilege in part on account of the ignorance of a great number of persons who took upon them "to use the science, art, and mystery of merchandise." But a more substantial argument in such

cases was the necessity of a larger capital than private adventurers could furnish. During the reign of James, associations of this nature were formed, or revived, for the purpose of founding colonies or marts in Russia, France, the Levant, Newfoundland, Virginia (including in those times the whole of English America), Western Africa, and the East Indies. We have seen how far the spirit of monopoly, which pervaded these enterprises, was extended by the vices of the government to the domestic trade, every kind of occupation or manufacture from which money might be extorted being brought under royal patents for that object.

It was not always the case, however, that the privileged bodies were strictly joint-stock companies, though before the close of this reign they had generally assumed that character. The profits obtained by the Dutch East India Company at this juncture, who were making head rapidly against the Portuguese, were such as to yield a dividend varying from year to year between twenty and fifty per cent. The enterprise of England reduced the price of Indian commodities full three-fourths to the English consumer. The profits of this trade were of course great both to the company and the country. The export of less than £40,000 to India led to an export of the produce of that country to England valued at more than five times that amount. The heaviest vessel employed in this trade in 1614 was somewhat less than fifteen hundred tons. The vessels employed in the entire commerce of England were, including great and small, about a thousand, but it was matter of frequent complaint that English coals, and other productions, were carried to different parts of the world by foreign vessels.

Pacific as was the reign of James, the English ships of war increased under that monarch to double the number left him by his predecessor, though even yet they were little more than twenty. In 1623 the interest of money in England was reduced by law from ten to eight per cent. By a law passed twenty years before, the exportation of corn was forbidden when below £1 6s. 8d. per quarter. This law restricted the exportation of other grain after the same manner. The tonnage and poundage, of which so much mention is made in this period of history, consisted, the former of a payment of so much per ton on the wine imported, and the latter of one shilling on every twenty shillings' worth of goods exported or imported, with exceptions as to a few specified articles. In 1608 James was induced to make an experiment with regard to the staple of English commerce—woollen cloths—which should be noticed in this place, as showing the still imperfect state of English manufacture with respect to that article, and also the great evil of allowing commercial regulations to depend on the will of the crown or of its ministers. English artisans manufactured English wool into cloth, but it was still conveyed to Holland to be dressed and dyed. James listened to a merchant who proposed that the dressing and dyeing should be done at home, and that England should no longer allow herself to be despoiled in so great a degree of the fruit of her labours by Holland.

A proclamation was accordingly issued, which prohibited the exportation of cloth in the white, as it was called—a measure which destroyed the existing charter of the merchant-adventurers in regard to that article, and which was so much resented by the Dutch and German traders that they resolved not to admit the new English cloths among them as a matter of merchandise. Added to which, as might have been expected from the suddenness of the change, the English dressing and dyeing not only proved to be much inferior to the Dutch, but much more expensive. By this means some myriads of industrious people were exposed to idleness and want, and the English monarch,

whose sole object was to create a monopoly that might assist in rendering him independent of parliament, was compelled, by degrees, to abandon his scheme. Every channel of industry was liable to be thus disturbed by these royal interferences, and these were in fact so frequent that the age of James I has sometimes been described as "the Reign of Proclamations."

STATE OF LONDON

These proclamations were issued in some instances against eating flesh during Lent; sometimes for the purpose of calling on the nobles and country gentlemen to retire from the capital, that the good order and hospitality of their times might not be neglected; and more frequently to secure improvements in certain parts of the metropolis, and to regulate the number and quality of the houses that might be erected within its walls or precincts. It may deserve notice that, in the third year from James' accession, St. Giles' in the Fields was still a village at some distance from the city, an act being passed in that year requiring that St. Giles' and Drury lane should be made passable by being paved. About the same time, the distance of a mile, which had separated Westminster and the city, began to be covered with decent houses, instead of the thatched and mud-walled dwellings which had hitherto been strewed over the space since so well known by the name of the Strand. Another circumstance which bespoke the increasing population and wealth of the capital was the supplying it with fresh water by the formation of the New River, traversing a course of fifty miles, and crossed by more than two hundred bridges. This great work was completed in 1609.

James, in one of his proclamations, required all houses raised within the walls of the city to be built with brick or stone—the thickness of the walls, the height of the stories, and the form of the windows being also described; and persons neglecting these instructions, or building within two miles of the city gates without special permission, were threatened with such censures as the Star Chamber had the power to inflict. The principal reasons assigned for prohibitions of this nature both by Elizabeth and James were the fear of mortality in the case of infectious disorders, the probable want of provisions adequate to the support of so great a multitude, and the difficulty of providing a police numerous enough to detect the vicious or to put down insurrection. Hitherto the Thames had not been navigable farther than within seven miles of Oxford. Towards the close of this reign that remaining extent was made thus available, to the great advantage of both cities—the state of the roads being such as to make land-carriage very tedious and costly. These facts, relating to the growing importance of the capital, are introduced as furnishing the most certain indication with regard to the general improvement of the country. It is amusing to find the ministers of James and Elizabeth complaining of the head as having become in their day greatly disproportioned to the body.

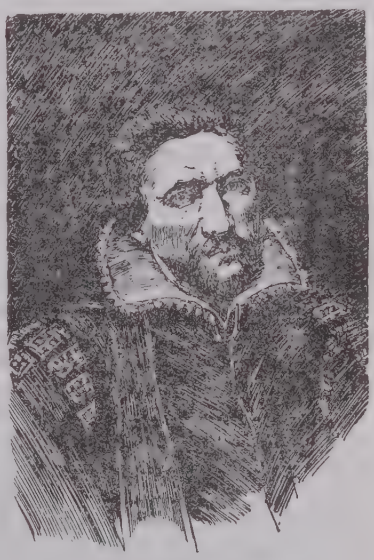
MANNERS OF THE COURT

From the state of commerce and of the capital at this period, we pass to notice the complexion of manners in the court and in the nation at large. With respect to the manners of the court, there was much in the sex and still more in the character of the late sovereign which served to impose an attention to decency and decorum on the persons admitted to her presence. But when this check was removed, the frivolous and vicious tendencies among the rising

[*ca.* 1603-1625 A.D.]

members of not a few leading families, which had been with difficulty restrained, broke forth as through a loosened embankment. James was no sooner settled in his new dominions than his characteristic fondness for ease and indulgence resumed its influence over him, and as small a portion of time as possible was given to the cares of government. The court presented a succession of costly and fantastic spectacles, partly in compliance with the taste of the monarch, but more, perhaps, with that of the queen.

In these masks there were many indications of learning and genius, and sometimes nearly as many of indecency and bad taste, though their sins against taste, it must be confessed, were less those of individuals than of the times. Theatrical performances of this nature had never been so much in fashion as during this reign. Jonson, the great dramatist, frequently employed himself in composing them. Their want of all natural dramatic interest, and of anything that could be called dialogue, except as sustained by a few professional assistants, was supplied in some measure by the fabulous and romantic character of the persons, the objects, and the scenes which made up the courtly spectacle. Gods and goddesses rose from the deep, or descended from the skies, and passed and repassed, amidst the scenic presentation of earth or heaven in pageant grandeur; and in these appearances sang appropriate songs, or gave utterance to mythological or allegorical compliments. The parts of most show, but requiring the least skill to perform, were sustained by the ladies and gentlemen of the court, who not unfrequently became visible, drawn by dolphins or mermaids, or commanding the services of winged dragons.



BEN JONSON
(1573-1637)

Childish as we may deem these representations, it is evident that Jonson laboured in the production of them with no ordinary pleasure. "Strains of the highest poetry of which his muse was capable animate his masks," says Miss Aiken,[b] "while their number and their unfailing variety excite not only admiration but wonder. The glowing sentiments of virtue and heroism with which they abound reflect still higher honour on the poet, but they might almost be regarded as a covert satire on the manners of the court, for which this Samson of learning was compelled to perform his feats of agility and strength." The indecency adverted to, as sometimes connected with the masks of James I, consisted much more in the mode of exhibiting them than in the productions themselves. Our best account of these amusements is from the pen of Sir John Harington.[h]

SIR JOHN HARINGTON'S ACCOUNT OF A COURT FÊTE

"In compliance with your asking, now shall you accept my poor account of rich doings. I came here a day or two before the Danish king came, and from the day he did come until this hour I have been well-nigh overwhelmed

with carousal, and sports of all kinds. The sports began each day in such manner and such sort as had well-nigh persuaded me of Mohammed's paradise. We had women, and indeed wine too, of such plenty as would have astonished each sober beholder. Our feasts were magnificent, and the two royal guests did most lovingly embrace each other at table. I think the Dane has strangely wrought on our good English nobles, for those whom I never could get to taste good liquor, now follow the fashion, and wallow in beastly delights. The ladies abandon their sobriety, and are seen to roll about in intoxication. In good sooth, the parliament did kindly to provide his majesty so seasonably with money, for there has been no lack of good living, shows, sights, and banquetings, from morn to eve.

"One day a great feast was held, and after dinner the representation of Solomon's Temple and the coming of the queen of Sheba was made—or, I may better say, was meant to have been made—before their majesties, by devise of the earl of Salisbury and others. But alas! as all earthly things do fail to poor mortals in enjoyment, so did prove our presentation hereof. The lady who played the queen's part carried most precious gifts to both their majesties, but forgetting the steps arising to the canopy, overset her caskets into his Danish majesty's lap and fell at his feet; though I rather think it was in his face. Much was the hurry and confusion; cloths and napkins were at hand to make all clean. His majesty then got up, and would dance with the queen of Sheba; but he fell down and humbled himself before her, and was carried to an inner chamber and laid on a bed of state, which was not a little defiled with the presents of the queen, which had been bestowed on his garments, such as wine, cream, beveridge, cakes, spices, and other good matters. The entertainment and show went forward, and most of the presenters went backward, and fell down, wine did so occupy their upper chambers.

"Now did appear in rich dress, Faith, Hope, and Charity. Hope did essay to speak, but wine rendered her endeavours so feeble, that she withdrew, and hoped that the king would excuse her brevity. Faith was then alone, for I am certain she was not joined with good works, and left the court in a staggering condition. Charity came to the king's feet, and seemed to cover a multitude of sins her sister had committed; in some sort she made obeisance, and brought gifts, but said she would return home again, as there was no gift which heaven had not already given his majesty. She then returned to Faith and Hope, who were both sick in the lower hall. Next came Victory, in bright armour, and by a strange medley of versification did endeavour to make suit to the king. But Victory did not triumph long, for after much lamentable utterance she was led away like a silly captive, and laid to sleep on the outer steps of the ante-chamber. Now Peace did make entry and strive to get foremost to the king; but I grieve to tell how great wrath she did discover unto those of her attendants, and, much contrary to her semblance, most rudely made war with her olive branch, and laid on the pates of those who did oppose her coming.

"I will now in good sooth declare to you, who will not blab, that the gunpowder fright is gone out of all our heads, and we are going on hereabouts as if the devil was contriving every man should blow up himself by wild riots, excess, and devastation of time and temperance. The great ladies go well masked, and indeed the only show of their modesty is in concealing their countenance; but alack! they meet with such countenance to uphold their strange doings, that I marvel not at aught that happens. I do often say, but not aloud, that the Danes have again conquered the Britons, for I see no man, or woman either, that can now command himself or herself."[c]

GENERAL STATE OF SOCIETY

Now this description, it will be remembered, is not that of a morbid Puritanism, but one coming from a man whose temper and habits were in nothing alien from the usual gaieties of a court; nor was there anything in the conduct of James towards the writer that can be regarded as disposing him to look on the English court at this time with an eye of prejudice.

Added to the intemperance described, and to the many secret or open vices attendant on it, was the practice of gaming, which the king not only encouraged on all occasions by his presence, but by frequent participation. The temperament of James, and other causes, made him almost insensible to the attraction of women; but he had always much to do with intrigues relating to them as prosecuted by others, a memorable instance of which we have in the affair of the countess of Essex. It is not a trivial portion of the guilt attaching to that detestable transaction which rests upon the sovereign; and the difference of natural constitution makes the encouragement given to licentiousness by a Charles II almost excusable when compared with the same conduct in a James I. In brief, the leading characteristics of the English court under the first of the Stuarts may be said to have been frivolity, intemperance, looseness of principle generally, and especially an habitual opposition to everything connected with the liberty of the subject, and to every graver view of religion; and all these traits in the court resulted in no small degree from the character of the monarch. There were, no doubt, exceptions to this order of things, but they were mere exceptions.

LONDON MANNERS

Something of the spirit of society in the metropolis at this time may be perceived in the nature of those public ordinaries which now became common in the city and its neighbourhood. Those tables were soon known as a place of very general resort to persons in the middle and higher classes of society, and scenes where they contributed with singular success to deprave each other. The repast in those places was too generally followed by inebriation; in this state the less suspecting were lured to the board of the gamester, and, in the end, often became victims of the sharper and the money-lender, perhaps of the duellist. Debauchery of every description followed in the train of these evils. In such schools a large portion of the cavaliers of the next reign were formed. It is amidst the growing prevalence of such manners that contemporary writers—themselves no precisionists in religion—begin to publish their complaints with respect to "the notorious debauchery of the Episcopal clergy."

Already the term Puritan had become a designation of reproach which the profligate were pleased to cast on every appearance of conscientiousness, whether relating to the affairs of this world or the next. "Under that term," says Osborne,[d] "were comprehended not only those brain-sick fools who opposed the discipline and ceremonies of the church and made religion an umbrella to impiety, but such as out of mere honesty restrained the vices of the times were branded with this title. Neither was any being charged with it, though of the best relation, thought competent to preferment in church or commonwealth; which made the bad glory in their impiety, and such as had not an extraordinary measure of grace, ashamed of any outward profession of sanctity. Court sermons were fraught with bitter invectives against these

people, whom they seated far nearer the confines of hell than papists. To avoid the imputation of Puritanism—a greater sin than vice in the way of preferment—our divines, for the generality, did sacrifice more time to Bacchus than to Minerva, and being excellent company, drew the most ingenious laity into a like excess."

Dean White,[e] who was no Puritan, but a prelatist of a different order from "the generality," above described by Osborne, addressed himself to a London auditory in the following terms: "No sin is so great but it is among us, and the greatest sins many times either least punished or not at all. And this course is so general that he begins to be counted very precise that will not swear and swagger with the worst. The torrent of these things is so strong that it seems manifestly to tend to the dissolution of society. Three things maintain society: religion, justice, and order. Religion is pitifully violated by atheism, blasphemy, heresy, and horrible profaneness. Justice is destroyed by oppression, rapine, bribery, extortion, and partiality. Government and order are profaned by contention. The walls of Babylon," he exclaims, "might be kept in repair for as little cost as our women are; when a lady's head-dress is sometimes as rich as her husband's rent-day." The men, he remarks, were in this respect little better, and the evil was altogether so desperate that he could not hope to see it controlled. As to drunkenness, it is described as so general "through the kingdom," that the Germans were likely "to lose their charter" in that kind of indulgence. In general, these pulpit representations should not be applied to the purposes of history without some material deductions. But in this instance the report of the layman from his study and of the clerk from his rostrum are to the same effect.

White complains of the city theatres as being scenes of the greatest disorder and profanity; and the secretary Winwood at the same time writes, "The players do not forbear to present upon their stage the whole course of this present time, not sparing either king, state, or religion, in so great absurdity, and with such liberty, that any would be afraid to hear them." It is somewhat singular, and perhaps to his credit, that James should so far have permitted this license.[1] But a piece called *Eastward Ho!* produced by Jonson, Chapman, and Marston, contained a satirical passage on the Scotch residents in England, which gave so much offence to persons about the sovereign, that the authors were committed to prison and in danger of losing their ears, or of having their noses slit.[2] The free satirical temper of the drama at this time was, in part, an effect of the spirit of the age, and reacted on that spirit, upon the whole, with advantage.

We know not how far the incentives of the theatre may have contributed to the excesses of those bands among the London populace, who, under the name of Roaring Boys, and Roysters, and other designations, beset the streets of the city at night, assailing the peaceable inhabitants, and spreading general

[1] James' love of wit or of what he took for it, had something to do with his forbearance in this respect. Howell[f] in one of his letters writes that the king, while listening to the reading of an abusive satire upon his court, declared once and again that the author should "hang for it"; but when the concluding couplet came,

> Now God preserve the king, the queen, the peers,
> And grant the author long may wear his ears!

the monarch exclaimed, "By my soul, so thou shalt for me; thou art a bitter, but thou art a witty, knave."

[2] Jonson's mother is said to have procured poison for the purpose of taking it herself and administering it to her son rather than see him subject to so ignominious a punishment. But James had too much respect for the poet to make it probable that he would proceed to such extremities.

alarm. But so much of turbulent material was there in the capital, and so manifestly feeble was the government, that these disgraceful uproars seemed to bid defiance to all possible attempts to suppress them.

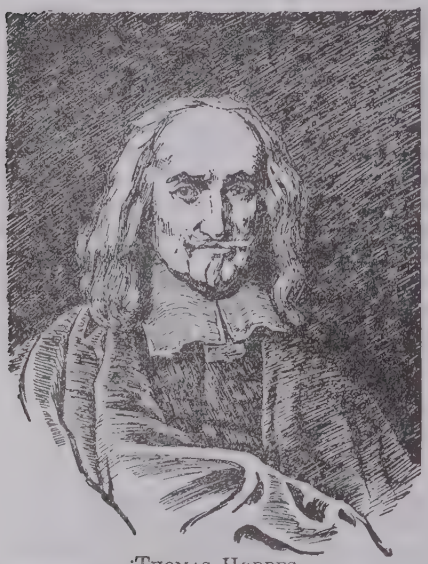
We have said nothing with respect to the frivolity and corruption of the court that is not borne out but too manifestly by facts; and society, especially in the capital, became seriously tainted by its complicated vices; but it so happened that, throughout the reign of James I, if we except what is indicated in the proceedings of the lower house of parliament, the impurities of the social state, as forming the most patronised portion of it, were constantly floating on the surface, and accordingly appear to be much more considerable as compared with the mass than they really were. There was an undercurrent, deep and powerful, with which these light and filthy properties had little connection. This is placed beyond all reasonable doubt by the character of the men who were sent to parliament, not only from the boroughs and cities, but from the counties, and by the general struggle of the next reign in favour of the principles of which those men were the unwearied advocates. For this, however, the people were indebted. under the favour of heaven, to themselves, not to the house of Stuart.

STATE OF LITERATURE

But if the influence of the court was so far limited with respect to the morals and spirit of the nation, it is not less gratifying to perceive that there were circumstances which conferred a similar exemption on literature. Not that this matter, any more than the natural sense of justice and moral propriety, was without its injuries from that source. The great fault of the prose-compositions at this period was in a quaint pedantic mannerism; while in the poetry these blemishes were increased by an affected adulatory language in reference to the fair and the powerful; and, in productions for the theatres, by a frequent, and often, it would seem, a studied indecency. This last fault, which is too broadly and frequently indulged to be endured by any modern auditory, is said to have been no more prominent than was imperatively demanded by the taste of the play-goers; so much so, that pieces by authors who seem most censurable on this account are reported to have failed simply in consequence of their not being sufficiently adapted to the prevailing taste for grossness and obscenity.

Shakespeare, though by no means innocent in this respect, is much less an offender than any man of his time; but it seems to have required all his genius to gain for him impunity in so far refusing to cater for such appetites. The inference to be deduced from this fact with respect to the condition of a large portion of society in the metropolis is too obvious to need pointing out. But admitting these grave exceptions, and some others of less weight, there remains enough in the productions of the English mind, from about the middle of the age of Elizabeth to the beginning of the civil war, to render it certain that, with respect to the achievements of original genius, this is the brightest period in the history of the English people. It was not an age of the most refined taste, nor was its knowledge so extended, or in all respects so skilfully exhibited and applied as in later times; but no other half century had done so much to discover and accumulate those precious materials with which the taste and the reason of man were meant to be conversant, nor so much, in fact, to improve those faculties themselves.

The momentous freedom conferred on the human mind by the Reformation, the sharp collision of its powers immediately consequent on that event, and the fashion of patronising literary men which obtained in the court of Elizabeth, were among the more proximate causes of this brilliant era in literary history. The works produced during this interval, though partaking of the greatest variety, all bear a sort of family impress, and intimate the operation of causes at once prevalent and powerful. One remarkable feature in them is, that whatever their faults may be, they were not themselves exotics, but almost uniformly characterised by an untrammelled freedom, by a singular fearlessness, and by a large share of originality.



THOMAS HOBBES
(1588-1679)

Among the prose writers whose productions contribute to render this period so illustrious are Sidney, Hooker, Raleigh, and Bacon, with whom it commenced; and Hall, Hobbes, Taylor, and Clarendon, with whom it closed—all men whose minds were formed at this juncture, though the principal works of some of them did not appear until afterwards. The poetry, however, of this age, beginning with Spenser and ending with Milton, is more remarkable than its prose. It embraces the whole of that class of writers who are known under the name of the "old dramatists." These include the names of Greene, Marlowe, Lyly, Legge, Lodge, Shakespeare, Daniel, Beaumont and Fletcher, Marston, Chapman, Middleton, Jonson, Field, Dekker, Webster, Ford, Rowley, Massinger, Suckling, Heywood Phillips, and Heming, not to mention others.

THE ARTS

England at this time had no school of art, and her science existed in embryo rather than in any advanced state. From the accession of the house of Tudor, the patronage of sovereigns and of the nobility had served to attract foreign artists and to diffuse a considerable taste for painting. Sir Anthony More (Attoni Moro) visited this country for the practice of his art in the reign of Philip and Mary, and was followed by several painters of talent from Holland and Flanders, until the day when Rubens and Vandyke were so much employed in depicting the leading men. Elizabeth discovered a fondness for the possession of pictures, and was surpassed in her zeal in this way by Lord Buckhurst. Music also was deemed an important branch of general education with both sexes.

Inigo Jones is almost the only name in architecture at the period under review, and of him it is not a little to say that, if inferior to Sir Christopher Wren in mathematical and general knowledge, and in native expanse of mind, he has been described by some as upon the whole the superior of that artist in

taste, and as more of an architect by education, and though unequal, he was certainly capable of imparting to his works some features both of beauty and grandeur. His principal works are seen at Greenwich, in the chapel at Whitehall, and in the hall and chapel of Lincoln's Inn; but the water-gate at York House is regarded by many as his most beautiful production.

LORD BACON AND SCIENCE

With respect to the natural sciences, nearly everything relating to their state during this period may be found in the writings of Francis Bacon. It was reserved to the genius of that extraordinary man to direct the scientific mind not only of his country, but of Christendom, into the true path of knowledge; to call the attention of men from metaphysical abstraction to the facts of nature; and in this manner to perform the two most important services that could be rendered to the future world of philosophy—first, by indicating how much it had to unlearn and how much to acquire; and, secondly, by pointing out the method in which the one process and the other might be successfully conducted. This was not to be done, except by a mind well informed as to the existing state of scientific knowledge, and one which might furnish from the stores of its own intelligence many of the seeds of positive improvement. But the object of Bacon was less to effect a marked progress in any one field of inquiry, than to show how the whole might be cultivated so as to exclude the thorn and the briar, and to make the soil productive in a hundred fold.



FRANCIS BACON
(1561–1626)
(From an old print)

The conclusions admitted into the Baconian system of knowledge were all to be deduced from the ascertained facts of the physical universe, and from these facts selected in sufficient numbers, and so far examined and compared, as to impart to the conclusions deduced from them the character of certainty and law. The dependence, accordingly, of this system on the most rigid and comprehensive processes of experiment has obtained for its illustrious author the title Father of Experimental Philosophy. Not that experiment—the examination of nature's self—the interrogating, as it is called, of her appearances, had been hitherto wholly neglected. The name of Roger Bacon and the history of alchemy are enough to show the contrary; and while Galileo was the contemporary of Francis Bacon, Kepler, Tycho Brahe, and Copernicus were among his predecessors; and Gilbert had investigated the laws of magnetism upon the purest principles of rigorous induction. But, unhappily, the experiments made were, generally speaking, so isolated, so devoid of comprehensiveness and system—and, above all, the metaphysics of the Schoolmen were allowed to dominate so injuriously over the whole region of physical things—that the rays of truth which had been elicited by this means were too often made to do the office of the *ignis fatuus*, rather than any better service.

Hence what the age of Luther was in regard to religious faith, the age of Bacon was in regard to the whole domain of natural science. Both had their precursors, but both had so great a work to perform as to be justly esteemed the parents of the mighty revolution which followed them. Boyle, Locke, and Newton have their place among the illustrious progeny of our great scientific reformer; while on the Continent the progress of the human intellect during the two most enlightened centuries in the history of mankind has only served to render it certain that the name of Bacon will never cease to attract the homage of civilised humanity.

REVIEW OF THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION

Before we proceed to the important reign of Charles I, it may be proper to advert in this place to various matters relating to the time of his predecessor, some of which have been touched upon but lightly, if at all, in the preceding narrative. Much has occurred in the preceding chapter to show the state of the English constitution and government during this period. The two great principles of the constitution with which its freedom in all respects is mainly connected are, first, that Englishmen should not be taxed without their consent virtually given through the medium of their representatives in the national council; and, secondly, that the concurrent voice of lords and commons in parliament assembled should be necessary to the adoption of every regulation having the force of law. Long before James ascended the throne both these principles had been established by many enactments, and they were generally acknowledged, though not so completely as to have been secure from occasional attempts to break in upon them, even down to a comparatively recent period.

The great provision which required that no tribute should be exacted from the property of the subject without consent of parliament, was sometimes infringed by the government in calling for certain contributions under the name of a loan or a benevolence. These loans were obtained by means of royal letters, called privy seals, addressed to the persons required to become contributors; and the sums thus obtained were not only obtained without interest, but could not be recovered by any process of law—a benevolence was distinguished from a loan as being a gift to the crown. As there was no law to authorise either kind of exaction, so there was no direct punishment that could be inflicted on such as refused to part with their money when thus solicited. But the government, by quartering soldiers on such persons, or by forcing them to go on some distant mission for the crown, possessed the power of making such acts of disobedience both inconvenient and costly.

From a period considerably earlier than the accession of the house of Tudor, it had not been pretended that this method of raising money was the constitutional one, the plea on such occasions being that of necessity or peculiar emergency, to which the cumbrous movement of assembling the council of the nation was not applicable. Besides the provisions against all such exactions so expressly made in the Great Charter, it was enacted in the twenty-fifth year of Edward III "that no person should make any loan to the king against his will, because such loans are against reason and the franchise of the land." Even in the tyrannical reign of Henry VIII an effort to raise money in contempt of this prohibition led the people generally to remark that "if men should give their goods by a commission, then were it worse than the taxes of France, and so England should be bond and not free." So

loud indeed were the complaints occasioned by this proceeding that Henry deemed it prudent to recall his warrants, and obtained the needed assistance by a vote of parliament.

It would have been quite in accordance with Elizabeth's high notions concerning her prerogative had she shown a disposition to obtain her supplies in this manner; but it is to be observed here that through the course of almost half a century during which that princess occupied the throne, she abstained from soliciting a single benevolence, and that not more than two instances occur of her obtaining loans, both of which were solicited to meet a pressing state of affairs, and both were honourably repaid. To avoid such applications to her people, Elizabeth is known to have given twelve and even fifteen per cent. for the loan of money on her own responsibility.[1] James, we have seen, was much less scrupulous in this respect. Indeed, to obtain money by such means was the almost constant employment of his ministers, though, happily, with only a moderate share of success.

But it was not merely by soliciting loans under the name of privy seals, or gifts under the name of a benevolence, that the English government had sometimes obtained pecuniary aid from the subject without consent of parliament. In the earlier period the duty laid upon merchandise at the ports, now known by the name of the customs, was sometimes imposed, though contrary to an express provision of the Great Charter, by the sole authority of the crown; and while this power was in any measure conceded to the government, the authority of parliament, as the medium of taxation, was necessarily imperfect. James and his ministers availed themselves of every precedent, however remote, in favour of such exercises of the prerogative. With what success this was done has already appeared; an instance from the reign of Mary, which upon examination totally failed, being the only semblance of a precedent to be adduced in favour of this pretension on the part of the crown from the time of Edward III, a space of more than two centuries.

It was not by such means, but principally by the sale of monopolies, that Elizabeth contrived to replenish her treasury beyond the extent in which she judged it prudent to ask the assistance of her parliament. On this subject her parliaments uttered loud complaints, and not without considerable success.[2] Such, then, was the state of the first great provision of the constitution on the accession of the house of Stuart—it was the law and usage of the realm that its property should not be taxed without consent of parliament. The second great principle relates to the legislative power of parliament. This was less perfectly understood and secured than the former, but by no means so imperfectly as it has been sometimes represented. In the reign of Henry VIII a royal proclamation possessed nearly the whole force of a statute; but the servile enactment which had conceded this extravagant authority to that

[1] It thus appears there had been just five attempts to raise money in the manner adverted to before the accession of the house of Stuart, only one of which can be said to have been made with success. Yet Hume *i* states that Elizabeth often raised money in this way, and describes the practice as so common in the history of the English government that scarcely anyone thought of questioning it. The benevolence adverted to by this writer as declined by Elizabeth in 1585 was an ordinary parliamentary supply, of which the term benevolence had ong been and still continued to be the frequent technical designation. [Gardiner *k* points out that Elizabeth actually returned to her subjects a subsidy voted in 1566 and already collected.]

[2] Elizabeth, in prospect of her coronation, sent to the custom-house prohibiting the export of any crimson silk, until her own wants in that article were supplied. This pitiable act of the great queen has been described as a specimen of the freedom with which English sovereigns could employ their prerogative to lay on embargoes and to extort money from traders. But so far was the queen from regarding herself as only doing a thing of course in this instance, that the persons required to see her pleasure accomplished were enjoined "to keep the matter secret."

monarch was rescinded in the next reign. In the reign of Elizabeth, however, proclamations were frequent, principally in consequence of the long intervals between the meetings of parliament. So long as these royal announcements were founded on existing laws, they were, in the language of Sir Edward Coke, "of great force," and their operation might be highly beneficial; but the evil was, that they sometimes made that to be an offence which the law had not so made, and led to the infliction of penalties in some cases which the law did not warrant.

The dangers attendant on foreign relations, and those domestic animosities which continued through the whole reign of the last of the Tudors, made it almost necessary that something like this temporary power of legislation should be vested in the government, lest any sudden juncture of affairs, for which existing enactments might not be found to have sufficiently provided, should prove fatal to the state. Elizabeth sometimes abused the confidence thus reposed in her discretion, but very rarely, and her subjects always regarded this branch of her authority with peculiar jealousy. James issued proclamations in greater number than his predecessors, often assuming the full tone of the legislator; but the degree in which his injunctions were obeyed depended on the matter to which they referred, and on the temper of the moment in which they happened to be published. The Star Chamber was the court where offences against proclamations were especially cognisable.

But a circumstance remains to be mentioned which has much more the appearance of an infringement on the authority of parliament—we allude to the practice of the sovereign in interfering with its debates, and requiring the suspension of discussions with respect to any measure unacceptable to the court. The king is not supposed to know what has been doing in either house until the result of successive deliberations has been placed before him in the shape of a bill, to which his assent is solicited that it may become a law. In the age of Elizabeth and James it was otherwise, royal messages, having respect to the matters under consideration, being not unfrequently sent to the upper or lower house, and of such a nature as to disturb very materially the independence of its proceedings. But it should be added, that so early as the reign of Henry IV the commons obtained a law which promised them freedom from such interruption; and that it was only on particular questions, as the succession, or ecclesiastical affairs, that even Elizabeth ventured to meddle thus with the course of things in the lords or commons—nearly sixty bills on ordinary subjects having regularly passed both houses in 1597, to which her assent was refused at the end of the session. It must be observed also that this usage was not of a kind to affect existing enactments, its principal effect being to express the dissent of the crown during the progress of a measure, instead of its being deferred, as at present, until the deliberations of parliament have been brought to a close.

Enough has appeared in the reign of James I to show how imperfect was the administration of justice at this period, particularly in cases where any state interest or the passions of the court were concerned. In ordinary proceedings between man and man, the course prescribed by the law was respected, except where the cause was of so much importance as to expose the judges to the influence or the bribes of some powerful litigant. But among the laws designed to protect the liberty and property of the subject, there was no one which might not be made to give way when the plea resorted to was the welfare of the state. And how many were the matters which might be dealt with as having a relation to that object. The judges held their seats but during good behaviour; and the jury, if they dared to return a verdict

contrary to the wishes of the government, were liable to be brought into the Star Chamber, where to retract their judgment was the only means of escaping from heavy fines, and from imprisonment determined in its nature and duration by the pleasure of that tribunal.

It is true the instances in which juries were so treated were not frequent; but so long as this state inquisition was allowed to spread itself in this manner like an incubus over all the ordinary courts of justice, the most valued securities held forth by the law were liable to be put in abeyance. The judge, as the creature of the court, too commonly shared in its virulence, whenever it appeared as a prosecutor; and the terrors which presented themselves to the eyes of a jury were sufficient to prevent their acting in the spirit of that institution—as a barrier against oppression.[1] It must not, however, be supposed that the administration of justice which was required by the law or usage of the times adverted to was in all respects the same with what is familiar to us. If correct views with respect to the history of English jurisprudence are to be formed, it is of the first importance to distinguish between those failures of justice which resulted from the character of the judge and of those who acted under his directions, and such as may be fairly traced to the then imperfect state of the law.

It was not so much the imperfect state of the law in regard to cases of treason which led to the condemnation of Raleigh, as the terrors of a power which had often proved to be stronger than the law. As much legal technicality might have been urged in defence of the proceedings against Raleigh as in the case of most of those persons whose lot it was to be brought to trial as state prisoners during the preceding reigns; but in saying this we leave the jury under the charge of pusillanimous injustice, and we have to trace that injustice to the vice and tyranny of the government. Even in the age of Elizabeth, it was not until the state prisoner appeared at the bar and listened to his indictment that he became fully aware of the charge against him; and then he was not only required to plead instantly, but had to extract the matters of accusation from the maze of legal subtleties with which they were interwoven.

He might deny the charge, but the verbal or written depositions of absent parties, and parties often of the most suspicious character, were admitted as evidence against him, while on his own part he was not permitted to adduce any witness to attest his innocence, or to impeach the witnesses of the crown. He had not the assistance of counsel, and had at the same time to guard against a multitude of ensnaring questions pressed upon him by the counsel for the crown, and by the judges. If pronounced guilty, his life and property were at the mercy of the sovereign; and if acquitted by the jury, they received their punishment in the Star Chamber, while he was remanded to his prison until some new ground of proceeding against him should be made out, or to continue there as long as it should be the pleasure of the government.

Some of these practices were not contrary to law as it then existed. There are others, however, which were well known to be illegal. But what did it avail that the law proclaimed the injustice of the government, if the government, in its spirit of usurpation, was strong enough to deprive the subject

[1 So Hallam *i* says: "Some of those glaring transgressions of natural as well as positive law rendered our courts of justice in cases of treason little better than the caverns of murderers. Whoever was arraigned at their bar was almost certain to meet a virulent prosecutor, a judge hardly distinguishable from the prosecutor except by his ermine, and a passive, pusillanimous jury. Those who are acquainted only with our modern decent and dignified procedure can form little conception of the irregularity of ancient trials."]

of the power necessary for using it in his defence? Nothing, for example, was more certain at this period than that the application of torture was contrary to law, yet nothing was more common than the use of it in these state prosecutions.

The practice of dealing with state delinquents by way of parliamentary impeachment, which was revived under James, and the improvements introduced in the mode of conducting such prosecutions subsequent to the trial of the earl of Middlesex, were important acquisitions in favour of more regular government, the high court of parliament being much more independent than the ordinary courts of law. The stream of national justice was farther purified by the many prosecutions on charges of bribery and corruption.

Under governments so much disposed toward encroachment on popular freedom as were those of the house of Tudor, it was not to have been expected that the liberty of the subject would always be held sacred, inasmuch as the powers of arresting obnoxious persons at pleasure, without being obliged to assign any cause for such acts, or being under the necessity of bringing such persons to trial, is that to which arbitrary princes have generally clung with the utmost tenacity. During the reign of James, individuals were liable to arrests of this nature. But these commitments, which generally took place on the most vague pretences, were not very frequent, except in the case of some popular members of the lower house. They were, however, sufficiently numerous to be regarded with alarm as precedents of the most dangerous description. Elizabeth had shown a resolute inclination to indulge in this species of tyranny; but even her judges were united in declaring it to be the law of the land that no subject should be deprived of his liberty without a specified and lawful cause; and consistently with this declaration, they opposed the justice of the law, from time to time, to the passions of the court, by releasing many persons who had been illegally committed.

Nothing could be more pitiable than the attempt to vindicate the conduct of the court in this respect in the memorable debate concerning it soon after the death of James. On that occasion the generous provisions of Magna Charta, and of many subsequent statutes, were adduced, and to these the defenders of arbitrary power had absolutely nothing to oppose save certain instances of violence in the conduct of successive governments which those laws had been expressly framed to prevent. It was natural that James should be more disposed to copy the irregularities of his predecessors in this respect, than that he should bow to the spirit of freedom which pervaded ancient statutes. The great check on such acts was in the rising spirit of liberty among the people, which, during the sittings of parliament, spoke out without restraint in the lower house. But we have seen that even this medium of resistance was not sufficient to restrain the conduct of the government in all cases within the limits of the constitution.

The means, however, which enabled the government of those times to invade the privileges of the subject with most success were found in the constitution and the usurpations of the courts of Star Chamber and High Commission—the former being, in its abused and corrupted state, a species of inquisition, employed to awe down every appearance of insubordination in the state, and the latter being instituted to perform the same office with regard to the church. But expedient as such a provision may have been in these rude and unsettled times, the state of society in England when the sceptre passed from the Tudor to the Stuart dynasty was such as to preclude the necessity for so dangerous an engine of power. Nothing, however, was farther from the intention of

[*ca.* 1603–1625 A.D.]

James and his successor than that the court of Star Chamber should cease to exist, or that it should become at all less arbitrary or less active than in preceding reigns.

The court of High Commission was instituted to ascertain and correct all heresies and disorders subject to ecclesiastical authority. According to the commission issued in 1583, this tribunal consisted of forty-four persons, including twelve prelates, and the majority of the privy council, besides the members chosen from among the civilians, and the clergy generally. It devolved on these persons to inquire from time to time, either by the oaths of twelve good and lawful men, or by such other lawful means as they could devise, with respect to all contempts and offences contrary to the acts of Supremacy and Uniformity. It was their province to take cognisance of seditious books, heretical opinions, false rumours or talks, and slanderous words, and of a variety of offences against good morals; and in so doing they were accustomed to examine suspected persons upon oath, and punished contempt of their authority not only by the sentence of excommunication, but by fines and imprisonment; and it was determined by the commissioners that these serious penalties might be inflicted by any three of their number, one of them being a prelate. The court of High Commission, therefore, was a kind of national bishops' court, with enlarged powers, embracing those questions of religion and morality which had pertained to the jurisdiction of the clergy during the Middle Ages. From all the provincial bishops' courts an appeal lay to this superior tribunal. It should be added, that the creation of this court was the act of the first parliament under Elizabeth, and that five commissions relating to it had been framed before that of 1583.

As these commissioners were selected in nearly equal numbers from the laity and the clergy, it was to be expected that their jurisdiction would not prove to be purely of an ecclesiastical character. Had the penalties awarded by these functionaries been restricted to excommunication in the case of the laity, and deprivation in the case of the clergy, the former sentence alone exposed the person on whom it was pronounced to many weighty grievances as a subject. But to this means of enforcing obedience these guardians of the ecclesiastical state added direct fines and imprisonment; and it was this encroachment of a jurisdiction which should have been strictly ecclesiastical, on the province of the courts of law, which rendered the court of High Commission so much an object of dislike with the friends of liberty generally. During the reign of James, the Puritans, and every succeeding house of commons, did themselves honour by the temper and intelligence with which they exposed and resisted the usurpations and the dangerous usages of this power. Nor should we forget to mention the patriotic conduct of Sir Edward Coke in this respect. The commons, indeed, would have abolished this instrument of arbitrary rule, but the utmost that could be at present accomplished was to limit its excesses.[1]

We have had occasion to notice the complaints of the commons during the reign of James with respect to the partial enforcement of the laws against Catholics; and this practice of the crown in enforcing certain statutes very much at its discretion, and in sometimes conferring on individuals a dispensation from the penalties of particular enactments, was an irregularity in the working of the English government that could not be too seriously deplored.

[1] In the forty-second year of Elizabeth, one Simpson killed an officer of the commission court who attempted to make a forcible entry into his house by virtue of a warrant from that authority, and the judges acquitted him, declaring that he had only availed himself of the protection of the law. The tyranny of this court reached its highest point under Charles I.

It must always be admitted that somewhat of a dispensing power pertains to the crown so long as the king is allowed to pardon criminals, and is not bound legally to prosecute in any particular instance. But under the Tudor princes this power was not confined to such narrow limits, though, according to Sir Edward Coke, "all grants of the benefit of any penal law, or of power to dispense with the law, or to compound for the forfeiture, are contrary to the ancient fundamental laws of the realm." This was no doubt the view of the case generally entertained during the age of Elizabeth, and, in consequence, the occasional abuses of this nature which occurred were exceedingly unpopular.

Hooker, whose views on such a topic must be entitled to the greatest deference, remarks: "I cannot but choose to commend highly their wisdom by whom the foundation of the commonwealth has been laid, wherein though no manner of person or cause be unsubject to the king's power, yet so is the power of the king over all, and in all limited, that unto all his proceedings the law itself is a rule. The axioms of our regal government are these: *lex facit regem*—the king's grant of any favours made contrary to the law is void; *rex nihil potest nisi quod jure potest*—what power the king hath, he hath it by law: the bounds and limits of it are known, the entire community giveth general order by law, how all things publickly are to be done, and the king, as the head thereof, the highest in authority over all, causeth, according to the same law, every particular to be framed and ordered thereby. The whole body politic maketh laws, which laws give power unto the king; and the king having bound himself to use according to law that power, it so falleth out that the execution of the one is accomplished by the other."

It has been justly said that this writer's account of the origin of society absolutely coincides with that of Locke. He affirms that without the consent of a primary contract, "there were no reasons that one should take upon him to be lord or judge over another; because, although there be, according to the opinion of some very great and judicious men, a kind of natural right in the noble, wise, and virtuous, to govern them which are of a servile disposition; nevertheless for manifestation of this their right, and men's more peaceable contentment on both sides, the assent of them who are to be governed seemeth necessary—the lawful power of making laws to command whole politic societies of men, belonging so properly unto the same entire societies, that for any prince or potentate of what kind soever upon earth to exercise the same of himself, and not either by express commission immediately and personally received from God, or else by authority received at first from their consent upon whose persons they impose laws, it is no better than mere tyranny.

"Laws they are not, therefore, which public approbation has not made so. But approbation not only they give, who personally declare their assent by voice, sign, or act, but also when others do it in their names, by right originally, at the least, derived from them. As in parliaments, councils, and the like assemblies, although we be not personally ourselves present, notwithstanding our assent is by reason of other agents there in our behalf. And what we do by others, no reason but that it should stand as our deed. Against all equity it were that a man should suffer detriment at the hands of men for not observing that which he never did either by himself or others, mediately or immediately, agree unto."

It will occasion less surprise that the author of the *Ecclesiastical Polity* should express himself thus, when it is remembered that these views had been published long before, not only by Aylmer, but by a writer possessing more of a kindred spirit with the great defender of the Anglican church.

[*ca.* 1603–1625 A.D.]

This writer was Sir Thomas Smith,[g] a lawyer and a philosopher, who held the office of principal secretary to Edward VI and Elizabeth. "The most high and absolute power of the realm of England," he says, "consisteth in the parliament. Upon mature deliberation every bill or law, being thrice read and disputed upon in either house, the other two parts, first each apart, and after the prince himself, in presence of both the parties, doth consent unto and alloweth that is the prince's and whole realm's deed: whereupon justly no man can complain, but must accommodate himself to find it good and obey it. That which is done by this consent is taken for law.

"The parliament abrogateth old laws, maketh new, giveth order for things past, and for things hereafter to be followed, changeth right and possessions of private men, legitimateth bastards, establisheth forms of religion, altereth weights and measures, giveth form of succession to the crown, defineth of doubtful rights whereof is no law already made, appointeth subsidies, tailes, taxes, and impositions, giveth most free pardons and absolutions, restoreth in blood and name, as the highest court condemneth or absolveth them whom the prince will put to that trial. And, in short, all that ever the people of Rome might do, either in *centuriatis comitiis* or *tributis*, the same may be done by the parliament of England, which representeth and hath the power of the whole realm, both the head and the body."

The Puritan leader Cartwright, Hooker's great antagonist, expressed himself on the nature of the English constitution in the following terms: "In respect of the queen it is a monarchy, in respect of the most honourable council it is an aristocracy, and having regard to the parliament which is assembled of all estates it is a democracy."

These passages will suffice to show what the great principles and theory of the English constitution really were, in the judgment of the best informed men, during the reign of Elizabeth and James. That the conduct of the rulers was sometimes at variance with these principles is confessed, but the great point to be observed here is, that the usurpations of a government do not alter the nature of a constitution.[h]





CHAPTER XVIII

CHARLES I AND BUCKINGHAM

[1625–1629 A.D.]

> LET events speak and the mighty forces be revealed which, rising from and increasing upon one another for centuries, now stood face to face and mingled in a stormy conflict which gave birth to fierce and bloody outbursts, of the utmost moment in the decision of problems important to all Europe. The British Isles had been of old the outer margin or even beyond the outer margin of civilisation; they were now one of its chief centres, and, thanks to their recent union, one of the grand powers of the world; though it is clear that the elements of the population were as yet by no means fused and unified.—VON RANKE.[b]

CHARLES I was born at Dunfermline, in Scotland, on the 19th of November, 1600, and, like Queen Elizabeth, was twenty-five years of age on his accession to the throne. In his youth he was weakly and self-willed, but strengthened his constitution by temperance, and gradually acquired much skill in bodily exercises. In consequence of a local defect it was difficult for him to speak fluently, and he was so destitute of gracefulness and affability that he was not able even to confer favours in an engaging manner. As he had not interfered in public affairs as prince royal, perhaps from obedience to his father, and had never expressed any decided opinions, most persons expected he would now act with double energy, and only a few attributed his former reserve to want of decision and firmness. The person who expressed the greatest apprehensions was the palatine ambassador Rusdorf:[c] "If," said he, "the new king trusts entirely to the direction of one man, and disdains sincere advice; if, like his father, he neglects business, gives ear to informers and calumniators, raises disputes with his people, and looks upon concession as disgraceful, he will become contemptible to his enemies, bring shame upon his friends, and entirely ruin the tottering state."

At the beginning, however, the contrary of all this took place. The persons belonging to the new court were required to be strictly moral in their

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conduct; fools and buffoons, whom James had loved to have about him, were kept at a distance; able men were employed, and artists and men of learning encouraged. The king read and wrote several languages, possessed a knowledge of history, divinity, and mathematics, and a taste for all the fine arts. Though Charles was born in Scotland, the English considered him as one of their own countrymen, and his dignified deportment could not fail to please when compared with the loquaciousness of James and his predilection for unworthy favourites.[d]

Charles I was proclaimed king on the day of his father's death. The possessor of the crown was changed. The administration of government was unaltered. Buckingham was still the first in power, with equal influence over the proud and dignified Charles of twenty-five as over the vain and vulgar James of fifty-nine. We are told by Mrs. Hutchinson[e] that "the face of the court was much changed in the change of the king"; that the grossnesses of the court of James grew out of fashion. The general change could have been little more than a forced homage to decency whilst Buckingham was the presiding genius of the court of Charles; but from the first the king exhibited himself as "temperate, chaste, and serious." A letter written within a few weeks of his accession says, "Our sovereign, whom God preserve, is zealous for God's truth; diligently frequents and attentively hearkens to prayers and sermons; will pay all his father's, mother's, and brother's debts, and that by disparking most of his remote parks and chases; will reform the court as of unnecessary charges, so of recusant papists." At the beginning of this reign the people must have had a reasonable expectation of being religiously and quietly governed.

The marriage of Charles with the princess Henrietta Maria of France [sister of Louis XIII] was the result of the treaty made in the previous reign, and it was concluded by proxy even before James was laid in the tomb at Westminster. There were bonfires in London for the marriage on the 3rd of May. On the 7th Charles was the chief mourner at the funeral of his father. The young queen arrived at Dover on the 12th of June. She came at a gloomy time, for London was visited with pestilence. Although the bonfires had been lighted in London for the king's marriage, the union with a Roman Catholic princess was in itself offensive; and Charles had given indications of concessions to the papists which were distinctly opposed to the existing laws. Although he vailed his crown to the lords and the commons when he first spoke from the throne, he had roused the suspicions of the sturdy band who had resisted the despotic attempts of his father. He defied public opinion by granting special pardons to Roman priests, without the intervention of the law. There was a restrictive code, harsh and unjust, no doubt, but not to be dispensed with by an exercise of the prerogative. Buckingham had led the parliament into the sanction of a war, but his popularity was fast passing away.[f]

Buckingham had been commissioned to fetch the princess from Paris. An immense number of very costly dresses and a train of five or six hundred persons had manifested his vanity rather than the power and wealth of England. On the 22nd of June, 1625, Charles, then twenty-six years of age, was married at Canterbury to Henrietta, who was then sixteen; and it was expected from the highly moral character of both that the marriage would be happy. Soon, however, occasion for mutual complaint arose: in the first place, Henrietta thought that she had not been received with as much pomp and respect as was her due, and was angry that she was made to sleep in an old state bed of Queen Elizabeth's. Soon afterwards she had a dispute with Bucking-

ham because he desired to force his wife's sister and niece upon her, and with the king, because he meddled in all, even the most trifling details of her domestic economy. On the other hand, Charles had reason to complain of the unkindness and violent temper of his wife. In the sequel, however, contrary to all expectation, she not only lived in harmony with her husband, but her influence increased to such a degree as to give rise to great complaints.

CHARLES' FIRST PARLIAMENT (1625 A.D.)

The embarrassments of the treasury, caused by the inconsiderate profusion of James, and the Spanish war which had been so rashly commenced, induced the king to summon his first parliament on the 18th of June, 1625, at which ninety-seven lords and four hundred and ninety-four commoners were present. Charles, in his opening speech, briefly described the state of public affairs, spoke of the aid required for the war and of his zeal for the Protestant religion. The lord-keeper, Williams, having dwelt on these subjects at greater length, to which the speaker of the house of commons returned a polite answer, adding a request for the "maintenance and preservation of the rights of parliament," the lord-keeper again spoke, and said, "that with respect to the last point the king confirmed all their privileges without exception, because he knew that the commons would themselves punish any abuses."

Charles believed that after such a confidential and satisfactory declaration the parliament would immediately proceed to fulfil all his wishes. He was therefore greatly astonished when it refused to grant more than two subsidies [£140,000], a sum wholly insufficient for his great and notorious wants, as well as for the war, which had been approved and almost forced by the two houses.

This conduct proceeded from various motives, some particular and some general. Among the former was dislike of Buckingham, vexation at the marriage of the king with a Roman Catholic princess, the oppression of the Puritans, their being unused to make large grants, etc. All these special motives coincided in one central point, namely, that a considerable number of very prudent and energetic men were convinced that advantage should be taken of the right of granting supplies to remove the defects that had hitherto existed in the public institutions, and to establish a more firm and free constitution.

While one party, therefore, saw the highest political wisdom and the final object of all government in the absolute preservation of everything that existed, the second party was not disposed to be satisfied with merely maintaining the existing institutions, but desired to extend its rights; and the king, who ought to have found and supported the true medium between two dangerous extremes, did not enter on any strict examination of the several points, but saw only treason and rebellion in every attempt to retain or to alter against his will, and to call in question the unlimited extent of his power. What Elizabeth, by the great energy and versatility of her mind, always found means to adapt to existing circumstances, the Stuarts endeavoured to carry by insisting on certain abstract notions, without regard to unfavourable circumstances—not perceiving that by their partial inferences from the divine unlimited rights of kings equally dangerous conclusions of the sovereignty of the people might be drawn.

A disastrous plague, which carried off many thousand persons in London, made it necessary to suspend the sittings of parliament. ["While we are now speaking," said one member, "a bell is tolling every minute."] When

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parliament met again at Oxford, on the 4th of August, the king caused the state of affairs to be laid before it, together with the account of his expenditure, as well as of the debts left by James [£300,000]. He then added, "Consider, I beg you, that the eyes of all Europe are turned upon me, and that I shall appear ridiculous if you abandon me. Consider that this is my first attempt; if it fails it will be forever injurious to my honour; and if this consideration does not move you, think of your own reputation and deliver me from a situation in which you have engaged me, that it may not be said that you had quite deceived me. In fine, three of the best orators, honour, safety, and ability, equally advise the prompt settlement of these affairs."

When the debates on granting the supplies began on the 6th of August, some were of opinion that they ought only to consider the necessity of the moment, to proceed with forbearance, and not, by new complaints, give occasion to dissensions. Others replied that the grievances which had not been remedied should be again urged, the management of the public revenue hitherto be inquired into, and the church and religion more regarded than temporal affairs. When Edward Clarke observed on this occasion that some speeches had been made with unreasonable acrimony, the loudest marks of disapprobation were expressed, and he was compelled to receive upon his knees the sentence of the house, which condemned him to imprisonment.

During the subsequent days many points were brought forward, such as the strict execution of the laws against Roman Catholicism, the Jesuits, Roman Catholic worship, education abroad, insufficient religious instruction, etc., for which reason the king, on the 10th of August, again urged the hastening of the supplies, and promised that, in case there should not be sufficient time for the discussion of all other matters, he would call the parliament together again in winter.

When, after this application, some members again alleged that justice and honour required a speedy grant, and that delay only increased the evil and the embarrassment, the house voted two subsidies, towards which, however, the Roman Catholics were to pay double. The king passed the bill, but proved that it was insufficient, on which the parliament, without directly denying this assertion, resolved, on the 11th of August, before any further discussion on pecuniary matters, to investigate the grievances, which it appeared would chiefly relate to the administration of the ministers and the influence of Buckingham.

To avoid this danger, or at least this mortification, the king dissolved the parliament on the 12th of August. Before the members of the lower house broke up they declared before God and the world that they would always remain faithful subjects to their most gracious king, and were ready to consider and remedy all grievances in a parliamentary manner, as well as to grant all the necessary supplies. They begged the king always to depend on the true and cordial attachment of his poor commons, and to look upon them as the greatest earthly support and security of a just sovereign, and those as calumniators of the people and enemies of the state who should dare to affirm the contrary.

To this official declaration were added reproaches of various kinds; the parliament had indeed approved in general the war with Spain, which, however, did not justify the bad conduct of the campaign and the injudicious expenditure of money. Still less was it to be excused that ships were lent to France to enable it the more easily to subdue the Protestants in La Rochelle,[1]

[1] A disgraceful transaction had taken place which was well calculated to make the commons very cautious of granting further supplies. Seven ships had been lent to the king of France,

and that forced loans were required, which was contrary to the established rights of parliament and to the coronation oath, which says, "The king shall maintain all laws, rights and customs."[d]

To counteract the influence of parliament and to show the injustice of its want of confidence in the government, some bold and showy enterprise was to be undertaken. A great fleet was to be fitted out against Spain. The cost of the expedition was to be provided for without asking supplies from a parsimonious and suspicious house of commons. Writs were issued under the privy seal, demanding loans from private persons, and chiefly from those who had presumed to think that grants of money and redress of grievances should go together. If a loan was refused by a person of station and local authority, he was struck out of the commission of the peace. By these and other arbitrary means a fleet of eighty sail was despatched from the Downs in October, under vague instructions to intercept the Spanish treasure ships and to land an army on the coast of Spain.

The command of this armament was given to a landsman, Lord Wimbledon. The ten thousand English troops who had been set on shore near Cadiz accomplished no greater feat than plundering the cellars of sweet wines, where many hundreds of them being surprised and found dead drunk, the Spaniards came and tore off their ears and plucked out their eyes. The gallant commander now led his disorderly men back to their ships to look after the rich fleet that was coming from the Indies. While he was thus master of those seas, the rich fleet got safe into Lisbon. A contagious disease broke out in one ship, and the sick men being distributed amongst all the other ships, some thousands died before an English port was again made. Parliament was not to be propitiated by Buckingham's great scheme for raising money by the same process that was so successful in the hands of the Drakes and Frobishers. During twenty years of weak and corrupt government the race of naval heroes had died out.

THE STUBBORN SECOND PARLIAMENT

A new parliament met on the 6th of February, 1626. The proceeds of the forced loans were gone, and an effort to pawn the crown jewels to the Dutch had failed. The constitutional mode of raising money must again be resorted to, however unwillingly. The parliament now assembled has been called a "great, warm, and ruffling parliament." It saw that the government of England by a rash and presumptuous minion—whose continued influence was not obtained by his talents or his honesty—was incompatible with the honour and safety of the country.[f]

In order, however, that the leaders of the former opposition and the adversaries of Buckingham might not be again elected, they had been nominated sheriffs, or nominated to other offices, which petty, suspicious proceeding rendered it impossible for them to exercise their influence in one place, but increased it in the other, and confirmed many in their resolution to obtain influence and importance by opposing the measures of the government.

The speech with which the lord-keeper Coventry opened this second parliament in the name of the king, on the 6th of February, 1626, contained fewer facts and explanations of the state of affairs, than rhetorical phrases

which had been engaged under pretence of serving against Austria. They were employed against the French Protestants who were defending themselves at La Rochelle. When Frenchmen were taken on board the English sailors deserted.—KNIGHT.f]



From a Carbon Print by Braun, Clément & Co.

CHARLES I OF ENGLAND

(From the painting by Anthony Vandyke, in the Louvre)

[1626 A.D.]

which were not even happily chosen, but indicated, or even plainly expressed, dangerous principles. Thus it gave great offence that he said, "there is an immense interval between the highest elevation of the majesty of a powerful monarch and the submissive respect and humility of a loyal subject. That exalted majesty condescends to admit the meanest of his subjects, or rather to invite them to consult with him," etc.

Instead of beginning by granting the supplies as the king wished and hoped, the parliament appointed several committees to make accurate inquiries relative to war, taxes, administration, monopolies, religion, etc., and to draw up a statement of grievances. Even on this occasion it was observed that formerly under Elizabeth every enterprise had succeeded, and glory had been spread over the kingdom. Now, nobody would risk his money or his person, through well-founded distrust of the new and entirely different system of government.

Nearly at the same time Pym, president of the committee of religious affairs, complained of two books written by the king's chaplain, Montagu, because they contained expressions concerning the pope, image-worship, transubstantiation, etc., which seemed to be entirely incompatible with the principles of the English church. Instead of suffering the affair to take its course the king looked on it as an attack upon himself, and thought himself called upon to defend his chaplain, which only increased the irritation. Montagu was in the end summoned before the house of commons and severely reprimanded, because his book was contrary to true religion, and tended to the dishonour of the king and to confusion in church and state.

Meantime Charles wrote to the speaker of the house of commons, "that as every delay was very injurious, and the necessity was evident, he wished that the grant of supplies might be accelerated as much as possible." The house, in its polite answer, declared: "We beg your majesty to be convinced that there never was a king more beloved by his people, and no people ever more desirous to increase the honour and greatness of its sovereign. Your majesty will certainly receive graciously the faithful and necessary advice of your parliament, which can have no other object than to serve your majesty and the kingdom, by our denouncing the evils which led to your majesty's necessities and the complaints of the people; while we, at the same time, propose means to remedy them. Confidently relying on their future removal, we unanimously declare, though we depart from the former proceedings of parliament, that we will support your majesty with supplies in such a manner and so amply that you will be safe at home and formidable abroad. We will also hasten this affair, as your majesty's urgent wish and present circumstances require."

Though, on the one hand, these friendly promises were very welcome to the king, he could not avoid, on the other, feeling some uneasiness at the continued inquiry of the house of commons into the conduct of the administration, which in particular threatened the duke of Buckingham. In returning thanks to the parliament Charles added, "If you connect the grants of the supplies with the statement of your grievances, I consider this as an intimation and not as a condition. In order, however, to answer this point, I tell you I am as ready as my predecessors to listen to your grievances, provided that you endeavour to find remedies for defects really existing, and do not merely look for the express purpose of discovering some grievance.

"You must know also that I will not permit my officers to be questioned or called to account by you, and least of all those who are in high posts and about my person. Formerly it was asked, 'What shall be done for the man

whom the king delighteth to honour?' Now, some persons take trouble to inquire what can be done against the man whom the king thinks fit to honour. Formerly you extolled Buckingham; for what reason will you now accuse him? He is still the same, and has done nothing without my express command. I wish you to hasten in granting the supplies, for every delay will be most injurious to yourselves, and if any evil arises from it, I think I shall be the last to feel it."

This letter of the king was liable to many objections. It was evident that he claimed the grant of supplies as an unconditional right, but considered the redress of grievances as a secondary consideration and a matter of favour; that in certain respects he placed himself in respect to the parliament in a position which, if not hostile,[1] was yet constrained and unsuitable, while he so identified himself with his servants and officers that there could be no idea of their responsibilty, or even of an examination of their administration, without offence to the king himself.

In this state of things the house of commons believed itself called upon to perform its duty in two points at the same time; it therefore provisionally voted three subsidies and three-fifteenths to put an end to the embarrassments of the treasury, but added that the bill should not be passed till the king had heard and answered the grievances of the parliament. The house likewise continued its inquiries into the conduct of the administration, in which Turner, and Coke in particular, declared most decidedly against Buckingham.

The king persisted in considering all this as an improper attack on his government and that of his father. He therefore summoned the parliament to Whitehall on the 28th of May, 1626, and thanking the upper house, expressed his approbation of its proceedings. He regretted that he could not say the same of the lower house, and had summoned it for the purpose of reproving it for its errors and unparliamentary conduct. He hoped, however, that they would all return to the right way after the lord-keeper had clearly proved that they had been wrong.

To this speech the king added that he had conducted the foreign affairs according to the wishes of the parliament, and formerly no person had been more in favour with the house than Buckingham. Delays and dissensions must necessarily be attended with the most fatal consequences; a friendly disposition, on the other hand, would encourage him to go with the parliament. Coke had said it was better to be ruined by a foreign than a domestic enemy; he, the king, thought that it was more honourable for a sovereign to be attacked, nay, entirely destroyed, than to be despised by his subjects. "Consider"—so Charles concluded his address—"that the calling, the duration, and dissolution of parliament depend entirely on my power; accordingly, therefore, as I find them to produce good or evil fruit, they will continue or cease to be."

These declarations, which not only called in question some hitherto undisputed rights of the parliament, but threatened the annihilation of the main foundations of the English constitution, gave rise to such loud complaints, both in and out of parliament, that he caused his own speech and that of the lord-keeper to be explained by Buckingham in a more temperate sense. The commons in their answer refuted each of the accusations made against them, proved their right to accuse persons in office, and promised speedily to take some resolution respecting the supplies, though, according to ancient custom, this was always the last business to which parliament attended.

[1] Even Disraeli relates that Charles, so early as 1626, said in the council that he hated the name of parliament.

THE IMPEACHMENT OF BUCKINGHAM (1626 A.D.)

About this time, when many persons hoped that all parties would follow the right middle course which had been pointed out, various circumstances and ill-judged measures concurred to increase the public discontent. Lord Bristol, who had been kept in prison for two years on account of his conduct in Spain, without any legal proceedings having been commenced against him, complained to the house of lords that no summons had been sent to him to attend its sittings. On the intervention of the lords a summons was sent to him; the lord-keeper, however, added that the king wished he should make no use of it, but under some pretext keep away from the house. Lord Bristol sent this letter to the house of lords with an observation that his old enemy, Buckingham, had obtained this demand, but that he intended to prove that the duke had done wrong to the present and to the late king, to the state, and to the parliament. The king and his favourite were so indignant at this boldness that an accusation of high treason was made in his majesty's name against Lord Bristol, which he victoriously refuted.

This affair encouraged the house of commons to draw up articles of impeachment against Buckingham, and to present them on the 8th of May to the upper house. The chief articles referred to the union of many offices in his person, ill conduct of the war, extortion, the sale of judicial offices, the procuring of titles of honour for his relations, the squandering of the public money, his presumption in administering medicine to King James,[1] etc. Buckingham was certainly able to refute some of the articles of accusation. Yet the commons justly felt that the whole administration had taken a bad direction, of which Buckingham was the chief cause, and that the responsibility of ministers is often greater in reference to certain errors which lead to important results than in respect to isolated crimes.

The king caused two members of the house of commons, Sir Dudley Digges and Sir John Eliot, to be arrested, because they had expressed themselves in an unbecoming manner respecting him, on the presentation of the articles of impeachment against Buckingham to the upper house. Digges in the introduction (which was thought a masterpiece of eloquence) compared England with the world, the king with the sun, the house of commons with the earth and sea, the lords with the planets, the clergy with the fire, the judges with the air, and Buckingham with a comet. Bacon, Middlesex, and others had been previously accused in a similar manner. It appeared, however, from the investigation, that false reports had been made to the king, and he was obliged to set the two members at liberty.

On the other side, a Mr. Moore was thrown into prison by the house of commons on a complaint by the king, because he had said, "We are free, and must remain so, if the king will preserve his kingdom." After discussing what a tyrant can do, he had, however, added, "Thank God, we have no cause to fear anything of the kind; we have a pious and just king." Four days afterwards Charles granted the release of Moore, but had in the mean time involved himself in a dispute with the house of lords, by committing the earl of Arundel to the Tower without examination, and without assigning any reason. The lords declared that such conduct was not allowable, and could not be adopted except in cases of high treason, or when a person refused to give security for his conduct.

[1 This implication that Buckingham had poisoned James is generally admitted to be a pure calumny.]

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Though everybody knew that Charles was angry with the earl merely on account of some expressions in the house of lords, the king affirmed that he had sufficient reason, and would one day make it known. If the lords believed and called him a gracious king, they ought to confide in him. This turn and conclusion appeared so unsatisfactory to the house of lords, the violation of judicious laws was so evident, and the danger to the safety of all so great, that the house resolved, on the 2nd of June, since every remonstrance was disregarded, not to enter upon any other matter till this was settled. Thus the king found himself obliged to give up his precipitate resolution, and to set the earl at liberty on the 8th of June.

On the same day Buckingham defended himself before the house of lords, and on the following day the king again called on the commons to hasten the supply. He said "that in case of their refusal or longer delay he must call God to witness that he was not to blame." The commons drew up an answer in which they justified their conduct; objected to the levying of tonnage and poundage, and requested the dismissal of Buckingham.[1] But before they could present it, or the lords make an urgent application to the king for the prolongation of the parliament, he dissolved it on the 15th of June, and endeavoured to justify his conduct by a public declaration. The dissolution of the first parliament, he said, took place chiefly because contagious diseases were then spreading: to the second parliament the king had stated the existing dangers and the pressing wants of the treasury. But instead of considering means to remedy them, the commons suffered themselves to be misled by some violent men who had in view only their personal plans and objects; and after the receipt of the last royal letter had caused a remonstrance to be drawn up which unjustly accused a peer of the realm, offended the dignity of the king and his father, and contained a complete denial of all supplies. The king hence found himself compelled, after mature deliberation, to dissolve the parliament.

The substance of the remonstrance of which the king complained was the following: "The king has been induced by false representations to the measures which he has adopted, and the dissolution of the first parliament, for instance, was not so much on account of contagious disorders as Buckingham's fear of a just accusation. Formerly the examination of grievances always preceded the voting of the supplies; now the power and the influence of Buckingham was our chief grievance, and the investigation of it naturally cost much time. Then a new interruption was made by the arrests of two members of the house of commons, who were obliged to prove their innocence and to claim their rights. Besides this, the arbitrary levying of tonnage and poundage not granted by parliament gave the more ground for alarm, as it is directly contrary to the laws of the kingdom. The house of commons, therefore, only did its duty in turning its attention to all these things, and requests the king not to prefer one man to all other men, and to the public concerns, but to dismiss Buckingham. It will then devote itself with zeal and confidence to all the other business, especially to the supplies."

The king, disregarding these arguments, believed that the right and power were on his side; he therefore ordered the remonstrance to be seized and burned wherever it might be found, and the earl of Arundel to be arrested.

In reference to all these measures and events an impartial observer, Rusdorf,[c] the palatine ambassador, writes: "The king has dissolved the parliament before any business whatever was finished in order to save his favourite from

[1 It was reported to Charles that Eliot had dubbed Buckingham "Sejanus." "Then," said Charles, "I must be Tiberius."]

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inquiry.[1] Thus offending innumerable worthy people, he chooses rather to please one man than to give way to the people and the estates of the kingdom in a just and legal manner. The king does and orders nothing without Buckingham, who governs without restraint, while all the other councillors are subject to him, or are intimidated, or rejoice when things go ill, because the favourite will then be more speedily ruined. Buckingham, with the greatest folly, makes use of the king's friendship only for his own advantage, while he offends many persons and neglects the true interests of the country. Hence the king is hated, and the English government appears everywhere remiss as an ally, proud towards friends, violent without power and wisdom."

Cardinal Richelieu expresses himself in equally severe terms respecting Buckingham: "He is of mean origin, ill-educated, without virtue and knowledge. His father was insane, his elder brother so mad that it was necessary to confine him: he himself fluctuates between reason and folly, is full of irregularities, and is carried away by his passions. The folly of an enemy, guided by no rules, is almost more to be feared than his wisdom, because the fool does not act on the principles which are common to all other men. Reason has no touchstone when opposed to such an one, for he attempts everything, prejudices his own interests, and is restrained by nothing but downright impossibility."

The events that soon succeeded proved how correctly Richelieu had judged of the duke; a more prudent statesman would at this moment have tried every means to effect a reconciliation between the king and the parliament in order to obtain means to carry on the war with Spain, or he would have made peace with Spain, to be enabled to do without the parliamentary grants. Instead of this, Buckingham and his partisans dreaded every approach to reconciliation between the king and parliament, and looked upon the continuation of the Spanish war as an affair of honour; nay, not satisfied with this twofold great error, he most absurdly engaged England—which already carried on the Spanish war without energy—in another war with France.[d] The king, with the impeachment hanging over the head of Buckingham, had commanded the University of Cambridge to elect the obnoxious minister to its chancellorship, then vacant. There was a spirited resistance to this ill-timed act of power; but the election of the duke was carried by a small majority.

THE FORCED LOAN, AND THE WAR WITH FRANCE, (1626–1627 A.D.)

Thus had Charles dismissed two parliaments within fifteen months of his accession to the throne. The commons had declared their intention to grant five subsidies—"a proportion," says Clarendon,[h] "scarce ever before heard of in parliament." But they were required to grant them without their complaints being listened to; and the king, by his passionate resolution to dissolve, was again left to unconstitutional devices. "That meeting," continues Clarendon, "being upon very unpopular and unplausible reasons dissolved, these five subsidies were exacted throughout the whole kingdom with the same rigour as if, in truth, an act had passed to that purpose. Divers gentlemen of prime quality in several counties of England were, for refusing to pay

[1 The inquiry which Charles, for appearance' sake, caused to be instituted against Buckingham before the Star Chamber, was of no importance whatever; and the whole proceedings were subsequently quashed because the king declared that he was convinced of the innocence of the accused.]

the same, committed to prison with great rigour and extraordinary circumstances."[1]

But it was not the "divers gentlemen of prime quality" only who resisted these arbitrary exactions. "On Monday," says a contemporary, Joseph Mede,[i] "the judges sat in Westminster Hall to persuade the people to pay subsidies, but there arose a great tumultuous shout amongst them, 'A parliament! a parliament, else no subsidies!'" There were five thousand whose voices shook that roof with their protest against tyranny. The name of subsidy being found so likely to conjure up a spirit that could not readily be laid, commissioners were sent out to accomplish the same result by a general loan from every subject, according to the proportion at which he was rated in the last subsidy that had been granted by parliament. The pretensions of the crown were advocated from the pulpit, and the disobedient were threatened with more than temporal penalties.[f]

Thus Dr. Sibthorp said, in his sermon: "Only the king gives laws and does what he pleases; where his command is there also is the power, and who dare ask him, What doest thou? When princes order anything which subjects cannot perform, because it is contrary to the commands of God or to the laws of nature, or in itself impossible, they must suffer the penalty of their disobedience without murmur, complaint, or resistance; they must manifest passive obedience where active is impracticable."

In this spirit Dr. Mainwaring preached before Charles: "The king is not bound to observe the laws of the kingdom respecting the rights and privileges of the subjects. Every royal command, for instance, in respect to taxing and loans, binds the consciences of the subjects on pain of eternal damnation. He who resists commits a great sin against the law of God and the supreme power of the king. He is guilty of impiety, disloyalty, and rebellion; for the consent of parliament is not necessary for the imposing of taxes, etc."

We would willingly look upon such expressions as mean flatteries of servile court chaplains, or as the unmeaning results of partial theories, had not Charles reprimanded and dismissed from his office Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, because he would not allow the sermon by Sibthorp to be printed; had he not subsequently rewarded Mainwaring in a manner which gave offence, and elevated him to the Episcopal dignity.[d]

But the denunciations of the servile portion of the clergy were probably less efficacious than the examples of men of station and influence being committed to the Fleet and the Gatehouse, for their steady refusal of an illegal demand; of tradesmen and artificers being dragged from their homes for imprisonment or for forced service in the army or navy; of licentious soldiers, who had returned from the miserable expedition to Spain, being quartered in the houses of those who knew their rights and dared to maintain them. Five of the more distinguished of the gentlemen who had been committed to prison sued the King's Bench for a writ of habeas corpus.[2] The writ was granted; but the warden of the Fleet made a return that they were committed by a warrant of the privy council, by the special command of the king, but which warrant specified no cause of imprisonment. The argument upon this return was of the highest importance to establish what Hallam[j] calls "the

[1 So little was received, however, that people said it was like fishing with golden hooks, or cultivating the land with ivory ploughs or silver spades. And, in fact, begging and plundering were employed almost from house to house.—Von Raumer.[d]]

[2 This was called "the Five Knights' Case." The judges did not venture to decide whether the king had the right to imprison without stating the cause, but the men were shortly released after being remitted to prison.]

[1626-1627 A.D.]

fundamental immunity of English subjects from arbitrary detention." It was not that the judges decided against the crown, but that the discussion of the question eventually led to the establishment of the principle by the statute of Charles II. The arguments of Selden and Noy for the liberty of the subject were heard in the court of King's Bench with shouting and clapping of hands; but they had a far higher influence. They sank into the hearts of the people, and sent them to ponder the words of Selden, "If Magna Charta were fully executed, as it ought to be, every man would enjoy his liberty better than he doth."

In the orders that were issued to the deputy-lieutenants and justices to enforce these exactions, the king affirmed that he was threatened with invasion. This was in July, 1626. The alarm of invasion was probably only a pretext, says Hallam, "in order to shelter the king's illegal proceedings." Another fleet was sent to sea under the earl of Denbigh, and there was another series of neglects and disasters. But there was a growing cause of quarrel with France, as well as with Spain, which would very speedily render the prospect of invasion not so improbable.

In the early days of their union, as we have already seen, the king and queen did not live without serious disagreements. In November, 1625, Charles wrote to Buckingham, who was in Paris, desiring that the duke would communicate to the queen-mother the king's intention "to put away the Monsieurs"—the numerous priests and other attendants of Henrietta. At length Charles made up his mind to get rid of these enemies of his happiness, as disagreeable to his people as to himself. On the 7th of August, 1626, he writes to Buckingham: "I command you to send all the French away to-morrow out of the town. If you can, by fair means; but stick not long in disputing. Otherwise force them away, driving them away like so many wild beasts, until you have shipped them." In four days they were landed in France. The queen, according to the gossiping Howell,[k] "broke the glass windows and tore her hair." He adds, "I fear this will breed ill-blood 'twixt us and France"; and he was right.

In October came over Marshal Bassompierre, as a special ambassador, to remedy these misunderstandings. In a letter to the king of France describing this interview, Bassompierre relates the spirited speech which he made to Charles when asked by him why he did not execute his commission to declare war. "I told him that I did not hold the office of herald to declare war, but that of marshal of France to conduct it whenever your majesty should resolve upon it." In a very short time there was war with France. It has been usual to ascribe this outbreak of hostility between two courts connected by marriage solely to the presumption and licentiousness of Buckingham. "He had the ambition," says Clarendon,[h] "to fix his eyes upon, and to dedicate his most violent affection to, a lady of a very sublime quality, and to pursue it with most importunate addresses." This lady was Anne of Austria, the queen of Louis XIII. She was a neglected wife, and heard with too much levity the flatteries of the handsome duke. These familiarities had taken place when Buckingham went to France to bring over Henrietta. It had been intimated to him that he had better decline such attempts if he would escape assassination; but he swore, adds Clarendon, "that he would see and speak to that lady in spite of the strength and power of France."

The historian of the Rebellion does not exhibit the court of England in a very favourable light when he ascribes the origin of a great war to the profligacy of so unworthy a person as George Villiers. But such an assumption is calculated to hide the real cause of this war—the broken faith of England

to France upon the most important points of the marriage treaty. In defiance of public opinion James and Charles had solemnly agreed that the French princess should have the education of her children till they were twelve years old. Henrietta wrote to the pope to protest that if her marriage were blessed with lineage she would "make no choice of any but Catholic persons to nurse and bring up the children that may be born of it." It is clear that the court of France expected from this secret treaty not only toleration for Roman Catholics, but an open encouragement, which the king, however bound by his promise, could not venture to grant.

The explanation which the able historian of the popes offers of the origin of this war is far more satisfactory than the ordinary solution. Pope Urban VIII, says Von Ranke,[l] represented to the French ambassador how offensive it was to France that the English by no means adhered to the promises made at the marriage. Either Louis XIII ought to compel the fulfilment of these engagements, or wrest the crown from a heretic prince who was a violator of his word. To the Spanish ambassador the pope said that Philip IV was bound to succour his kinswoman, the queen of England, who was suffering oppression on account of her religion. On the 20th of April, 1627, a treaty was signed between the French minister, Richelieu, and the Spanish minister, Olivarez, by which it was agreed that the two powers should unite in an invasion of England. It was also agreed that in the event of conquest the pope should have Ireland and govern it by a viceroy. "While the Catholic powers were devising this vast plan of an attack on England," says Von Ranke,[l] "it fell out that they were themselves surprised by an attack from England."



COSTUME OF EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

This solution of an historical problem, the cause of the French war, is far more consistent with probability than Hallam's[i] theory of Charles' "alliance with the Huguenot[1] party in consequence merely of Buckingham's unwarrantable hostility to France, founded on the most extraordinary motives." The treaty between France and Spain had become known to the Venetian ambassador at Paris, and it was not likely that the knowledge would not have been communicated to the English government, with which the Venetians held friendly relations. It is creditable to the statesmanship of Buckingham that he resolved to anticipate the projected attack upon England by a strenuous aid to the French Protestants, who were asserting their religious freedom in the ancient stronghold of the reformers, La Rochelle. The policy of the war was calculated to redeem the

[1 Gardiner[m] credits the war to Charles' sense of obligation to defend the Huguenots in La Rochelle, since Louis had promised to admit them to terms. Previously to this the king of Denmark, trusting to English supplies that never came—including a promised subsidy of £30,000 a month—had been crushed in a battle at Lutter, thus deferring the recovery of the Palatinate still further.]

odium into which Buckingham had fallen. The conduct of the war, under his own generalship, only brought on him a deeper public indignation.

On the 27th of June, 1627, whilst Cardinal Richelieu was preparing to besiege La Rochelle, Buckingham set sail from Portsmouth with a fleet of a hundred ships, carrying six or seven thousand land forces. At the latter end of July he appeared before La Rochelle, and proffered his assistance in the defence of the town. The inhabitants, perhaps remembering that English ships had been previously lent to France to be employed against them, had a natural distrust of the proffered friendship, and declined to open their gates to the duke. It was then determined to occupy the adjacent island of Rhé. Buckingham and his forces landed, having driven back the troops which opposed him. But he wanted the skill of a general, though his personal courage cannot reasonably be doubted. His plans were unformed. He remained inactive whilst the French threw reinforcements and provisions into their forts. He besieged the principal fort of St. Martin without success; and at the time when further aid from England was expected, raised the siege and retreated towards his ships. "The retreat," says Clarendon,[h] "had been a rout without an enemy; and the French had their revenge by the disorder and confusion of the English themselves, in which great numbers of noble and ignoble were crowded to death or drowned." [1]

The people had their joke upon this disastrous expedition, for they called the isle of Rhé "the isle of Rue"; but there was something more enduring than popular sarcasm. There were mutinies, after Buckingham's return in the autumn, in the fleet and army. The people refused to suffer the soldiers to be billeted on them, and opposed an impress of fresh forces. Martial law was proclaimed, and many were executed; "which," says Clarendon, "raised an asperity in the minds of more than of the common people." The general discontent was increased by an inland army being retained during the winter. Sir Robert Cotton represented to the king that this was an unexampled course; that Elizabeth, even in 1588, adopted no such measure; and that the people considered that this army was kept on foot to "subject their fortunes to the will of power rather than of law, and to make good some further breach upon their liberties at home, rather than defend them from any force abroad." There was a general disaffection throughout the country. "This distemper," says Clarendon,[h] "was so universal, that the least spark still meeting with combustible matter enough to make a flame, all wise men looked upon it as the prediction of the destruction and dissolution that would follow. Nor was there a serenity in the countenance of any man, who had age and experience enough to consider things to come." [f]

THE THIRD PARLIAMENT SUMMONED

At length the celebrated historian and antiquary, Cotton, plainly declared on the 29th of January, 1628: "Two things are wanting, money and popularity. But these two things cannot well be separated, on which account that great statesman, Lord Burghley, said to Queen Elizabeth, 'Gain the hearts of your subjects and you will have their hands and their purses.' The present mode of obtaining money is contrary to the laws, becomes daily more difficult, and besides produces but very little. The king ought there-

[1 Out of six thousand eight hundred soldiers, less than three thousand reached England again. A letter of the day says, "Since England was England, it received not so dishonourable a blow."]

fore to remove all doubts on religious affairs, to introduce rigid economy, not to maintain a standing army in the country to excite suspicion, and Buckingham should make himself popular by being the first to propose the maintenance of the public liberty and the calling of a parliament."

As the distress was urgent, and the duke easily and willingly persuaded himself that he could in this manner forever turn the opinions of parliament in his favour, the king, by his advice, summoned it to meet on the 26th of March, 1628, and set above seventy persons at liberty who had been arrested for refusing to contribute to the forced loan. Twenty-seven of them were immediately elected into the house of commons, and brought with them, if not passion and a desire of revenge, yet the firm resolution to adopt every means to render such inroads on property and personal liberty impossible for the future.

The king, in his opening speech, said: "The times call for actions and not for words, therefore I will say but little, and wish, as kings ought to be patterns for their subjects, that you may imitate me in this and quickly come to a decision. The danger threatens all, the necessity is notorious, and I have called a parliament to provide means for our own safety and the preservation of our allies. Everyone must now act according to his conscience; wherefore, if, which God forbid, you should not do your duty, and refuse to contribute to what the state needs in these times, I am bound, for the discharge of my conscience, to employ those other means which God has placed in my hands to save what the folly of some individuals otherwise brings near to destruction. Do not take this as a threat, for I disdain to threaten any except my equals, but as an exhortation, from him who by nature and duty is chiefly concerned for your preservation and your happiness. I will willingly forget and forgive what is past, provided that you follow my directions and do not fall again into the former erroneous courses."

As soon as the king had ended his speech, the lord-keeper detailed more circumstantially the state of domestic and foreign affairs. "His majesty," said he, "has applied to the parliament for a grant of money, not because it is the only, but because it is the best mode; not because he has no other means, but because it is most agreeable to his goodness and to his wishes for the welfare of his people. If it should fail, necessity and the sword of the enemy will compel him to take other means. Therefore do not forget the direction which his majesty has given you; I repeat it, forget it not."

Even the warmest friends of the king could not but confess that these speeches were devoid of all friendliness and courtesy, and touched in a tone of ill-humour upon things which it would have been better to have passed over in silence. Those who saw the matter in a graver and more unfavourable light said, "At a moment when the king is forced from his illegal course by extreme distress for money, and parliamentary assistance alone can save him, when there are many grounds for bitter complaints, he speaks in the tone of an absolute monarch, again threatens with illegal measures, and calls in question the rights of parliament, which is the centre of the English constitution."

The majority of the true friends of their country in the house of commons, without suffering themselves to be frightened into servile submission or provoked to violent opposition, resolved to proceed with temper, and in such a manner that the king should have no pretext to dissolve the parliament or to adopt other arbitrary measures. According to their preceding manner, however, together with the deliberations on the public wants, they entered on discussions relative to the administration, billeting of soldiers, forced loans,

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arrests, and other grievances. Some very remarkable speeches were delivered on these subjects.

Sir Robert Phillips used strong language: "In the ancient festival of the Saturnalia," he said, "the slaves had for one day liberty of speaking and acting. Not so in England, where everyone is free for life. What avail useless words about rights and privileges in parliament if it is speedily dissolved, and nobody secure at any other time of his person and property?"

"Now," said Benjamin Rudyard, "it must be decided whether parliaments shall live or die. It is not well-being, but existence, that is at stake."

Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards earl of Strafford, who had himself been imprisoned for refusing to contribute to the loan, bitterly complained of the conduct of the administration, and then continued: "It is not the king, but bad projectors have extended his rights beyond their due proportion, which formerly constituted the harmony of the whole. They have reduced the crown to poverty, by consuming the revenue in advance; they have established a privy council which imprisons us at its pleasure. What have they robbed us of, or rather what have they left us, with which, after our property has been annihilated, we can assist the king? Till liberty is secured no new grants must be made."

The members of the house of commons, who were more clear-sighted, were by no means disposed to a breach with the king at this moment, so that even Pym said, "Deeds are better than words. Let us therefore hasten our resolutions on the supplies." Accordingly, on the 11th of April five subsidies were voted, a sum not indeed sufficient to meet all the wants, but larger than had hitherto been granted, and even than the king himself expected. He said, therefore, "On this day I have risen higher in the estimation of all Christendom than if I had gained some battles. I love the parliament, I take pleasure in it, and promise that all shall enjoy as much liberty as ever was enjoyed under the best king of the country."

As the grant of the five subsidies was only a provisional vote and no time fixed when the money should be levied, and as the discussion of the grievances went on at the same time, the king urged them, on the 10th of April, after so good a beginning, to decide the question of the supplies quickly, and in preference to all other matters. The commons on the same day drew up an answer, of which the following is the substance: "It is an ancient right of parliament to determine the order in which the matters before it shall be treated, and especially to deliberate on the grievances before matters of taxation. We therefore request the king not to listen to partial insinuations, but to rely on what will shortly be laid before him."

The first law which was presented to the king by the house of commons on the 14th of April related to the redress of abuses in billeting of soldiers. He replied to the speaker: "It is not the time to enter into discussions on the privileges of the house, but to do what the occasion calls for. I am no less regardful than you of the maintenance of your liberties, but delays may equally endanger your rights and mine. I shall answer your request in due time."

The house, however, was the further from suspending its deliberations upon the grievances, as it seemed unreasonable that the king delayed indefinitely his answer to a simple petition, and yet desired the grant of money to be made immediately in order then, as they feared, to dissolve the parliament. The more easily to remove, as he hoped, all these doubts, the king, in an unusual manner, went himself to the house on the 28th of April, and declared through the lord-keeper "that he gave his word inviolably to main-

tain the Magna Charta, and all the confirmations of it, as well as all the rights of the people, and to govern according to the laws. In this royal word and promise they would find as much security as in any law, and he requested them to be satisfied with it."

However satisfactory this promise appeared, it contained nothing that was not already comprised in the coronation oath, which had not prevented all abuses. The principal object was to remove doubts and abuses by precise legal enactments that the interpretation and application might not depend on personal goodness or arbitary will.

In the debates upon the royal message, which began on the 2nd of May, different opinions were expressed with increased warmth. Some said, "We have already laws enough, and it is sufficient if they are executed." Others exclaimed, "Our liberties have been more violated within a short time than in two centuries preceding." "The king's goodness," said Wentworth, "is sufficient for the moment, but affords no security for the future." At length, after the house had decided, the speaker made an address to the king on the 5th of May. It was in terms polite, grateful and full of confidence: "Only in consequence of much experience the house ventured to request that the king would suffer his promise to be reduced to the form of a bill, and would then confirm it, in which it was by no means intended to overthrow the ancient laws or to limit the king's power, but only more clearly to fix those laws and the mode of their execution."

The king hereupon replied through the lord-keeper: "That he had expected an answer by deeds, not a delay by words. In every explanation of the laws he hazarded a limitation of his rights, and wherefore all this, if they expressed their assurance that they trusted his word? He would confirm Magna Charta and the laws connected with it, but exhorted them to do quickly what they intended to do, as his resolution speedily to dissolve them was known to them."

In the debates in the house on the following day, the secretary, Cooke, again observed, "That the king's word, in fact, bound him more than a law, for it also engaged his affection, his judgment, and his honour." The great lawyer, Sir Edward Coke, was of a different opinion, and said: "General promises are not sufficient for the removal of special grievances. A verbal declaration is, in the parliamentary sense, not the word of the king, and messages from him cannot determine the nature of our proceedings and the rights of parliament. I have no distrust of the king's word, but let him declare it in the legal manner, that all succeeding kings may be bound by it. Let us therefore state our wishes in a petition of right which the king may then confirm, and thereby show confidence in the parliamentary sense of the term."

THE PETITION OF RIGHT (1628 A. D.)

This was accordingly done, Sir Edward Coke taking the lead. The petition of right was sent to the house of lords on the 8th of May, and on the 12th it received a letter from the king in which he endeavoured to prove how much he had hitherto yielded, and again offered to confirm the old laws.

The validity of these, however, was so clearly understood that a new confirmation of them seemed scarcely necessary, and the house was least of all disposed to be restrained from all further improvement of the legislation. Though the lords were far from rejecting the petition of right, they made an addition to it which gave occasion to new and long debates in the lower house.

It was to this effect: they would leave entire the sovereign power with which the king was intrusted for the protection, safety, and happiness of his people. Pym declared upon this that he knew very well how the word sovereign might be applied to the person of the king, but not to his authority. Sir Edward Coke said, "This addition destroys the whole bill." The expression, too, was quite unusual, and appeared to place the power of the king above all laws. Sir Thomas Wentworth added, "If this addition is adopted, matters will be worse than they were before." The most singular arguments were adduced in favour of this addition; for instance, that otherwise the children of Irish rebels could not have been confined in the Tower for life. Still more must we be surprised that Sir Edward Coke observed on this occasion, that this had been for the benefit of the children so confined, for otherwise they would have become Catholics. Thus the most zealous friends of civil liberty often conducted themselves in those times as the bitterest enemies of religious liberty.

After the debates were concluded, Mr. Glanville explained the views and motives of the lower house to the house of lords, and induced the lords unanimously to withdraw their addition, and the petition of right received the assent of both houses. The following is the substance of it:

(1) No taxes, loans, benevolences, etc., shall be ordered and levied without the consent of parliament.

(2) No person shall be arrested, condemned, or deprived of his property, without the allegation of the reasons, according to the laws of the land and by judgment of his peers.

(3) Soldiers shall not be arbitrarily billeted on the citizens, contrary to the laws, and no citizen shall be tried and punished by martial law.

(4) No one may interrupt or suspend the course of the laws in individual cases, or create extraordinary courts of justice.

After some further attempts of the king entirely to prevent this bill had failed, it was presented to him on the 2nd of June, 1628, and he answered: "It is my will that justice be administered according to the laws and customs of the kingdom, and that my subjects have no ground to complain of a violation of their true liberties, to the preservation of which I feel myself in my conscience as much bound as to the maintenance of my prerogatives." This answer did not advance the business in any manner, because it was not in a parliamentary form, by which a bill is converted into a law. Meantime, impatient at the complaints which were made on this occasion in the lower house, the king ordered them not to discuss things which implied or might lead to reproaches against him, his government, or the officers of state, but to terminate their business without delay, it being his intention to dissolve the parliament on the 11th of June.

This command, which fixed an arbitrary limit to the proceedings of parliament, or appeared to reduce them to mere passive grants of money, excited so much astonishment and such deep-felt grief that it was a long time before anyone ventured to break silence. At length John Eliot said: "Our sins must be very great, for with what zeal and what affection have we endeavoured to gain the heart of the king. False reports must have drawn upon us this mark of his displeasure."

At this moment, just as Eliot was going to enter into a more particular discussion of the conduct of the ministers, Allen, the speaker, very unexpectedly declared that he had orders to interrupt everyone who should speak unfavourably of persons in the king's service. On which Dudley Digges exclaimed, "If we are not to speak of such things in parliament, we had better go home than remain mute and idle here." Nathaniel Rich said,

"We must not be silent, for we might indeed thereby save ourselves, but plunge the king and state into ruin. We must, together with the lords, present our remonstrance to the king." "The king," continued Kirton, "is as good a king as ever was, but the enemies of the state have prevailed with him, to extirpate whom, it is to be hoped, there will be no want of hearts, arms, and swords."[1] "It is not the king," said Coke, "who forbids us to discuss the affairs of state, but the duke of Buckingham."

Hereupon it was resolved that no member of parliament had lost sight of the respect which was due to the king. But before the further discussions, which were chiefly directed against Buckingham, were terminated, a royal order came for both houses to adjourn immediately. A subsequent very vague declaration of Charles was the less calculated to satisfy the house of commons, because it had received news of the raising of troops in foreign parts. Charles and his favourite at length thought that, not entirely to lose the supplies, and to prevent an accusation of the duke, the refusal hitherto made should be revoked.



COSTUME IN THE TIME OF CHARLES I OF ENGLAND

On the 8th of June, after a new representation from the commons, the king called both houses, and said: "My former answer was so maturely weighed and approved by so many prudent persons that I could by no means conjecture it would not satisfy you. To avoid, however, every equivocal interpretation, and to show you that I have no reservation, I will satisfy you with respect to the words as well as the substance."

After the bill had been again read the king gave his sanction by the customary and legal form, *soit fait comme il est desiré*. He then added: "This sanction contains no more than I meant to give by the preceding, for it was intended to include in it all your liberties, as, according to your own assurance, you neither can nor will abridge my prerogatives. My principle is that the liberties of a people always strengthen the rights of a king, and that the latter are chiefly intended to defend the former. You now see how ready I have always been to fulfil your wishes; on my side I have done what depends on me, and if the parliament should notwithstanding not end happily, it will be your fault, and not mine."

As a proof of its unmixed joy and gratitude, the house of commons granted on the 12th of June, without reserve, the five subsidies previously voted, and

[1 Then was presented a scene such as the tame patriotism of modern times may have difficulty in comprehending. Mr. Alured thus describes it in a letter quoted by Rushworth: "Sir Robert Phillips of Somersetshire spake, and mingled his words with weeping. Mr. Pym did the like. Sir Edward Coke, overcome with passion, seeing the desolation likely to ensue, was forced to sit down when he began to speak, by the abundance of tears." The speaker begged to retire; and the house went into committee. Then Coke rose, and, with a solemnity befitting his advanced age, denounced the duke of Buckingham as the author and cause of all the miseries of the country. There was something in that passion of tears against which the habitual obstinacy of Charles could not contend.—KNIGHT.]

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the king thought that now all was ended on both sides, and that no motive for further deliberation and resolutions remained. The commons, on the other hand, were convinced that it was not sufficient theoretically to lay down certain principles and confirm privileges, but that it was their right and duty to make practical use of them, and to proceed to particulars (unless all they had done were to be in vain) and examine what abuses in the administration might be redressed. By doing this they would equally consult the advantage and honour of the king and that of his subjects.

Accordingly the prosecution of Mainwaring for the above-mentioned sermon was continued before the upper house, and he was sentenced to be excluded forever from all offices in the church, to pay a fine of £1,000, to make a recantation and apology, to remain in prison at the pleasure of the house, and his sermon to be seized and burned. In the order issued by the king for the execution of the last resolution it was said, to take away all occasion and pretext for scandal and offence, Mainwaring's sermon should henceforward be neither printed nor sold, but given up; for though he had meant well, yet through ignorance of the laws he had drawn upon himself the censure of parliament and the condemnation of his book.

A Representation to the king was more important and comprehensive, in which the house of commons stated its grievances. They related to the arrogance and influence of the Roman Catholics, to the too great force of the standing army, the raising of recruits in foreign countries, the levying of taxes not voted, the conduct of the war and of foreign affairs, the decay of the fortresses, the decline of trade, and the excessive and pernicious influence of the duke of Buckingham. The king, displeased at this Representation, answered that though he saw that they understood less of all these things than he did himself, he would, however, take the contents of their Representation into his consideration. He also persisted in saying that he took everything upon himself that had been done by Buckingham and the other ministers; they were innocent, for they had in all cases acted by his orders.

The house of commons, not moved by these observations, which did the greatest harm to the king himself, requested him to recall a proposal of the 3rd of February, 1628, respecting the levying of the excise, because it was inconsistent with the rights of the parliament and with the Petition of Right. In the same spirit and for the same reasons, the house remonstrated against the duties of tonnage and poundage which had not been granted by parliament.

The king, who saw in all this only pernicious innovations and improper interference in his rights, summoned both the houses on the 26th of June, 1628, and said in substance: "My lords and gentlemen, it may appear strange that I put an end to this session before the passing of many bills. I will therefore, though I am accountable for my actions to God alone, acquaint you with the motives of my conduct. All know that the house of commons lately presented a remonstrance to me, the propriety of which every person may judge of, and the value of which I will not here examine, as I am convinced that no wise man can approve it. I have since had positive information that a second remonstrance is preparing to deprive me of tonnage and poundage (one of the principal resources of the crown) under the pretext that I had renounced it by confirming the Petition of Right. This is so much to my disadvantage that I am compelled to close this sitting some hours sooner than I intended, for I am not inclined to receive any representation to which I must give a harsh answer.

"I did not grant my subjects any new liberties, but only confirmed the ancient ones. To show, however, the purity of my intentions, and that I

neither repent of what has been done, nor intend to deviate in any respect from my promise, I declare that such circumstances as those which formerly appeared to trench on your liberties and gave occasion to the Petition of Rights shall, on the word of a king, never again occur. But with respect to tonnage and poundage, I cannot do without it; and you have no more power to take it from me than I have inclination to give it up. In conclusion, I command you all carefully to mark my words, as they contain the true sense and meaning of what I granted you in your Petition of Rights. This is addressed especially to you, the judges, because the interpretation of the laws belongs to you alone, under me; for neither the lords nor the commons, nor both together (whatever new doctrines may be attempted to be set up), have any right whatever to pass or to interpret laws without my assent."

After this speech, which, by the king's order, was entered in the journals of the house of commons, the speaker presented the bill of supply, observing that so large a sum had never before been granted in so short a time. It received, with some other bills, the royal assent; the parliament was then prorogued to the 20th of October, 1628, and afterwards to the 20th of January, 1629.

While the speech of the king and the prorogation of the parliament were approved by only a few persons who thought that the right was on his side, others said that the remonstrance at which the king had taken offence was moderate in its form, and in its substance well founded: its object was by no means to abridge his just rights, but to remove the causes of former injustice and to bring the administration into harmony with the Petition of Right. Nor is the question, whether the crown can do without certain revenues, or whether they shall be refused to it; but that, according to the express words of the Petition of Right, every tax must be granted by parliament. From this ancient and newly confirmed rule the king cannot make arbitrary exceptions, nor are vague words and promises sufficient when the formal consolidation of the law is in question. The parliament well know that it by no means possesses the legislative power without the king, but if the latter claims it for himself alone and the judges who depend upon him, this leads equally to the destruction of the due relation between him and the parliament, and to the establishment of an illegal, arbitrary authority.

While the king hoped to make himself popular by measures against the Roman Catholics and Jesuits, and prohibitions of the sale of Mainwaring's sermon, he, on the other hand, excited alarm by bestowing on the latter, in direct contradiction to the decision of the parliament, a rich living, and on Montagu, who entertained similar opinions, the bishopric of Chichester, and on the detested Laud the bishopric of London. He also caused the Petition of Right to be printed, at first only in a few copies, and then not with the legal parliamentary confirmation but in a mean and equivocal manner with the first answer, which was rejected by the house of commons and subsequently withdrawn by himself.

The produce of the newly granted taxes was employed in equipping a fleet to succour the Protestants in La Rochelle.[d]

THE SIEGE OF LA ROCHELLE AND BUCKINGHAM'S ASSASSINATION (1628 A. D.)

The war with France had assumed the aspect of a trial of strength between Buckingham and Richelieu. Without admitting the very questionable theory that they were rivals for the favour of Anne of Austria, there can be

[1628 A.D.]

no doubt that on either side there was more than ordinary political hostility. The war has been called a duel between these two ministers. Never was duel fought with greater inequality. Buckingham's highest praise was that of having such "endowments as made him very capable of being a great favourite to a great king." This opinion which Clarendon[h] formed of him indicates very different qualities than those which are required in a minister to a great nation. This proud, insolent, voluptuous young man, whose "inordinate appetite and passion," according to the same authority, were the main cause of the national calamities, was to be matched against the most calculating and at the same time the boldest statesman of that age. It was the battle of a pigmy and a giant.

Whilst Buckingham was wasting his soldiers by his gross mismanagement in the isle of Rhé, Richelieu was taking a comprehensive view of the position and resources of La Rochelle, and forming a plan for its reduction eminently characteristic of his genius. After Buckingham's inglorious return, a second expedition had gone forth from Plymouth in the spring of 1628, under the duke's brother-in-law, the earl of Denbigh. Having looked at the French fleet in the harbour, he speedily came back to report what he had seen, after the exchange of a few harmless shots. On the 28th of May Charles wrote to the authorities of La Rochelle urging them to hold out to the last, and using these solemn words of assurance to fifteen thousand people, who saw famine slowly but surely approaching: "Be assured that I will never abandon you, and that I will employ all the force of my kingdom for your deliverance." A third fleet was equipped after parliament had granted the subsidies, and in spite of a remonstrance of the commons against the power of Buckingham and his abuse of that power, the duke was again to take the command. Had he sailed, the triumph of Richelieu over the man who had aspired to be his rival would have been complete.

La Rochelle was wholly blockaded on the land side, but the port was open. An English fleet might come to the relief of the town, under better commanders than the rash Buckingham or the timid Denbigh. Richelieu had read in *Quintus Curtius* how Alexander the Great had subdued Tyre by carrying out a mole to interrupt the entrance to the harbour. He caused a great mound to be made fourteen hundred yards across, with a small tideway, and it was nearly completed when a storm destroyed it. He was a man not to be discouraged by one failure, and he caused the work to be begun anew. The tacticians of the army laughed at the extravagant schemes of the priest whom the king had appointed their lieutenant-general. The cardinal persevered; the mole was formed; the fate of La Rochelle was certain. The English fleet might now come. It was getting in readiness to sail from Portsmouth. The great duke had arrived to take the command. That he would have fought to the death for the relief of the beleaguered Huguenots there can be no doubt. Not only was his pride engaged in the quarrel, but his future political existence depended upon the issue of this his last venture. He was not destined to fall before the superior genius of Richelieu. He perished by the tenpenny knife of an assassin.

The duke had been at Portsmouth and its neighbourhood for several weeks. On the 23rd of August he was sitting at breakfast in a lower room of the house which he occupied in the town, and his coach was waiting at the door to convey him to the king, who was staying at a mansion at Southwick. The breakfast-room and the ante-chamber were filled with a crowd of attendants and officers, and amongst them passed in, unobserved, a short dark man, who, having looked upon the company, went back to the dimly

lighted lobby through which the duke would pass to the street. Buckingham stopped to speak to Sir Thomas Fryer, and the short man being behind stabbed the duke in his left side, leaving the knife in the body. The duke, exclaiming "The villain hath killed me!" drew out the knife, and, reeling against a chimney, fell down dead.[1]

The villain was John Felton, a younger brother of a Suffolk family. He had served as lieutenant in the expedition to Rhé; had been disappointed of some promotion; was, says Sir H. Wotton,[o] "of a deep melancholy, silent, and gloomy constitution," and, according to his own dying declaration, was moved to assassinate the duke as "an enemy to the public." "In a bye-cutler's shop on Tower Hill he bought a tenpenny knife, and the sheath thereof he sewed to the lining of his pocket, that he might at any moment draw forth the blade alone with one hand, for he had maimed the other." In his hat was found a paper with the following writing: "That man in my opinion is cowardly and base, and deserveth neither the name of a gentleman nor a soldier, that is unwilling to sacrifice his life for the honour of God and the good of his king and country. Let no man commend for doing it, but rather discommend themselves; for if God had not taken away their hearts for their sins, he had not gone so long unpunished. John Felton."



COURT COSTUME
(Seventeenth Century)

Felton was removed to the Tower of London; was brought to trial on the 27th of November; was sentenced upon his voluntary confession; and was executed on the 29th, acknowledging that he had been guilty of a great crime. Whilst in the Tower "he was at one time there threatened by Sir Edward Sackville, earl of Dorset, that he should be forced upon the rack to confess who were privy with him and consenting to the duke's death. 'I have,' said he, 'already told the truth on that point, upon my salvation; and if I be further questioned by torture, I will accuse you, and you only, my lord of Dorset, to be of conspiracy with me.'"[f]

If Buckingham had escaped the knife of the assassin he would perhaps have fallen by the axe of the executioner. The king, who lay at a private house in the neighbourhood of Portsmouth, received the announcement of this tragic event with a serenity of countenance which, in those who were unacquainted

[1 Buckingham was only thirty-six years old at the time of his death.]

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with his character, excited a suspicion that he was not sorry to be freed from a minister so hateful to the majority of the nation. But Charles lamented his murdered favourite with real affection. If he mastered his feelings in public, he indulged them with greater freedom in private; he carefully marked and remembered the conduct of all around him; he took the widow and children of Buckingham under his special protection; he paid his debts, amounting to sixty-one thousand pounds; he styled him the martyr of his sovereign, and ordered his remains to be deposited among the ashes of the illustrious dead in Westminster Abbey.[p]

The king did what is the best thing to be done under any calamity—he tasked his faculties in active exertion. He applied himself to complete the equipment of the fleet that Buckingham was to have led to La Rochelle.

In twelve days seventy vessels sailed from Portsmouth, and thirty more quickly followed. On the 15th of September the fleet was off the Isle of Rhé. The earl of Lindsey was the admiral. In the town of La Rochelle there was the most intense suffering from famine. The French army surrounded it. The great mole prevented any supply of necessaries from the sea. The English fleet coasted up and down without any fixed purpose. The spirit of national enterprise was gone. Lindsey looked upon the mole, and had no thought of breaking it down. He looked upon the French camp, and had no inclination to land his men for an attack. He sent a fire-ship or two into the port, and he discharged a few cannon. On the 18th of October La Rochelle was surrendered, in despair of receiving any help from the lukewarm or treacherous allies that had stimulated the Protestants to a desperate resistance to their persecutors.

The horrors of this siege of fourteen months exceed most of the miseries recorded of beleaguered towns. Fifteen thousand persons died of hunger and disease. There was not a horse left alive in the town, for they had all been eaten. Cow-hides were a delicacy; and when these were gone, and the supply of dogs and cats was exhausted, leather was in request, so that the household of the duchess of Rohan gladly devoured the animal covering of her coach. Lindsey took his fleet back to Portsmouth; and probably even the courtiers might think that the commons would have some justice on their side if they repeated the words of their remonstrance of the last session, that the conduct of the war had "extremely wasted that stock of honour that was left unto this kingdom, sometime terrible to all other nations, and now declining to contempt beneath the meanest."[q]

VON RANKE'S ESTIMATE OF BUCKINGHAM

Of recent years nothing had surprised foreign visitors to England so greatly as the wide gulf between the administration and the people. On one side they saw the king, the favourite, and his partisans; on the other side everybody else. The king had lost much of his early popularity, but there was an absolute hatred of the despotism of the duke. In spite of this hatred and while the ground trembled beneath him he was planning magnificent schemes. He had dreamed of marrying his daughter to the electoral prince palatine, and possibly to give her higher rank by conquering Jamaica and having himself declared an independent prince in the West Indies.

In any case he had determined to relieve La Rochelle. The condition of the navy promised success. He had increased it from fourteen thousand to twenty-two thousand tons. He wished to turn men's hatred into admiration.

He said he wanted to atone for his youthful errors and follow new paths along the lines of ancient English policies, to bring back good times. The world's destinies seemed to hang on his schemes; he had never seemed so full of strength and enthusiasm. At the crisis of his career he was struck down by a sudden and terrible death. England's standing before the world was immeasurably degraded when La Rochelle fell to Richelieu. The schemes of Buckingham vanished utterly, the ideas of Richelieu became the basis of a new epoch in history.[b]

THE REASSEMBLY AND DISSOLUTION OF THE THIRD PARLIAMENT, 1629

On the 20th of January, 1629, the parliament was assembled. During the recess of six months there had been causes of discontent and irritation, besides the calamities of La Rochelle. Tonnage and poundage had been collected, as the king had threatened, without consent of parliament, and goods had been seized when merchants resisted the demand. The king now adopted a less lofty tone. He had enforced these dues, but he was willing to receive them in future by the gift of his people. The judges had decided against the merchants who had refused payment; and the commons were not content to let the matter rest without some marked condemnation of the past violation not only of the ancient statutes, but of the recent Petition of Right. The house was soon again in a controversial attitude, and the questions of civil liberty then became embittered by religious differences.

There were now two distinct parties in the church, the Calvinistic and the Arminian, each taking different views of the doctrines of free will and necessity. The Arminian, or high-church party, the more powerful with the king, was proportionately weak in parliament. The great body of the commons were Puritans—the holders of opinions that had been gradually strengthening from the time when King James insulted their professors. These opinions had become allied with the cause of constitutional freedom; for it was amongst the high-church party that the intemperate assertors of the divine right of kings were to be found.

Laud, translated from the bishopric of Bath and Wells, had become bishop of London in 1628, and was in effect the primate; for Archbishop Abbot, whose principles were not in accordance with those of the court, had been suspended. Under Laud there had been ceremonial observances introduced into the performance of divine worship, which were offensive to those who dreaded a revival of papacy in copes and candlesticks, prayers towards the east, and bowings to the altar. We know a little in the present day of the somewhat unchristian spirit engendered by differences about ceremonies; but we cannot adequately comprehend the strong feelings of the Englishmen of the seventeenth century upon these points, unless we bring to the proper understanding of their struggles a candid and tolerant admission that they were men in earnest. It is an odious blemish upon the narrative of Hume,[q] that whenever he encounters a strong instance of religious zeal in the Puritans he exclaims "Hypocrisy!" It is an almost equal fault of other writers that they regard the desire, however ill-regulated, to invest the performance of religious rites with some of the decent order and even pomp of the earlier churches, as mere superstition and idol-worship.

There was a man who made his first speech in the session of 1629 whom it was once the fashion to regard as the arch-hypocrite of his times—Hume calls him "fanatical hypocrite." He was described by Warwick[r] as he

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appeared in the same house eleven years afterwards as "a gentleman very ordinarily apparelled, for it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor." But this plain gentleman, with "his countenance swollen and reddish, his voice sharp and untunable," had, according to the same observer, an "eloquence full of fervour." It was Oliver Cromwell that attracted the attention of the "courtly young gentleman," as Sir Philip Warwick terms himself, in 1640; and in 1629 he was disturbing the complacency of other courtly gentlemen, by a speech thus briefly reported: "That he had heard by relation from one Dr. Beard that Dr. Alabaster had preached flat popery at Paul's Cross, and that the bishop of Winchester had commanded him, as his diocesan, he should preach nothing to the contrary. Mainwaring, so justly censured in this house for his sermons, was by the same bishop's means preferred to a rich living. If these are the steps to church preferment, what are we to expect?"

At present we need not enter into these theological complaints of the commons further than to indicate their nature by this speech. It was a declaration of opinion by one who, though new to public life in 1629, was connected with some of the great parliamentary leaders by family ties and private friendships, and was sent to parliament from Huntingdon, the town in which he dwelt, with the reputation of sagacity and energy in his local relations. The complaints thus briefly reported to be uttered by Cromwell at this time are to be found at much greater length in the speeches of more conspicuous members.

Brief, but ominous, was the session.[f] The king ordered the commons to take the bill for tonnage and poundage into immediate consideration; but the patriots demanded the precedence for grievances—the saints for religion. The last succeeded; and it was resolved that the "business of the king of this earth should give place to the business of the king of heaven." In religion, danger was apprehended from two sources, papacy and Arminianism. Of the growth of papacy an alarming instance had recently appeared. Out of ten individuals arraigned on the charge of having received orders in the church of Rome, only one had been condemned, and even his execution had been respited.[p] In order to defeat resolutions respecting religious matters, or against tax-collectors, who levied taxes which had not been voted, the king had recourse to a prorogation of the parliament, by which, however, those matters were delayed which he wished to have settled, and the reciprocal enmity was increased.

VIOLENCE IN THE HOUSE; THE ARREST AND DEATH OF ELIOT

When the speaker of the house of commons, on the 2nd of March, after a long interruption of the sittings declared that the king ordered a new adjournment till the 10th of March, some members answered, "That such a command could by no means be given to the house of commons, as an adjournment depended upon itself, but as soon as some necessary things were finished it would, however, comply." Hereupon Sir John Eliot read a motion for a representation to the king upon tonnage and poundage, which the speaker, John Finch, in consequence of the king's order, just received, would not suffer to be put to the vote, but was going to leave the chair.

The moment, however, that he rose in order to withdraw, Holles [the son of the earl of Clare] and Valentine came forward, and the first said, "By God, you shall sit still here till we please to close the debate!" Edmunds, and some privy councillors, in vain endeavoured to release the speaker and to support his opinion. Many opposed, and Selden exclaimed, "It is very blamable

that the speaker, a servant of this house, refuses under any pretext to obey. If such obstinacy goes unpunished it will be considered as a precedent, and every speaker may, at any moment, interrupt the business of the house under the pretext of a royal order."

When Finch, notwithstanding this exhortation, refused, with entreaties and tears, to prolong the sitting, his relation and countryman, Peter Hayman, said: "This brings sorrow over our country and disgrace upon our family. For all evil, nay, our ruin, which may ensue, will appear one day as the consequence of your base conduct, and be spoken of only with indignation and contempt. If, however, the speaker persists in not doing his duty, he must be called to account and another chosen."

During this dispute Eliot had drawn up a protest which was read by Holles and adopted by the majority, though not without much noise and confusion. This remonstrance was in substance, "That all who should seek to extend or to introduce Roman Catholicism, Arminianism, or other heretical doctrines, who should advise the levying of tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament, or who should collect or voluntarily pay these taxes, should be considered as an enemy to his country and a betrayer of the liberties of England."

Meantime the king, being informed of the agitation that had taken place, sent an officer again to order the prorogation in due form; he, however, found the doors of the house locked, at which Charles was so incensed that he sent for the guard to force the entrance, but before it arrived the house had broken up. On the 10th of March the king went to the upper house, and when only a part of the house of commons had appeared at the bar, he addressed the lords as follows: "I have never come here on a more disagreeable business, namely, to dissolve this parliament; many will perhaps wonder why I did not give this commission to another, as it is a principle with kings to leave everything unpleasant to their ministers, and to take what is pleasing upon themselves. Considering, however, that justice is executed as much by the punishment of vice as by the recommendation and reward of virtue, I considered it necessary to come here to-day in person, to declare to you, my lords, and to all the world, that the disobedient conduct of the house of commons is the only cause for the dissolution of parliament. Those entirely misconceive me who believe that I lay equal blame on all the members of the house of commons, for I know among them as many dutiful and loyal subjects as any in the world, and am aware that there are only some vipers among them, who have deceived many but not infected all."

Immediately after the dissolution of parliament the king published very circumstantial declarations, in which he endeavoured to prove that the house of commons had, on many occasions, manifested ill-will, had excited unfounded suspicion, raised useless disputes, proposed injurious innovations, and sought to acquire reputation by setting the state in a flame, as Herostratus with the Temple of Diana at Ephesus. Conformably to this declaration, ten members of the house of commons were ordered to be arrested, and their effects to be put under seal, six days before the formal dissolution. Holles, Eliot, Hobart, and Hayman were first summoned before the privy council. Eliot, being questioned respecting his language in the house, answered, "I am ready to account for my words and actions to the house of commons if it calls upon me to do so, but here I am only a private man, and need not answer for anything that I did as member of parliament." Hobart spoke to the same effect, and added, "I should like to know by what legal authority I can be examined here, as no power on earth ever has demanded, or has a right to demand, an account

of what is done in parliament. However, I do not hesitate to confess that by the direction of the house I locked the door and put the key into my pocket."

The sentence of the court was that the accused should be fined from £500 to £2,000, and be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, and not liberated till they should give security for their good behaviour, submit and acknowledge their fault. All the judges except one agreed in this sentence; some of the persons condemned were liberated after paying the fine and giving security; others died in prison because they could not, or would not, comply with the conditions. Eliot, being attacked by severe illness in consequence of the unhealthiness of the prison, wrote a petition to the king requesting permission to enjoy fresh air. The king, however, returned it, saying, "Not humble enough." In all his sufferings Eliot[1] remained courageous, energetic, and undaunted, and would rather suffer death than deny his opinions. He died on the 27th of November, 1632.[d]

"But," says Forster, "revenges there are which death cannot satisfy, and natures that will not drop their hatreds at the grave. The son desired to carry his father's remains to Port Eliot, there to lie with those of his ancestors, and the king was addressed once more. The youth drew up a humble petition that his majesty would be pleased to permit the body of his father to be carried into Cornwall, to be buried there. Whereto was answered at the foot of the petition, 'Lett Sir John Eliot's body be buried in the churche of that parish where he dyed.' And so he was buried in the Tower. No stone marks the spot where he lies, but as long as freedom continues in England he will not be without a monument."[t]

By these declarations and punishments Charles thought that he had gained all the unprejudiced, and frightened all the ill-disposed; but in truth these events were by no means judged of by all alike, and with the differences of opinion were connected the most opposite wishes and hopes. The court party (which liked to be called the legal and conservative) said, in case parliament will not give way, government must be carried on without it, and its dissolution brings relief from senseless zealots and presumptuous fools. At some future time, when the members and the people have become wise, it may be called together again or not; for nobody has the power or the right to compel the king on this point; nay, if we inquire into the highest, the divine right, it knows nothing of parliaments, upper and lower houses, elections, and speakers, but simply orders the people to obey the magistrates. And not merely the clergy, but the judges, laid down the principle that the king can do no wrong, and the parliament could the less limit the king's absolute rights, as he is the source of all right, and may, if it appears necessary, dispense with all laws.

Those who took a different view of the subject answered: whether the king will have the power to govern without a parliament, the future will decide; but that he has no right to do so, is manifest from the clear letter of the laws and the custom of centuries. His rights are inviolable only if he acknowledges and performs his duty, and he is no less subject to the law than any other person. What the parliament politely called a petition of right became, by the royal sanction, a law binding all parties, and he who denies this very

[1 To Eliot belongs the glory of being the first to see plainly that Charles' isolation was a fruitful seed of evil. It was for him to suffer as those suffer who see that which their fellows cannot see. Like the Swiss warrior, he had gathered into his own bosom the spear-points of the adverse host. His countrymen would follow by-and-by through the breach which he had made at the cost of his life.—GARDINER.s]

significantly indicates that still stronger guarantees against the arbitrary will of the king must be found. With respect to religion and eternal salvation, a foreign more than papal despotism can be still less tolerated than unlimited tyranny in the state; lastly, it is quite absurd that officers who violate the plainest laws should be freed by a royal order from all responsibility.

Meantime, very much depended upon the persons whom the king would employ, and how he would govern without a parliament. With respect to the former, Clarendon,[h] a partisan of the court, says in substance: "The lord-keeper Coventry, a prudent, well-informed man, who never went beyond his sphere, sometimes censured as inactive because he would not assist in the innovations, the consequences of which he foresaw. The lord-treasurer Weston, not without talents, but immoderately ambitious, profuse, alternately too forward and too timid, without elevation of character and sentiment, and suspected of Catholicism, only not by the Roman Catholics themselves. The earl of Arundel, the possessor of many antiquities, a humourist, properly speaking ignorant, who in general cared very little about court and public affairs. The earl of Pembroke, able and esteemed, but devoted to all kinds of pleasures, especially to women. The earl of Carlisle, an experienced courtier, and well versed in foreign affairs, but a *bon vivant*, and prodigal in the extreme. The earl of Holland, pliant, and not to be depended upon. The earl of Montgomery, a good judge of dogs and horses."

STRAFFORD AND LAUD

It is evident that all the men here named would not have been capable of directing the affairs of state even in tranquil times, much less at so critical a moment. In fact, two other men soon acquired more decided influence, namely, Thomas Wentworth, afterwards created earl of Strafford, and Laud, who had been raised to the see of Canterbury, after the death of Archbishop Abbot, in August, 1633.

The first was a descendant of the Wentworths who had distinguished themselves in parliament in the reign of Elizabeth, and had himself advocated the rights of the people with energetic vehemence; had supported to the utmost the Petition of Right, and suffered himself to be thrown into prison for refusing to contribute to the loan illegally imposed. Since that time (though not without the fault of the court) indications of more serious designs had appeared among the friends of the popular party, yet nothing had been done to cause a total change of opinions and principles. If, therefore, Strafford, following the honourable invitation of the king, had faithfully united with him, and acted with energy for the preservation of his rights, as well as those of the people, he would merit implicit praise. Instead of this he hurried to the opposite extreme, and thereby proved that his preceding actions rested on no solid foundation, or that he was one of those demagogues who, as is so often the case, are but tyrants in disguise. Whatever his defenders may say, it shows no consistency, no unity of principles and sentiments, for a man to suffer himself to be imprisoned to-day for not paying an unvoted loan, and to-morrow to assist in imprisoning others for refusing to pay the unvoted ship money.

Strafford incontestably possessed great energy of mind and will; from the moment he got the power into his hands he was disposed to make use of it, like the tyrants who sometimes appear in the history of the world, and are, not without reason, celebrated. But while he indiscriminately set aside all the demands of the age for the attainment of this egotistical object, and recognised

[1629 A.D.]

no law but his own will and that of the king, he in a great measure produced the evils which he desired to combat, and blindly plunged himself and his master into the same ruin. A truly great man would have mediated between the two parties in such a manner that they must in the end have acknowledged that their own safety was to be found in his guidance; whereas now, after passion is allayed, all may pity but none can wholly justify him.

Laud acted with respect to the church in the same manner as Strafford in regard to the state. Both were of an equally vehement temper, but Strafford knew very well what was at stake, and yet invited the decisive conflict in too great confidence in his own powers. Laud, who was of a less comprehensive mind, could not at all conceive how any reasonable objection could be made to his ideas and intentions, and though he was himself most obstinate, looked upon all contradiction as criminal obstinacy. He undoubtedly gave his attention to the restoration of the churches, to the appointment of able clergymen, the promotion of learning, and was in his personal concerns well-meaning and blameless. But all these good qualities disappeared when he attempted and was called upon to govern, and yet understood nothing of the times and of the state, and looked at the church in a wholly partial and on that account more tyrannical point of view.[d]

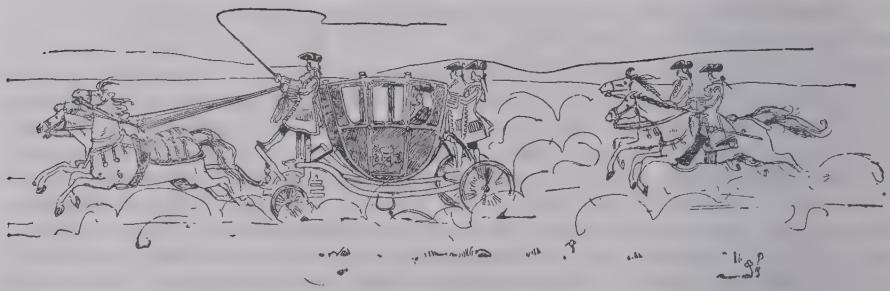
HALLAM'S REVIEW OF THE THIRD PARLIAMENT

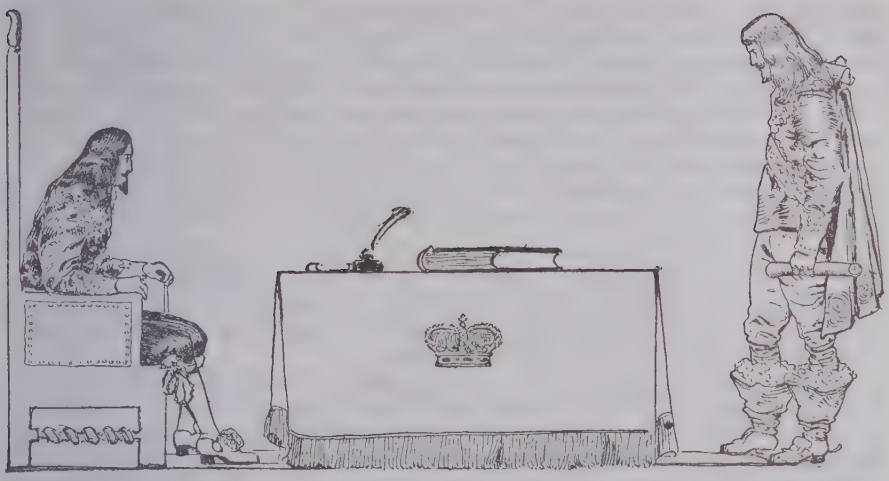
There seems on the whole to be very little ground for censure in the proceedings of this illustrious parliament. I admit that if we believe Charles I to have been a gentle and beneficent monarch, incapable of harbouring any design against the liberties of his people, or those who stood forward in defence of their privileges, wise in the choice of his councillors, and patient in listening to them, the commons may seem to have carried their opposition to an unreasonable length. But if he had shown himself possessed with such notions of his own prerogative, no matter how derived, as could bear no effective control from fixed law, or from the nation's representatives; if he was hasty and violent in temper, yet stooping to low arts of equivocation and insincerity; whatever might be his estimable qualities in other respects, they could act, in the main, not otherwise than by endeavouring to keep him in the power of parliament, lest his power should make parliament but a name.

Every popular assembly truly zealous in a great cause will display more heat and passion than cool-blooded men after the lapse of centuries may wholly approve. But so far were they from encroaching, as our Tory writers pretend, on the just powers of a limited monarch that they do not appear to have conceived, they at least never hinted at, the securities without which all they had obtained or attempted would become ineffectual. No one member of that house in the utmost warmth of debate is recorded to have suggested the abolition of the court of Star Chamber, or any provision for the periodical meeting of parliament.

Though such remedies for the greatest abuses were in reality consonant to the actual unrepealed law of the land, yet, as they implied, in the apprehension of the generality, a retrenchment of the king's prerogative, they had not yet become familiar to their hopes. In asserting the illegality of arbitrary detention, of compulsory loans, of tonnage and poundage levied without consent of parliament, they stood in defence of positive rights won by their fathers, the prescriptive inheritance of Englishmen. Twelve years more of repeated aggressions taught the Long Parliament what a few sagacious men might

perhaps have already suspected, that they must recover more of their ancient constitution from oblivion, that they must sustain its partial weakness by new securities, that in order to render the existence of monarchy compatible with that of freedom they must not only strip it of all it had usurped, but of something that was its own.*j*





CHAPTER XIX

CHARLES I AND STRAFFORD

[1629–1641 A.D.]

His majesty's pleasure was shown in a great many ways besides turning the dungeon key on a parliamentary opponent. He made Wentworth, who was now ennobled, president of the court of York, and never had so much talent been applied to the subjugation of a people as the new-made viscount displayed in his council of the north. The excesses of the Star Chamber were exceeded by the new institution, and it was perceived that Charles had found another Buckingham, with all the baser qualities of that contemptible favourite ennobled almost into virtues; the rashness of unreasoning vanity into the calculating courage of a statesman; the degrading devotion to the king into a sentiment of loyalty and affection; and men recognised in the new director of the royal conduct not the arrogance and frivolity of the late adviser, but a calm and severe dignity of demeanour. A counterpart of Wentworth, but with all his attributes dwarfed and vulgarised, was found in William Laud. To these two Charles committed the helm—an impetuous renegade who hated the principles he had deserted, and a bigoted ecclesiastic who placed equal faith in the efficacy of forms and ceremonies and the truth of dreams.—James White.[b]

Lord Clarendon,[c] in a passage that has been more than once quoted to show how happy a people may be under an absolute government, says that after the dissolution of Charles' third parliament "there quickly followed so excellent a composure through the whole kingdom that the like peace and plenty and universal tranquillity for ten years was never enjoyed by any nation." The great historian, with something like impartiality, then proceeds to detail the exactions and abuses of these ten years. The imposition of duties which the parliament refused to grant; vast sums extorted from "all persons of reasonable condition upon the law of knighthood"—that is, fines for refusing knighthood; monopolies which had been abolished renewed;

new projects of the same sort, "many scandalous, all very grievous," set on foot; the old forest laws revived, under which great fines were imposed; the writ of ship-money framed, "for an everlasting supply on all occasions"; the jurisdictions of the council-table and the Star Chamber enlarged to a vast extent, "and being the same persons in several rooms, grew both courts of law to determine right, and courts of revenue to bring money into the treasury"; proclamations enjoining what was not enjoined by law, and prohibiting that which was not prohibited, "so that any disrespect to any acts of state or to the persons of statesmen was in no time more penal"; and lastly, the abuse of justice at its fountain-head in the enforcement of arbitrary acts of power by the corruption of the judges. This is the catalogue of grievances presented by the eulogist of King Charles—a strange commentary upon his representation of "the excellent composure through the whole kingdom" during these years of unmitigated despotism.

There is, however, a far more unscrupulous defender of arbitrary power than Clarendon. It required something beyond common effrontery in Hume,[d] after he had noticed the oppressive levies of money, the monopolies, the heavy fines and brutal punishments of the Star Chamber, the iniquities of the courts of law, to write thus: "The grievances under which the English laboured, when considered in themselves without regard to the constitution, scarcely deserve the name; nor were they either burdensome on the people's properties, or any way shocking to the natural humanity of mankind." Had this been true instead of being distinctly opposed to truth, it would have been perfectly impossible for any amount of prosperity amongst the people—which prosperity really depended upon their own industrious energies—to make "the so excellent a composure" a real symptom that they had agreed to renounce what Clarendon calls "those foundations of right by which men valued their security"—to accept slavery in the place of freedom.

Wisely has it been said by De Tocqueville,[e] "in the long run freedom ever brings, to those who know how to keep it, ease, comfort, and often wealth; but there are times in which it disturbs for a season the possession of these blessings; there are other times when despotism alone can confer the ephemeral enjoyment of them. The men who prize freedom only for such things as these, are not men who ever long preserved it." The men who lived in England in that fourth decade of the seventeenth century were not seduced from their allegiance to freedom by the vaunted "peace and plenty" of arbitrary power. Nor did their subsequent awful manifestation of their love of freedom suddenly arise out of their impatience of evil government. "They were native and to the manner born." They did not prize freedom solely because, having from very early times enjoyed a larger share of it than other nations, they had found in its enjoyment a larger share than other nations of material blessings. They clung to freedom—to borrow the words of De Tocqueville—for "its native charms independent of its gifts; the pleasure of speaking, acting, and breathing without restraint, under no master but God and the law."

There has been a battle between the crown and the parliament, and the crown keeps the field. There is not the slightest indication of any other collective resistance. The camp of the people is broken up, and there will be no irregular warfare. The timid amongst the Puritans are in despair. The day of the dissolution, with them, was, said D'Ewes,[f] "the most gloomy, sad, and dismal day for England that happened in five hundred years last past." A great branch had indeed been lopped off the tree of liberty, but there stood the old gnarled trunk, and "the splitting wind" could not bend it or disturb its roots. "Be a king," said Henrietta Maria to Charles, "like

[1639–1630 A.D.]

the king of France." There were some barriers to be removed, besides that of a parliament, before that wish could be accomplished. France and England were essentially unlike in the whole construction of the machine of government. The local franchises dependent upon general political freedom constituted a powerful barrier against the disposition of an English king to govern like a king of France. The English had been trained, from the very earliest times, to manage their own affairs. The principle of local association was the familiar condition of an Englishman's existence. Parochial vestries, trade guilds, municipal corporations, were the life of the whole social body.

Though parliaments had been suspended by Charles, these remained in their original vigour and perhaps in a more intense activity. This existence of administrative bodies throughout the kingdom rendered it impossible for any amount of absolute power to effect more than a very partial suppression of liberty of speech and action. The proceedings of the guilds and corporations were conducted with the strict order of the highest deliberative assemblies. The entire machinery of representative administration called them together and regulated their debates. There was no parliament at Westminster from 1629 to 1640; but there was a parliament in Guildhall. There was the elective principle in full force. There, the lower house discussed every matter of its franchises with perfect freedom. There was an upper house to which the lower house presented its bills, and with their mutual concurrence they passed into acts. Could this vital representation of two or three hundred thousand inhabitants of London be in daily use, and the higher representation of all England be ultimately put down by the will of the king? To be as a king of France, Charles must have swept away every local franchise, and have governed by one wide-embracing centralisation. That was absolutely impossible in England.[g]

The relations of England with foreign powers had constantly decreased in importance since the death of Elizabeth. It was neither dangerous as an enemy nor important as a friend. If the king intended to govern without a parliament he must above all things put an end to the useless wars which were prosecuted with little vigour. Accordingly peace was concluded with France [by the Treaty of Susa] in May, 1629, and with Spain [by the Treaty of Madrid] in November, 1630, with less difficulty because Charles gave up the original purposes for which he had begun the wars.[i]

One public effort was made for the cause of Protestant liberty in Europe by sending a small force to the aid of Gustavus Adolphus. But this aid was not given in an open and manly way, or for the assertion of a great principle. It was pretended that the force was raised in Scotland as a private undertaking of the marquis of Hamilton. It was ill-equipped, insufficiently provided with provisions, and, says Whitelocke,[h] "mouldered away in a short time," without rendering any service to the Protestant cause in Germany. In truth there was no real affection for the Protestant cause. The majority of the foreign Protestants were regarded by the government, now closely allied with the dominant party in the church, with dislike and distrust. The doctrines of Geneva had become more offensive than the doctrines of Rome.

Charles gave them preferments. The foreign Protestants were fighting, for the most part, for civil as well as religious liberty, and thus they found no real support among the rulers of England. Gustavus Adolphus went his own way to uphold the Reformation. Charles entered into a secret treaty with Spain for the subjugation of the seven united provinces, which, after better consideration, he declined to ratify.[g]

This by no means put an end to his pecuniary embarrassments. As he was, however, convinced that he possessed the right of levying the taxes required for necessary expenses, as he had before told the parliament that if it longer delayed to employ its apparent right of granting money the farce would be ended, he now proceeded in the course which he had before entered, and found in his councillors, whose sentiments were as despotic as his own, willing instruments for his new resolutions.

Without any regard, therefore, to the Petition of Right, which was directly opposed to such measures, tonnage and poundage were levied, a tax on soap, salt, candles, wine, leather, coals, etc., imposed, and the custom-house officers ordered even to search houses for goods which had not paid the duty. Each county was called upon, by an order of the privy council, to raise a certain sum for the subsistence of the troops, and the intolerant laws against the Roman Catholics were suspended, not from a Christian feeling, but for payment in money. Besides this, innumerable monopolies were renewed; the holders of crown lands compelled to pay large sums under the pretext that their titles were defective; money extorted on the strength of a law which never had been applied, from those who had for several years past settled in London; the nobility were ordered under heavy penalties to leave the capital, and the ancient forest laws enforced.

Whoever, appealing to the laws, refused to allow legal validity to new ordinances was severely punished, and such extensive jurisdiction given to the Star Chamber, the court of High Commission, and other extraordinary tribunals, that the usual administration of justice, in many respects, almost entirely ceased. The Star Chamber, in particular, which formerly had often protected the low against the powerful, had drawn upon itself the greatest odium by the tyrannical spirit of the judges and the gain which indirectly accrued to them. Thus, for the alleged unjust possession of royal forest lands, some individuals were fined as much as £20,000 sterling.

SHIP-MONEY AND HAMPDEN'S RESISTANCE (1630 A.D.)

The most general complaints, however, arose when the king, for the purpose of equipping a fleet, as it was said, ordered ship-money to be paid through the whole kingdom. In justification of this measure it was stated, among other grounds, that according to ancient documents discovered in the Tower such a tax had been imposed by the kings as far back as the time of the Danish invasions of England. [It was thence called the Dane-gelt.] But a reference to so ancient and obsolete a practice could the less avail at the moment, because it appeared that since the time of Henry V a new grant of ship-money had been regularly made to every king, and only for his own life. As there was no obligation, no compulsory duty to pay the tax, and James I and Charles had arbitrarily increased the amount, Charles' first parliament wished to grant that tax, like most of the others, for one year only; but the bill did not pass the house of lords. Charles from that time levied ship-money without a grant, by his own authority, and when the house of commons was ready to remonstrate against this it was prorogued, as we have already mentioned, on the 26th of June, 1628.

In order, however, to put an end to the objections and complaints on the propriety and legality of ship-money, Charles proposed the question to the judges of the Star Chamber, who answered: "When the general good and the security of the kingdom are at stake, and the whole kingdom in danger, your

[1630 A.D.]

majesty may command all your subjects to furnish a certain number of ships, with ammunition and provisions, and compel all who refuse to obey. Your majesty alone, too, has to decide whether such danger exists, and when and how it is to be averted." This decision of the judges was everywhere published,[1] and adopted by the authorities as the standard of their conduct.[i]

The counties on the seaside complied with a good grace. It would have been against established custom if they had refused to provide vessels for the defence of the shore, and they compounded for the sums at which they were assessed, instead of furnishing the actual ships. But the inland counties had never been subject to this impost. They had defended the land with archers and horsemen, and the men of Warwickshire, Oxford, or Buckingham had never seen a ship. The collectors, however, went their rounds. When they came to the village of Great Kimble in Buckinghamshire, they discovered that the whole population, two squires, twenty-nine yeomen, clerk of the vestry, beadles, bellman, and all, had refused to advance a farthing, and had written a protest to this effect, signed with their names. The first name to this document was one which afterwards grew very great in England. It was John Hampden, Esquire, of Hampden Manor and many other noble domains near the Chiltern Hills; a man to whom the one pound eleven and sixpence, at which he was assessed, was of no consequence, but to whom the arbitrary exaction of the odd sixpence was of very great consequence indeed.



JOHN HAMPDEN
(1594–1643)

The judges, we are to remember, were either promoted for political subserviency or had bought their places. They were removable by the king, and considered that in representing the majesty of the law they were to attend principally to the personal interests of their master. All England was anxiously on the watch for news of the decision. When it became known that two members of the bench had protested against the verdict which condemned Hampden and established the validity of the hated impost, the adverse decision was attributed to the servility of the majority, and justice and law were believed to have prompted the virtuous pair. But the victory was ostensibly with the court, and Wentworth and Laud were more resolved on their avowed policy of "thorough" than before.

[1 Richard Chambers, who had bravely resisted the illegal levy upon his merchandise, was again imprisoned because he declined to pay his assessment of ship-money. When the case was taken into the courts at Westminster, one of the judges refused to hear counsel, and said there was a rule of law and a rule of government, and that many things which could not be done by the first rule might be done by the other. It is to such that Clarendon *c* alludes when he says "the damage and mischief cannot be expressed that the crown and state sustained by the deserved reproach and infamy that attended the judges, by being made use of in this and like acts of power; there being no possibility to preserve the dignity, reverence, and estimation of the laws themselves but by the integrity and innocency of the judges." Vaughan *i* notes that "Chambers does not deserve less of his country than Hampden."]

There was nothing now to hinder their wildest schemes. The judges had proclaimed the legal fact that this was an absolute monarchy. "The law was only a servant of the king." "You cannot have a king without those royal rights, no, not by act of parliament." "Acts of parliament cannot hinder a king from commanding the subjects, their persons and goods, and, I say, their money too. No acts of parliament can make any difference." Such was the chorus of falsehood and adulation sung by ten out of the twelve judges of England.[b]

In the words of Gneist,[k] "The disloyal treatment of the office of judge, which was common to all the Stuarts, was first made evident through the ship-money. The dismissal of the lord chief-justice Sir Edward Coke on political grounds had already occurred under James I, by whom a shameless system of the sale of judgeships was introduced, which shattered the honourable repute gained by the courts of law under the Tudors. Under Charles I this filling up of appointments became a political contrivance."[a]

The whole nation felt what an infinitely important question was involved in this apparently trifling suit, and the great majority took part with the accused. In fact every unprejudiced person must still agree in this view of the case, for only one thing was proved by the court party and granted by its opponents, namely, that the king is the head of the state, and as such has the right, in a moment of sudden and extreme danger, to adopt every means for the security of the kingdom. In this correct sense Elizabeth acted in 1588 and met with universal approbation, but on the present occasion there was no imminent or great danger, and the palpable object was merely to establish a right in the king to levy taxes independently of parliament. But such a right had not only been abolished by law before the time of the Stuarts and Tudors, but had lately been again most clearly annulled by the Petition of Right.

THE TYRANNY OF LAUD

The church presented a counterpart to this confusion in the affairs of the state; the prevailing Episcopal system stigmatised on the one hand Catholicism as superstitious and tyrannical, on the other, the Reformed and Puritans as arbitrary and anarchical. In order to strengthen itself against the attacks of these two parties the church entered into strict alliance with the court and justified the newly founded royal papacy, for which it was gratefully allowed to employ it in many points for its own advantage. Laud, in particular, acted in this spirit with that vehemence which is usually produced by firm conviction and narrow views. The Roman Catholics, pressed on all sides, hoped for the protection of the queen; while the king was not inclined either to offend the Protestants or to violate his coronation oath. And yet this was done, when he dispensed with the Ecclesiastical Laws for money, and endeavoured to secure the assent of the Catholics to his absolute mode of government. For this, the latter became doubly odious, and, besides, were divided among themselves into a Jesuitical and an Antijesuitical party.

When Laud, to make the celebration of divine worship more solemn, caused paintings, crosses, altars, etc., to be restored, he was called a papist, though he certainly never thought of laying his power at the feet of Rome. When he and the king allowed all kinds of diversions on Sunday, this was called promoting the most horrible corruption of morals, though no more was intended than to prevent gloomy austerity and arbitrary condemnation of what was innocent. Laud certainly acted in all respects without tact,

and everything that he did to make the clergy more respected—for instance, conferring many offices upon them—only exposed them to envy, and doubled the reproaches of the Puritans against the worldly mindedness and corruption of the Episcopal church.

Instead of allaying by mildness the violence of opposition, Laud summoned the most distinguished people before him, and inflicted punishment if they had in any manner transgressed the laws of church discipline. He attempted to support morals by means which included an undue tyranny, and were worse than the evils which they were intended to combat: the extent of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction was daily enlarged, all innovations opposed (though Laud himself innovated), the censorship of books made more severe, dissenters removed from their posts, and even laymen refused permission to leave their country and live according to their religious persuasion elsewhere, till they produced an ecclesiastical certificate of their entire agreement with the laws and customs of the church.

As always happens in these cases, intolerance and resistance increased together; nay, the attacks on the Episcopal church soon exceeded all bounds of moderation and decorum—for example, in the writings of Leighton, Bastwick, Burton, and Prynne. They called the archbishop an arch officer of the devil, the bishops, satanical lords, abominable traitors, ravening wolves, unjust assertors of the royal rights, contemners of the Holy Scriptures, promoters of superstition, popery, and impiety, servants of the devil, etc.[i]

Alexander Leighton had written a bitter and fanatical pamphlet against prelacy and priestcraft—a learned man, though crazed, like many of his brethren at that time, on religious subjects. Laud brought him before the Star Chamber, and he was condemned to stand in the pillory, to have his nostrils slit and his ears cut off, to be publicly whipped, and to be branded on the cheeks with a hot iron bearing the letters S. S., for "spreader of sedition." As the man had two nostrils, two ears, and two cheeks, the entertainment was repeated, and he was brought out at the end of a week, after half the sentence had been executed, and underwent the remainder, to the satisfaction of the admirers of uniformity.[b]

In Prynne's *Histriomastix* we read: "Our English shorn and frizzled madams have lost all shame—so many steps in the dance, so many steps towards hell; dancing is the chief honour, plays the chief pleasure of the devil. Within two years forty thousand plays have been sold, better printed and more sought after than Bibles and sermons. Those who attend the playhouse are no better than devils incarnate; at least like those who hunt, play at cards, wear wigs, visit fairs, etc., they are in the high road to damnation. And yet their number is so great that it is proposed to build a sixth chapel to the devil in London; whereas in Rome, in the time of Nero, there were only three."

These and similar expressions gave the greatest offence, because it was supposed that Prynne meant to compare the king with Nero, and to insult the queen, who was fond of balls and masquerades. These ultra-Puritans, it was affirmed, "demand a new church, new laws, new amusements, a new king, and endeavour to excite discontent in the people." Prynne said in his defence "that he intended only to attack abuses and express his conviction, but by no means to offend individuals, and least of all the king and queen, or to compare his majesty's government with that of Nero.

On the 30th of June, 1637, the court sentenced Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton to pay together a fine of £15,000, to lose their ears, to stand in the pillory, to be branded on both cheeks, and imprisoned for an indefinite period.

In the execution of the sentence deliberate cruelty was employed; they were put into the pillory at noon, that their faces might be exposed to the burning heat of the sun; with Prynne's ear, part of the cheek was cut off; their friends were forbidden to visit them in prison, they were allowed neither books nor writing materials, and even those were punished who had hospitably received them. In like manner, Wharton and Lilburne were punished, put in the pillory, whipped, and mutilated. All suffered with the greatest composure, called to mind the sufferings of Christ, and spoke with such energy of enthusiasm and conviction that they excited compassion in all, and in many the persuasion that it was only for truth and right that they could suffer with such courage.

The laws and regulations prove that a false expectation was entertained of making real improvements by the interference of government in petty matters: taxes on wine and other articles, regulations for the weight of wagons, the packing of butter, the number of hackney-coaches,[1] and numberless other things.[i]

The expedients to which the majesty of England was reduced to raise a revenue would have been laughable if they had not brought such misery in their train. His first proceeding was not very severe, but it yielded him a hundred thousand pounds. He threatened every person who held land of the value of forty pounds a year with knighthood. The fine, however, for exemption was very generally paid, and the ridicule of a whole nation of Sir Johns and Sir Thomases was avoided.

His second proceeding was worse. He discovered old definitions of forest bounds on which the neighbouring gentry and freeholders had encroached for hundreds of years. Stately mansions were standing in pastoral regions twenty miles from the limits of the royal chase, as they had been known for ten generations. They were forfeited and released at a high value, or carried to the king's account. A forest of six miles' circuit was increased to sixty, and no man could feel secure that his estate had never been included in some forgotten hunting-ground in the days of the deer-loving kings.

His next was more injurious still. He re-established many monopolies in direct contradiction to the Petition of Rights, and enriched himself with the sale of the sole right to sell or make articles of universal use.[2] In all these actions he was prompted by his legal advisers, Littleton and Noy, who had so lately incurred his displeasure by protesting against the slightest exercise of his prerogative.[b]

He extorted fines for disobedience to proclamations, even when he knew that such proclamations were illegal. In the last reign James had persuaded himself that the contagious maladies which annually visited the metropolis arose from the increase of its size and the density of its population; and to check the evil he repeatedly forbade the erection of additional buildings. But as the judges had declared such proclamations contrary to law, the prohibition was disregarded; new houses annually arose, and the city extended its boundaries in every direction. The rents of these buildings were calculated at one hundred thousand pounds per annum; and Charles appointed commissioners to go through each parish, and summon the owners before them.

[1 Hackney-coaches were forbidden in London under severe penalties, because they incommoded the king, the queen, and the nobility, were the cause of danger, and made hay and straw dear. John Taylor, the Water-poet, said the hackneys impeded the butchers when they drove their cattle through the streets. Sedan chairs, introduced in 1634, now obtained great vogue.]

[2 Thus, for example, the corporation of soap-boilers paid for their patent ten thousand pounds, and engaged to pay a duty of eight pounds on every ton of soap.]



"BABY STUART" (JAMES II)

From the painting, 1635, of "The Three Children of Charles I," by Anthony Vandyke, in the Royal Gallery at Turin

[1633-1637 A.D.]

Some were amerced for their presumption, and ordered, under a heavy penalty, to demolish their houses; others obtained permission to compound for the offence by the payment of three years' estimated rent besides an annual fine to the crown forever.

A Mr. Moore, having erected forty-two dwelling-houses, with stables and coach-houses, in the vicinity of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, was fined one thousand pounds, and ordered to pull them down before Easter, under the penalty of another thousand pounds. He disobeyed, and the sheriffs demolished the houses, and levied the money by distress. Other proprietors of houses alarmed at his fate offered to compound; and the entire sum raised by this species of oppression is said to have amounted to one hundred thousand pounds.[1]

AFFAIRS IN SCOTLAND

Such was the condition of things in England; the affairs of Scotland will now claim our attention.

In the year 1633 Charles visited his native kingdom for the first time since his accession. He was received with great affection and loyalty, and crowned with the usual splendour; but Laud, his evil genius, attended him, and the prejudices of the people were shocked by the appearance of an altar with wax tapers and a crucifix, before which the officiating prelates bowed as they passed; and when the archbishop of Glasgow declined wearing the gorgeous habits provided for him, Laud rudely forced him from the side of the king and put Maxwell, bishop of Ross, in his place.

A parliament followed, which gave the king an occasion for displaying his arbitrary temper and served to alienate from him the affections of many of his nobles. He had some years before inflicted a wound, which still rankled, by a measure for the redemption of the church lands and tithes which the nobility and gentry had so ravenously seized at the time of the Reformation.

Charles left Scotland after sowing the seeds of future troubles, and the prosecution of Lord Balmerino shortly after powerfully aided to alienate the nobility. This nobleman, who had been one of the opposition in parliament, happened to have in his possession a copy of an apology for their conduct, which he and his friends intended to present, but were withheld by the fear of exciting the royal displeasure. A transcript of this was surreptitiously obtained by one who was his private enemy, and communicated to the archbishop of St. Andrews, by whom it was conveyed to the king, with an assurance that it had been circulated for signature throughout Scotland, and that it was the nobles who upheld the clergy in their opposition to the surplice.

Balmerino was therefore selected for an example, and he was indicted on the statute of "leasing-making," or causing discord between the king and his people. A jury, with Lord Traquair, one of the ministers, for foreman, was selected to try him; yet so flagrantly iniquitous was the proceeding, that even that jury found him guilty only by the majority of the foreman's casting vote. The people were furious at this decision, and it was resolved in secret consultations that if anything happened to him they would massacre those who had found him guilty. Traquair on learning this hastened up to London, and a pardon was granted to Balmerino; but the impression which his danger had made on the minds of the nobility and people was deep and permanent.

In religion, matters were pushed on in order to bring Scotland to a uniformity with England. The bishops began to appropriate the civil dignities to themselves. Archbishop Spotswood was made chancellor; Maxwell, bishop

of Ross, aspired to the office of lord-treasurer; and of the fourteen prelates, nine were members of the privy council. They had courts with powers similar to those of the court of High Commission in England, and acting under the influence of Laud they proceeded to draw up canons and a liturgy for the church of Scotland. They commenced with the former, sanctioning the latter before it was prepared.

The whole structure of presbytery was dissolved by these canons. Each church was to have a font at the entrance and an altar in the chancel; and various other regulations were made which the people regarded as little better than Roman Catholicism. The liturgy which was compiled was formed on that of the church of England, but came nearer to the mass, of which a report soon spread that it was nothing more than a translation. From the pulpits the clergy declaimed against it; it was reprobated in conversation and in pamphlets. Spotswood and the elder and the more experienced prelates recommended great caution in introducing it; but on its transmission to London and approval by Laud, a royal proclamation was issued enjoining it to be used in every parish church in the kingdom by a certain day.

On the appointed day (July 23rd, 1637) the dean of Edinburgh prepared to officiate according to the liturgy in St. Giles', the bishop of Argyll in the Grey Friars' church; the judges, prelates, and members of the privy council were present in the former, which was thronged with people. The service began, when a woman[1] filled with zeal sprang up and flung the stool she sat on at the dean's head. Another stopped her ears ("lugs") and cried, "Villain! dost thou say the mass at my lug?" A tumult arose, the women rushed to seize the dean, and he escaped with difficulty; the bishop of Edinburgh ascended the pulpit to appease the people; sticks and stones were flung at him, and but for the aid of the magistrates he would have perished on the spot. In the other church the service was interrupted by tears, groans, and lamentations, but there was no violence. Throughout the rest of Scotland the efforts of the prelates were unavailing, and the liturgy was used only at St. Andrews and in three other cathedrals.

The clergy had been directed to purchase two copies of the liturgy for each parish, and the prelates now proceeded to enforce obedience to this mandate. The consequence was an immense accession to the number of the supplications and an organisation of the opponents of the liturgy throughout the kingdom.

THE TABLES; THE COVENANT; THE EPISCOPAL WAR

In the month of October vast numbers of people flocked to Edinburgh to learn the king's reply to the supplications which had been transmitted to him. A proclamation ordered them to disperse; they in return drew up an accusation against the prelates on account of the canons and liturgy, which was rapidly subscribed by the nobility, gentry, clergy, and people all through Scotland. The following month they reassembled in increased force, and having obtained permission of the council to choose representatives to carry on the accusation, they appointed several of the nobility, two gentlemen for each county, and one or more of the clergy and burgesses for each presbytery and borough. Thus were formed the celebrated "Tables," or committees, which, being subdivided and regulated, gave order and consistency

[1 The tradition was that it was Jeanie Geddes' stool that brought on the revolution, but she has lost that glory. Later the stool was accredited to a Mrs. Mein.]

to their union. Their demands now increased; they required the abrogation of the High Commission, the canons and the liturgy. To this neither Laud nor the king could yield without the ruin of their favourite plans, and a proclamation was issued censuring the supplicants, and forbidding them to assemble under the penalties of treason.

This was a fatal measure to the crown; for the Tables forthwith resolved on a renewal of the national covenant, the bond of religious union first adopted by the lords of the congregation, and twice renewed in the reign of James. It took its name and character from the covenants of Israel with Jehovah recorded in the Scriptures, and it also partook much of the nature of the bonds of mutual defence and maintenance which had long prevailed in Scotland. It was now drawn up by Henderson, the leader of the clergy, and by Johnstone of Wariston, a distinguished advocate. It renounced popery and all its doctrines, practices, and claims in the strongest terms; and then, declaring the liturgy and canons to be thus virtually renounced, concluded with an obligation to resist them, to defend each other, and to support the king in preserving religion, liberty, and law.

The supplicants were invited by the Tables to repair to a solemn meeting at Edinburgh; a fast was appointed, and the preachers, as directed, recommended a renewal of the covenant. Accordingly, on the 1st of March, 1638, in the Grey Friars' church, it was solemnly renewed with prayer and spiritual exhortations. The nobility, gentry, clergy, and thousands of all orders, sexes, and ages subscribed it; copies were transmitted to all parts of the kingdom, and it was everywhere subscribed with shouts of joy, or with tears of contrition for their past defections. Within two months all Scotland (Aberdeen excepted) was banded to the covenant. Men saw in it the hand of heaven; the austerity of devotion increased; a religious gloom soon pervaded all the relations of social life, and the fanatic spirit assumed new vigour.

An independent assembly and a free parliament were the demands of the covenanters. The court employed every art to elude them, being secretly resolved to have recourse to arms. With this view all their demands (after Charles had taken sufficient care to convince them of his insincerity) were suddenly conceded, and an assembly was held at Glasgow (November 21st) to regulate the church. The marquis of Hamilton, the king's representative, was instructed to excite jealousies among the members, and if he found it restive, to dissolve it. Seeing he could not manage it, he therefore, under the pretext of its being irregularly chosen, and consequently not competent to the trial of prelates—one of the measures proposed—declared it dissolved, but the members refused to separate; their resolution was approved of by many of the privy council, and the accession to their side of the potent earl of Argyll gave them increased courage. The acts of the six preceding assemblies were forthwith annulled, the canons, liturgy, and High Commission were condemned, and Episcopacy was abolished. Eight of the bishops were excommunicated, four deposed, and two suspended. And thus was prostrated at one blow the fabric which it had occupied two reigns to erect.

It had been Hamilton's advice to the king from the beginning to have recourse to arms, and the necessary preparations had therefore been made. To procure money, loans were required from the nobility; under the influence of Laud the church contributed largely, and the Catholics, at the call of the queen, and well aware that it was their interest to support the crown, from which alone they could expect favour, gave their money for the support of the Episcopal [or First Bishop's] war, as it was denominated. Arms and artillery were provided, the counties were directed to send their trained-bands

or militia, and the peers to lead their retainers in arms to York; a negotiation (which, however, was frustrated) was also entered into with the regency of the Netherlands for the use of six thousand veterans.

The covenanters, on their side, prepared for a defensive war. By means of the numerous Scottish pedlars who hawked their wares through England, they opened a communication with the English Puritans. Richelieu, willing to repay Charles in kind, secretly supplied them with money, and arms and ammunition were purchased on the Continent. The covenant was sent to the Scots in the Swedish service for their subscription, and Alexander Leslie, an officer of great experience in the wars of Germany, was invited over to take the command of the army which was to be raised. Volunteers crowded to the standards and were disciplined by Leslie and his officers; the royal castles were all surprised, and the port of Leith was put into a state of defence. When the Gordons rose under their chief, the earl of Huntly, to maintain the royal cause in the north, the earl of Montrose marched against them[1] and compelled Huntly to come as a hostage to Edinburgh.



Costume of Nobleman in Time of Charles I

The king advanced at the head of twenty-three thousand men to Berwick. Leslie took his position at Dunse Law; while Munro, the second in command, was stationed at Kelso. The armies were about equal in number; the king was superior in cavalry, but the Scots, in addition to superior discipline and better officers, were animated by a spirit of fanatic devotion, while the English soldiers were utterly indifferent to the cause in which they were engaged. The Scottish camp continually resounded with psalmody and prayer; morning and evening the men were summoned to their devotions by beat of drum, and two sermons each day kept up their fervour.

Lord Holland, who commanded the English cavalry, advanced to Kelso, but at the sight of the Scottish forces his men turned and fled. The king, who had expected that the Scottish nation would have submitted at once on his appearance at the head of an army, saw his hopes all baffled, and now easily discerned that all who attended him were adverse to a war. Proposals for an accommodation were therefore readily listened to; Scottish commissioners came to the royal camp (June 11th), the king treated with them in person, and it was arranged that a parliament and a general assembly should meet in the month of August to regulate the affairs of church and state. The Scottish army was then disbanded, and the royal castles were restored [by the treaty of Berwick, June 18th, 1639].

The assembly and the parliament met at the appointed time; the former came to the same conclusions respecting Episcopacy and the other matters as that of Glasgow had done; and Traquair, who presided over it, gave the royal assent to them. For this he had the king's permission; who, however, was resolved to revoke, when he should have the power, these, in his mind,

[1 At Turriff, the covenanters had been put to flight in a short attack. The so-called "Trot of Turriff," says Gardiner,[m] "was the first skirmish of the long Civil War."]

[1639–1640 A.D.]

unlawful concessions. The parliament not proving manageable was prorogued for six months.

Charles now summoned Lord Wentworth over from Ireland, where he had for some years held the office of lord-deputy. He consulted with him and also with Laud and Hamilton on the affairs of Scotland, and the result of their deliberations was a resolution to reduce the Scots by force of arms. Some other members of the council were then added to them, in order to deliberate on the mode of providing funds for the war; at their instances, Charles agreed to call a parliament.[1] Meantime writs were issued for the second levy of ship-money,[2] and the lords subscribed various sums, Wentworth giving the example by putting down his name for £20,000. It was arranged that the parliament should not be called till the following April, in order to give Wentworth an opportunity of holding a parliament previously in Ireland, to which country he returned with the title of lord-lieutenant; he was also elevated in the English peerage by being created earl of Strafford.

The covenanters had sent the earls of Dunfermline and Loudon, and Sir William Douglas and Mr. Barclay as their commissioners to London, to complain to the king of the prorogation of the parliament and other injuries; they were also instructed to deal with the discontented English.[3] Traquair, however, had got possession of the copy of a letter addressed to the king of France (*au Roi*) and signed by Leslie, Mar, Rothes, Montrose, Montgomery, Loudon, and the secretary Forrester, justifying their cause and asking for aid. The commissioners, therefore, were arrested, and Loudon was committed to the Tower.

THE SHORT PARLIAMENT (1640 A.D.)

The earl of Strafford, having held his parliament in Ireland, where his will was law, and obtained an unconditional grant of money[4] and levied an army of eight thousand men, returned to England, and on the 13th of April, 1640, after an interval of twelve years, a parliament met at Westminster. Though the majority of the members had never sat before, the composition of the house of commons was the same as ever, the Puritan and patriotic party greatly preponderating in it. The king, on the opening of the session, having addressed them in a few brief terms, the lord-keeper related all the proceedings of Scotland, and telling them that "his majesty did not expect advice from them, much less that they should interpose in any office of mediation which would not be grateful to him," required them to grant a supply forthwith, after which they should have time enough given them to represent any grievance, and have a favourable answer.

The commons, having then chosen Sergeant Glanville speaker, prepared to proceed to business, and "whilst men," says Clarendon,[c] "gazed upon each

[1 In homely but vivid phrase Lilly[n] sums up this conflict: "In this war I never heard of so much as one louse killed by either army."]

[2] According to Whitelocke,[h] it was Charles himself who proposed this measure.

[3] "They had great resort to them," says Whitelocke, "and many secret councils held with them by the discontented English, chiefly by those who favoured presbytery and were no friends to bishops, or had suffered in the late censures in the Star Chamber, exchequer, High Commission, and other judicatories. *They also who inclined to a republic* had much correspondence with them, and they courted all, fomented every discontent, and made large and religious promises of future happy times. The earls of Essex, Bedford, Holland, the lord Say, Hampden, Pym, and divers other lords and gentlemen of great interest and quality were deep in with them."

[4 The Catholic members voted liberally in the hope that Charles would in recompense allow freedom of religion in Ireland.]

other, looking who should begin (much the greatest part having never before sat in parliament), Pym, a man of good reputation but much better known afterwards, who had been as long in those assemblies as any man then living, brake the ice." In a speech of two hours' length he enumerated and displayed all the grievances which afflicted the state, under the heads of breach of privilege of parliament, injury to the established religion, and invasion of the subjects' rights of liberty and property. Having then shown that these were as hurtful to the crown as to the people, he proposed that the lords should be invited to join in a petition to the king, and in searching out the causes and remedies of these evils. Other members followed in the same strain; but when one of them termed ship-money an abomination, he was called to the bar and narrowly escaped being reprimanded. Clarendon mentions this "that the temper and sobriety of that house may be taken notice of."

The court being impatient for the money, prevailed on the peers to urge the commons to begin with the supply. This interference was voted to be a high breach of privilege. The king then sent to say that if they would grant him twelve subsidies, to be paid in three years, he would release all his title or pretence to ship-money in future. This matter was debated for two days, when, on the proposal of Hyde that the question of supply simply should be first put, Sir Henry Vane, the treasurer, said that he had authority to state that the king would only accept of it in the manner and proportion proposed in his message. He was followed by the solicitor-general, and it being near five o'clock, the house adjourned. Next day (May 5th) the king dissolved the parliament.[1]

Three members were then committed, and a declaration was published giving the reasons for the dissolution, charging the disaffected members "with attempting to direct the government, and to examine and censure its acts, as if kings were bound to give an account of their regal actions and of their manner of government to their subjects assembled in parliament." Thus abruptly terminated the Short Parliament, as it was named. Contrary to the usual custom, the convocation continued to sit till the end of the month; it passed canons ordering the clergy to teach the people the divine right of kings, and the damnable sin of resistance to their authority, imposing on them the *et cætera* oath,[2] as it was named, and regulating the position of the communion table, and so forth, and finally granting the king a benevolence of four shillings in the pound for six years.

The dissolution was a matter of exultation to Pym and his friends, for they knew that the king must soon call another parliament. Oliver St. John said to Hyde "that all was well, and that it would be worse before it could be better, and that this parliament could never have done what was necessary to be done." Their communications with the Scottish agents now became more frequent, and their future tactics were arranged.[u]

THE SECOND BISHOPS' WAR (1640 A.D.)

When the king prorogued the Scotch parliament, almost at the same time with the English, the former paid no regard to it, but met of its own authority,

[1 Gardiner[m] credits the dissolution to the fact that Charles foresaw an intention to protest against the Scottish war, and desired to forestall such a declaration.]

[2 The oath was to maintain the church as it was. One of the clauses was, "Nor give consent to alter the government of this church by archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons, etc." [The more violent elements made an attempt to storm Laud's palace. They were repulsed, and one ringleader was hanged.]

[1640 A.D.]

in June, 1640, referring to former examples, and proved in polite language the necessity of an immediate discussion of the public affairs. This led to a refutation of all the accusations lately made by the king, to the adoption of almost all the propositions of the preceding year, and a confirmation of the ecclesiastical resolutions. Instead of the clergy, newly elected laymen were admitted into the parliament, arbitrary proclamations declared not to have the force of law, the privy councillors made answerable and dependent on the parliament, taxes imposed for the defence of the country, and the royal authority confided, *ad interim*, to a committee of the estates.

It was further decided that nobody should be declared a rebel or a criminal unless by a resolution of the parliament, or by the sentence of his legitimate judges. Thus the king came at the same time to an open rupture with Scotland and the most serious differences with England, because he obstinately adhered to abstract principles, and never accurately comprehended the state of the ever-changing, agitated world. A just sovereign, as Charles so often calls himself, would have become reconciled to both nations; a prudent one, at least gained the friendship of one of them; at present nobody was on his side except those flatterers who declared arbitrary will to be legal, and most erroneously ascribed to it invincible power.

This disposition to arbitrary proceedings was manifested in contradiction to the king's declaration after the dissolution of parliament, in the levying of soldiers, and taxing all classes by his own authority. He not only had recourse to the old financial measures, which have already been enumerated and censured, but in proportion as the want of money became more urgent proceeded, with a bold disdain of all legal means, to more violent and unjust measures, as the following extracts of the reports of French ambassadors and English statesmen sufficiently prove.

M. de Montreuil writes on the 24th of May, 1640: "Scarcely had the king dissolved the parliament when he found himself embarrassed how to pay the army, and therefore sent on Friday for the mayor and aldermen of London, demanded of them a loan of two millions, and gave them time till Tuesday to consult on the ways and means of raising it. But he sent for them again on Sunday, when the mayor answered him very ingenuously that he was endeavouring by all means to obtain the money, but submitted to his majesty whether it was advisable, in the present state of things, to employ force against the people. Hereupon the king summoned four of the four-and-twenty aldermen of London, and ordered them to give him the names of the richest persons. Instead of this, they answered that this was impossible, because in trade and commerce everything was fluctuating, and it could not be known which merchants were rich and which were poor. This answer displeased the king so much that he caused them to be confined in four different prisons."

On the 14th of June and the 26th of July Montreuil writes: "There are daily disturbances in the counties, chiefly on account of the soldiers. The inhabitants of Kent, Essex, and other places refuse to serve by sea; the militia of Oxford will not serve either by sea or land; the soldiers in Somerset have ill-treated their colonel, Lansfort; the recruits raised in Dorsetshire have thought fit to kill and to hang up by the legs Lieutenant Moore, who treated them rather rigorously; in Suffolk, some soldiers have put on their shirts over their clothes, and represented and ridiculed the archbishop of Canterbury and the court of High Commission. Notwithstanding these symptoms, workmen are daily carried off from their shops and taken on board the fleet destined against Scotland; warlike stores are daily embarked; the soldiers

are sent to the frontiers, and the generals are making preparations for their departure.

"Of the money belonging to private persons and Spanish merchants, which the king had put under sequestration in the Tower, two-thirds have been spent from absolute necessity, and he has only about £40,000 remaining. Of all the injudicious counsels of Strafford this is blamed almost more than any other, because, for the sake of a small temporary advantage, it excited the displeasure of the people and deprived the king of a larger revenue connected with this traffic. But that mildness appears almost more absurd, which so much reduces the original profit, and yet suffers the grounds for complaints and the fear of similar acts of violence to subsist in all their force. It is proposed to coin those £40,000 into money, mixing three-quarters copper, and thus making £160,000; but, not to mention that the people now generally disapprove of what is done, the citizens already declare openly that they will never take such depreciated coin at its full nominal value."

"On Sunday last," writes Montreuil on the 13th of September, "the secretary of state, Cottington, surprised the members of the East India Company, who were assembled to debate on the sale of their pepper, and had resolved to sell it to several private persons for 700,000 francs, payable in four instalments. Cottington said to them that he sequestrated all the pepper in the name of the king, who would take it on the above conditions. He added that the king was not obliged to them for it, but they, on the contrary, owed him thanks because he intended to employ the money produced by this pepper for the preservation of their property, their lives and their liberty, of all which the Scotch wanted to deprive them." From other sources, it appears that the king immediately sold the pepper, purchased on credit, below the purchase price, levied ship-money as before, and dispensed Catholics, on payment of money, from the observance of the laws. All this, however, produced but little.

Notwithstanding this extreme pecuniary distress, such numerous mutinies of the soldiers, such general dissatisfaction at the approaching war, the king caused prayers to be put up in all the churches for the success of his arms. August 20th the Scotch, to the amount of twenty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse, entered the English territory, observed at first strict discipline, and met with a friendly reception. But want soon compelled them to live at the expense of the country, whereby the Roman Catholics especially were excessively burdened, nay, plundered. They printed declarations in order to prove that they defended God, religion, and liberty, and that the attack was commenced by the ill-advised king. Soon afterwards they required the confirmation of their previous resolutions, the revocation of the above accusations, and the calling of an English parliament to establish peace between the two kingdoms.

More seemed to depend on the use of arms than on written declarations. Though the soldiers in the Scotch army were for the most part inexperienced, they had good officers, and bore, as a sign of their enthusiasm, the Scotch arms in their standards, with an inscription in letters of gold, "For Christ's crown and the covenant." The earl of Northumberland, the king's commander-in-chief, was generally ill, and Conway, the commander of the cavalry, through unskilfulness and cowardice, suffered himself to be defeated at Newburn.[1]

A chance shot broke the truce. Leslie, the German campaigner, played upon the English foot with his artillery, and when their attention was thus engaged he sent a detachment across the ford. There was no possibility of

[1640 A.D.]

resistance, for horse and infantry poured furiously upon the unaccustomed lines of Lord Conway, and a whole troop of Edinburgh lawyers, who had formed themselves into the body-guard of brave old Leslie, thundered among the amazed freeholders of Kent and Warwickshire, and put them to ignominious flight, as if they were serving them with a notice of forcible ejectment. The English fought unwillingly, or not at all. The rout was complete, but the slaughter very inconsiderable, and the covenanters, by taking possession of Newcastle, secured the neutrality of London, for they had it in their power to cut off its supply of coals. Durham yielded next, then Darlington, then Northallerton, and the English army at last drew up, under the eyes of Charles and Strafford themselves, beneath the walls of York.

Every town the Scots entered received them kindly. They preserved exact discipline, and professed themselves faithful subjects of the crown. They began their toasts after dinner with the king's health, and then attended the sermons of their chaplains, who made their ears to tingle with Sisera, and Holofernes, and Saul. Nobody would come forward with life and fortune against such very moderate invaders.[b]

The king's army still amounted to sixteen thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry; but they were nothing less than disinclined to fight, and it was feared that from the impossibility of punctually paying and supporting so great a number for a long time most of them would desert.

In this distress and confusion, says Lord Clarendon,[c] between a proud enemy rendered presumptuous by success, and an army, if not wholly seduced, yet discouraged, in a seditious country inclined to the rebels; amidst reluctant courtiers and officers, and with a treasury entirely empty, the convocation of the lords was resolved on as the nearest resource, by which in fact the summoning of a parliament was likewise decided. Accordingly Charles declared, on the 24th of September, to the lords assembled at York, that he had resolved, by the advice of his queen, to summon a new parliament for the 8th of November, 1640; but that at the present moment they had to decide what answer should be given to the proposals made by the Scots, and how the army should be supported.

After much disputing, an armistice with the Scotch was concluded at Ripon, on the 10th of October, on the condition that £850 daily should be paid to them for two months at least, for the subsistence of their army. Thus the king, who was not able to pay one army of his own, undertook to provide for the subsistence of a second, of the enemy; or rather the fate of the two armies and the terms of the peace to be concluded with the Scotch at London depended entirely on the English parliament, and no longer on the king.[i]

THE LONG PARLIAMENT; THE IMPEACHMENT OF STRAFFORD

The Long Parliament—the most memorable parliament that England ever saw—the parliament which for two centuries had been the theme of the most extravagant hatred and the most exaggerated praise—the parliament, whatever were its merits or its faults, which had the one glory of having rendered it impossible that the monarchy of England could endure except in alliance with representative freedom—this parliament of thirteen years' duration now claims our anxious regard.

In an elaborate engraving of the lower house, in 1623, we see the five hundred members placed in five rows, tier above tier, in that old chapel of St. Stephen's, famous for generations. On the 3rd of November, 1640, there

were sitting on those benches men whose names will endure as long as England is a nation; men whose memories are now venerated in lands then undiscovered or chiefly occupied by barbarous tribes, where the principles of representative government are sustaining the Anglo-Saxon race in their career of liberty, whilst they fill new continents with their language and their arts.

There were men there of many varieties of opinion as to the extent to which reforms of the church and of the state should be carried. But there were very few indeed who did not see that the time was come when a stand was to be made against the arbitrary power which, whether embodied in Strafford or Laud, in Finch or Windebank, had so long and so successfully carried on a warfare "against our fundamental laws—against the excellent constitution of this kingdom, which hath made it appear to strangers rather an idea than a real commonwealth, and produced the honour and happiness of this, as the wonder of every other nation." [1]

Those who opposed the despotic pretensions of Charles and of his father were not the innovators, as some would pretend. When Clarendon[c] tells us of the house of commons that "the major part of that body consisted of men who had no mind to break the peace of the kingdom, or to make any considerable alteration in the government of church or state," he correctly represents the general temper of the Long Parliament in its first year.

Charles did not understand the character of this parliament. He conceded much, but in the very act of concession he showed his weakness rather than his sense of right; and there was reasonable fear enough, however exaggerated by popular mistrust, that at the first favourable moment the parliament would be dissolved, and the old arbitrary power resumed with new force. Treacherous schemes on one side, and extravagant demands on the other, rendered almost hopeless any other issue than civil war. Then, necessarily, men chose their sides. Those "who had no mind to break the peace of the kingdom" were compelled to draw their swords, friend against friend and brother against brother; and those who had no original design "to make any considerable alteration in the government of church or state," had all to witness, and many to promote, the downfall of the ecclesiastical system which Augustine had founded, and the ruin of the monarchy which Alfred had built up.

On the memorable 3rd of November Charles opened this parliament. He met his people with no cheerful display of royal splendour. "The king himself did not ride with his accustomed equipage, nor in his usual majesty, to Westminster, but went privately in his barge to the parliament stairs," says Clarendon.[c] Charles addressed the houses in a tone of conciliation: "One thing I desire of you, as one of the greatest means to make this a happy parliament, that you on your parts, as I on mine, lay aside all suspicion, one of another."

It was scarcely in the power of the representatives of the people to have hastily accepted the renewal of a broken confidence, even if they had been so willing. The fatal dissolution of parliament six months before had spread a spirit of resistance to the court which was not confined to idle complainings. Sir Thomas Gardiner, the recorder of London, had been designed by the king to fill the office of speaker in the coming parliament. Contrary to all precedent he was rejected by the city, and no influence could procure his election in any other place. On the morning of the meeting of parliament the king was told that his choice was useless. Lenthall was chosen speaker.

[1] Falkland's charge against Finch.

[1640 A.D.]

In a few days there was abundant work for the commons. Troops of horsemen arrived in London craving redress of grievances upon their petitions. From the Fleet Prison came a petition from Alexander Leighton, who had been ten years in confinement, and another from John Lilburne, the sturdy London apprentice who had been whipped and imprisoned for distributing Prynne's books. Lilburne's petition was presented by Oliver Cromwell. From the several distant castles in which they were confined, the petitions of Prynne and Burton and Bastwick reached the house. These prisoners were ordered to be brought to London. Leighton, mutilated, deaf, blind, crept out of the cell in which he expected to die to receive some recompense for his sufferings. Lilburne had a money compensation voted to him. Prynne and one of his fellow-sufferers made a triumphal entry into London.

It was voted that these sufferers should be restored to their callings, and that those who had unjustly sentenced them should pay high damages, as compensation, to each of them. Bastwick returned at the beginning of December, with trumpets sounding and torches burning, and a thousand horse for his convoy. "God is making here a new world," says Baillie.[p]

Some days before the assembling of parliament two remarkable men met in Westminster Hall, and began conferring together upon the state of affairs. Pym told Hyde, who later became the earl of Clarendon, "that they must now be of another temper than they were the last parliament; that they must not only sweep the house clean below, but must sweep down all the cobwebs which hung in the top and corners, that they might not breed dust, and so make a foul house hereafter; that they had now an opportunity to make the country happy—by removing all grievances and pulling up the causes of them by the roots—if all men would do their duties." This was not idle talk of Pym. On the night of Monday, the 9th of November, the earl of Strafford came to London. On the morning of Wednesday, the 11th, Pym rose in his place in the house of commons, and saying that he had matter of the highest importance to propose, desired that strangers should be excluded and the doors of the house be locked.

There was one man more signal than the rest in bringing these miseries upon the nation—"a man who," said Pym, "in the memory of many present, had sate in that house an earnest vindicator of the laws, and a most zealous supporter and champion for the liberties of the people; but long since turned apostate from those good affections, and according to the custom and nature of apostates, was become the greatest enemy to the liberties of his country and the greatest promoter of tyranny that any age had produced." And then he named "the earl of Strafford."

After many hours of bitter investigation into the actions of Strafford, it was moved "that he might be forthwith impeached of high treason, which was no sooner mentioned than it found an universal approbation and consent from the whole house." The doors of the house of commons were thrown open, and Pym, at the head of three hundred members, proceeded to the house of lords, and there, at the bar, in the name of the lower house and of all the commons of England, impeached Thomas, earl of Strafford, of high treason, and required his arrest.

The scene which followed has been spiritedly told by Baillie,[p] the principal of the university of Glasgow, who in his visit to London had leisure to learn more than most men, and had ability to relate well what he learned or saw: "The lords began to consult on that strange and unexpected motion. The word goes in haste to the lord lieutenant, where he was with the king; with speed he comes to the house; he calls rudely at the door. James Maxwell,

keeper of the black rod, opens. His lordship, with a proud glooming countenance, makes towards his place at the board-head; but at once many bid him void the house, so he is forced in confusion to go to door till he was called. After consultation, being called in, he stands, but is commanded to kneel, and on his knees to hear the sentence. Being on his knees he is delivered to the keeper of the black rod to be prisoner till he was cleared of these crimes the house of commons did charge him with. He offered to speak, but was commanded to be gone without a word. This done, he makes through a number of people towards his coach, all gazing, no man capping to him, before whom that morning the greatest of England would have stood discovered, all crying, 'What is the matter?' He said, 'A small matter, I warrant you!' They replied, 'Yes, indeed, high treason is a small matter!' When at last he had found his coach and was entering, James Maxwell told him, 'Your lordship is my prisoner, and must go in my coach'; so he behoved to do."

There were others to be dealt with by the same summary process who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the nation. Strafford had been committed to the Tower on the 25th of November. On the 16th of December the canons which had been passed in convocation after the dissolution of the last parliament were, to use Laud's own words, "condemned in the house of commons as being against the king's prerogative, the fundamental laws of the realm, the liberty and propriety of the subject, and containing other things tending to sedition, and of dangerous consequence." On the 18th, Denzil Holles carried a message to the lords, impeaching the archbishop of high treason. Laud was handed over to the custody of the usher of the black rod.

Ten weeks afterwards he was committed to the Tower. Articles of impeachment were prepared against the lord-keeper Finch, and against Sir Francis Windebank, secretary of state. They both fled the country. "Within less than six weeks," writes Clarendon,[c] "for no more time was yet elapsed, these terrible reformers had caused the two greatest councillors of the kingdom, and whom they most feared, and so hated, to be removed from the king, and imprisoned, under an accusation of high treason; and frighted away the lord-keeper of the great seal of England and one of the principal secretaries of state into foreign lands for fear of the like." But the terrible reformers did not rest here. Five of the judges who had declared ship-money lawful were visited with a just retribution for their servility. They were compelled to give securities to abide the judgment of parliament, whilst the most obnoxious of them, Sir Robert Berkeley, being impeached of high treason, was taken to prison from his judgment-seat in the King's Bench, "which struck," says Whitelocke,[h] "a great terror in the rest of his brethren then sitting in Westminster Hall, and in all his profession."

Whilst the leaders of the parliament were intent upon the re-establishment of civil rights and the punishment of those who had violated them, the great religious party carried out the principles which had covered Scotland with ecclesiastical ruins, by an order that "commissions should be sent into all counties for the defacing, demolishing, and quite taking away of all images, altars, or tables turned altar-wise, crucifixes, superstitious pictures, monuments, and reliques of idolatry, out of all churches and chapels."

During the anxious period between the commitment of the great earl on the 11th of November and his trial on the 22nd of March, the commons had laboured assiduously in the work of legislation as well as in that of punishing the instruments of evil government. Of these legislative labours, which they continued till the close of the session, we shall give a short general view before

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we conclude our narrative of the first session of this memorable parliament. Meanwhile, let us relate, as briefly as the importance of the subject allows, the proceedings in the trial and attainder of "the one supremely able man the king had," to use the words of Carlyle[q]—the man whose acquittal and restoration to power would, in the opinion of most persons, have given the death-blow to the liberties of England. These proceedings have been condemned by many who fully admit with Hallam[r] "that to bring so great a delinquent to justice according to the known process of the law was among the primary duties of the new parliament." But "the known process of the law" having been set aside, it is held that justice was not rightly administered. The proceedings have been defended, even while it is fully admitted, as Macaulay[s] admits, that his "attainder was, in truth, a revolutionary measure"; and in the same spirit they are justified, "by that which alone justifies capital punishment, or any punishment, by that alone which justifies war, by the public danger."

In that Westminster Hall which had witnessed so many memorable scenes; in that hall in which, rebuilt by Richard II, the parliament sat which deposed him, and Bolingbroke placed himself in the marble chair; in that hall where More was condemned, and Henry VIII sentenced a heretic to the fire, and the protector Somerset was doomed to the scaffold; in that hall was to be enacted a scene more strange than any which had gone before, the arraignment of the great minister who was identified with the acts of the sovereign—a virtual trial of strength between the crown and the people.

Of this trial, May,[t] the parliamentary historian, says: "So great it was that we can hardly call it the trial of the earl of Strafford only. The king's affections towards his people and parliament, the future success of this parliament and the hopes of three kingdoms dependent upon it, were all tried when Strafford was arraigned. Three whole kingdoms were his accusers, and eagerly sought in one death a recompense of all their sufferings." May speaks also of "the pompous circumstances and stately manner of the trial itself." The hall was fitted up in a manner quite unusual in any previous state-trial. The king did not occupy the throne, but sat with the queen and his family in a box on the side of the throne. "The trellis, that made them to be secret, the king broke down with his own hand, so they sat in the eye of all," writes Baillie.[p] If in the few resting minutes of this trial the wants of the animal man were supplied after a homely fashion, never was the supremacy of intellect more strikingly put forth to move pity or compel indignation.[g]

In the proceedings which commenced on the 21st of March and continued till the middle of April, Strafford defended himself with so much presence of mind and ability that some of the points of impeachment fell to the ground, and not a single one justified an accusation of high treason. On the other hand it was remarked that a law of Edward I enacted that since every act of treason could not be severally enumerated, that should be punished as such which parliament declared to be so. But independently of the question whether so old and obsolete a law was still valid, a later declaration of parliament could not without injustice be applied to preceding facts. For this reason, greater stress was laid on the assertion that it was undoubtedly treason to endeavour to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom; and they invented a kind of cumulative or constructive evidence, by which many single words or actions, in themselves of little or no importance, should, when united, amount to a full proof of treason. At the conclusion of the proceedings Strafford made a general speech in his own defence, from which we extract the following passages:

"It is hard when anybody is called to account on the strength of a law which no person can point out. Where has this fire been so long buried during so many centuries, that no smoke should appear till it burst out at once to consume me and my children? Great wisdom it will be in your lordships, and just providence for yourselves, for your posterity, for the whole kingdom, to cast from you into the fire those bloody and mysterious volumes of arbitrary and constructive treasons, and betake yourselves to the plain letter of the statute; and not seek to be more learned than your ancestors in the art of condemning and killing.

"I am the first, after a lapse of two hundred and forty years, to whom this alleged crime has been attributed. Let us not to our own destruction awake those sleeping lions by rattling up a company of old records which have lain for so many ages neglected and forgotten. To all my afflictions add not this, my lords, that I for my own sins be the means of introducing a precedent so pernicious to the laws and liberties of my native country. For though those gentlemen at the bar say they speak for the commonwealth, yet in fact it is I who defend it, and show the inconveniences and miseries which must ensue from such proceedings. Impose not, my lords, so many dangers and difficulties upon ministers of state, that no wise man, who has any honour or fortune to lose, can serve the country with cheerfulness and safety. If you weigh everything by grains and scruples, no persons will in future engage in public business." The earl concluded by saying, "I thank God I have been, by his blessing, sufficiently instructed in the extreme vanity of all temporary enjoyments compared to the importance of our eternal duration; and so, my lords, I submit with all tranquillity of mind to your judgment; and whether it shall be life or death—*Te Deum laudamus.*"

Whitelocke,[h] who himself presided at the examination, says: "Certainly never any man acted such a part, on such a theatre, with more wisdom, constancy, and eloquence, with greater reason, judgment and temper, and with a better grace in all his words and gestures, than did this great and excellent person; and he moved the hearts of all his auditors, some few excepted, to remorse and pity."[i]

To all who could be moved by natural sympathy towards a man bearing up so bravely in the presence of imminent danger and under the pressure of disease, the majestic periods of Pym's reply would fall dull and cold. Even now Strafford touches the heart, whilst Pym holds the understanding in his powerful grasp. There never was a grander scene in the ancient world of "famous orators"—not when Demosthenes "fulmined" against Philip, and Catiline trembled before Cicero—than when Pym, in the presence of the king of England, proclaimed that treason against the people was treason against the throne, and intimated that the sovereign who abetted such treason was not himself safe from "a miserable end."

"It is God alone," he went on, "who subsists by himself; all other things subsist in a mutual dependence and relation. He was a wise man that said that the king subsisted by the field that is tilled; it is the labour of the people that supports the crown. If you take away the protection of the king, the vigour and cheerfulness of allegiance will be taken away, though the obligation remain. The law is the boundary, the measure, betwixt the king's prerogative and the people's liberty. Whilst these move in their own orbs, they are a support and a security to one another—the prerogative a cover and defence to the liberty of the people, and the people by their liberty enabled to be a foundation to the prerogative. But if these bounds be so removed that they enter into contestation and conflict, one of these mischiefs must ensue:

if the prerogative of the king overwhelm the people it will be turned into tyranny; if liberty undermine the prerogative, it will grow into anarchy.

"Arbitrary power is dangerous to the king's person and dangerous to his crown. It is apt to cherish ambition, usurpation, and oppression in great men, and to beget sedition and discontent in the people; and both these have been, and in reason must ever be, causes of great trouble and alteration to princes and states. If the histories of those eastern countries be perused, where princes order their affairs according to the mischievous principles of the earl of Strafford, loose and absolved from all rules of government, they will be found to be frequent in combustions, full of massacres, and of the tragical ends of princes. If any man shall look into their own stories, in the times when the laws were most neglected, he shall find them full of commotions, of civil distempers, whereby the kings that then reigned were always kept in want and distress; the people consumed by civil wars; and by such miserable counsels as these some of our princes have been brought to such a miserable end as no honest heart can remember without horror, and an earnest prayer that it may never be so again."[g]



COSTUME OF COURTIER, TIME OF CHARLES I

It is said that when Pym uttered the following words, "If this law hath not been put in execution, as he allegeth, these two hundred and forty years, it was not for want of a law, but that all that time had not bred a man bold enough to commit such crimes as these," Strafford raised his head and looked at him fixedly; Pym became confused, his memory failed him. "To humble the man," says Baillie,[p] "God let his memory fail him a little before the end." He looked at his papers, but they were of no avail. He then briefly said that the solicitor-general, St. John, would on a future day argue some law points before them with learning and abilities much better for that service.[u]

But because, notwithstanding the accumulation and union of single points, the accusation of high treason could not be proved, the form and name were changed, and a bill of attainder was proposed in the lower house. In order to avoid the appearance of partiality, the king had consented that to obtain proofs all the privy councillors should themselves disclose the secrets of their joint deliberations. Nothing of consequence resulted from this; but very great stress was laid on the circumstance that the younger Vane found among his father's papers a statement, according to which Strafford had advised war "against this kingdom."

Though the earl with four others denied this accusation; though several swore that this was not the case, and that every unprejudiced person could see by the context that not England, but Scotland, was meant, many took

advantage of this circumstance to justify their own rigour and to inflame the people against the king. Lord Digby who intended to defend him thought it necessary to say, "Strafford is now hated on account of his actions, and will in future excite terror by his punishment. He is a very dangerous minister to whom God has given rare talents, and the devil a bad application of them." *i*

The commons meantime were proceeding with their bill of attainder. It was read the third time on the 21st of April, only fifty-nine members voting against it in a house of two hundred and sixty-three. The most strenuous opposer of the bill was Lord Digby, son of the earl of Bristol, a member of the committee of impeachment. "I am still the same," said he, "in my opinions and affections as unto the earl of Strafford. I confidently believe him to be the most dangerous minister, the most insupportable to free subjects that can be charactered. I believe him to be still that grand apostate to the commonwealth who must not expect to be pardoned in this world till he be despatched to the other. And yet let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, my hand must not be to that despatch." For this speech Digby was immediately questioned in the house, and when he printed it the house ordered that it should be burned by the hangman, "which," says May,[t] "was the visible cause of his deserting the parliament, and proving so great an actor against it."

The bill was carried up to the lords the same day, and as an inducement to them to pass it, there was added a proviso that it should not be held a precedent for future times. On the 24th of April the tardy peers were called on to appoint a day for reading it, and on the 29th, Strafford being placed at the bar, St. John argued for two hours in proof of the legality of the attainder. Amongst other arguments he employed the following: "He that would not have had others to have had a law, why should he have any law himself? It's true we give laws to hares and deers, because they be beasts of chase; it was never accounted either cruelty or foul play to knock foxes or wolves on the head, as they can be found, because these be beasts of prey. The warrener sets traps for polecats and other vermin, for preservation of the warren." In other words, Strafford must be destroyed, with law or without law.

Two days after (May 1st) the king summoned both houses, and told them that in conscience he could not condemn Strafford of treason, or assent to the bill of attainder; "but for misdemeanours, he is so clear in them that he thinks the earl hereafter not fit to serve him or the commonwealth in any place of trust, no, not so much as a constable"; and he conjured the lords to find out some middle way. Charles by this address, characteristic of his usual want of judgment, only hastened the fate of Strafford, for the commons, seeing their advantage, exclaimed loudly against the breach of privilege committed by the king's interfering with a bill in progress.

Next day being Sunday, the pulpits which were occupied by the Puritan clergy inculcated "the necessity of justice upon some great delinquents now to be acted"; and on the following morning there came a rabble of about six thousand persons, armed with swords, daggers, and clubs, crying for justice on the earl of Strafford, and complaining that "they were undone for the want of execution on him, trading was so decayed thereby." They insulted several of the lords, and they posted up the names of the fifty-nine members of the commons who had voted against the attainder, calling them "Straffordians, or betrayers of their country." When these members complained to the house of being thus proscribed they could get no redress, it being, they were told, the act of a multitude. If it be asked, Where did the mob get their list? the reply will appear in the sequel.

THE ARMY PLOT

While the mob were shouting outside, Pym took occasion to reveal to the house sundry matters which had come to his knowledge respecting intrigues and designs against the parliament; and on his motion a protestation (borrowed from the covenant) to defend the Protestant church, his majesty's person and power, the privileges of parliament, and the lawful rights and liberties of the people, was taken by all the members. It was transmitted next day to the lords, where it was taken in like manner, the Catholic peers of course declining it, and being thereby prevented from voting on Strafford's attainder. Orders were then given for the protestation to be taken all through England.

The important matter which Pym now communicated to the house was what is called the Army Plot. It is said that he had had a knowledge of it for some time, and had dropped hints of it in order to produce the effects he desired in the city. The matter is involved in great obscurity; the following is what appears to us the most probable account:

The parliament had been very regular in their payments of the money promised to their "dear brethren," as they termed the Scots. On one occasion the latter wrote up, pretending an instant need of £25,000, and the commons, having only £15,000 in hand, took to make up the sum £10,000 from a sum of £50,000 which was to have gone to the English army.

Some of the field-officers of this last, namely, Lord Percy, brother of the earl of Northumberland, Wilmot, son of Lord Wilmot, and colonels Ashburnham, Pollard, and others, were members of the house of commons, and Wilmot rose and said, "that if such papers of the Scots could procure moneys, he doubted not but the officers of the English would soon do the like." Petitioning being now so much in vogue, these officers formed themselves into a *juncto*, as it was called, and prepared a petition to the king and parliament, to be presented from the army, of which the prayer would be the preserving of the bishops' functions and votes, the non-disbanding of the Irish army until that of the Scots was also disbanded, and the settlement of the royal revenue. This was communicated by Percy to the king.

Meantime there was a plot on foot among Henry Jermyn, master of the horse to the queen, Sir John Suckling, George Goring, son of Lord Goring, and others, the object of which was deeper: it being to bring up the army and overawe the parliament. It would appear that not merely the queen, but even the king was acquainted with this design, for he commanded Percy and his friends to communicate with Jermyn and Goring. They had three meetings, and Goring, finding that the more violent courses which he urged were not relished, and seeing also that the command of the army, the object of his ambition, would not be bestowed on him, went and made a discovery to Lord Newport, and then to the parliamentary leaders. Percy, Jermyn, and Suckling, finding the affair discovered, fled to France; the others stood their ground. Percy afterwards (June 14th) wrote a letter to his brother, giving an account (apparently a true one) of the whole affair, and then Wilmot, Ashburnham, and Pollard were committed to custody. Lord Digby, having asserted that Goring was a perjured man, was expelled the house, and Goring was voted to have done nothing contrary to justice and honour.

The king, in his extreme anxiety to save Strafford, may have lent an ear to the wild project of Goring; he also assented to another, of introducing one Captain Billingsley with two hundred men into the Tower for that purpose,

and gave his warrant for it. But Balfour, the lieutenant, a Scotsman, having discovered the object, refused to admit them. It is also said that Balfour was offered a sum of money to let the earl escape, and on his examination he swore that Strafford had offered him for that purpose £20,000, "besides a good marriage for his son."

On the 5th a bill was introduced into the commons which virtually dissolved the monarchy. As there was a difficulty in raising money for the pay of the armies, a Lancashire knight engaged to procure £650,000 if the king would pass a bill "not to prorogue, adjourn, or dissolve this parliament without consent of both houses, to endure till the grievances were redressed, and to give the parliament credit to take up moneys." The next day this bill was hurried through all its stages, and sent with that of the attainder up to the other house. The lords wished to limit it to two years, but the commons would not consent, and on the 8th it was passed. The lords at the same time passed the bill of attainder, the judges having previously declared that on two of the articles the earl was guilty of treason. This opinion would be of more weight were it not that the judges had such recent experience of the power of the commons. Various causes concurring to make several of the peers absent themselves, there were but forty-five present when the bill was passed, and of these nineteen voted against it.

The two bills were sent to the king. In his distress of mind he called some of the prelates and privy councillors to his aid. Some urged the authority of the judges; Bishop Williams is said to have drawn a pernicious distinction between a king's private and public conscience, by which in his public capacity he might do an act which he secretly believed to be a crime. Bishop Juxon alone, we are told, honestly advised him to follow his conscience. A letter also came from the earl himself, urging him to pass the bill. "Sir," said he in it, "my consent shall more acquit you herein to God than all the world can do besides. To a willing man there is no injury done." A truly noble mind would have perished sooner than sacrifice such a voluntary victim; Charles, to his ultimate ruin and eternal disgrace, signed a commission to three lords to pass both the bills.

It is probable that Strafford did not look for this result, for when secretary Carleton came from the king to inform him of what he had done, and his motives for it, he could not at first believe it. When satisfied of the truth he stood up, lifted his eyes to heaven, and laying his hand on his heart, said, "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men, for in them there is no salvation."

THE EXECUTION OF STRAFFORD

Denzil Holles, who was Strafford's brother-in-law, told Burnet that the king sent for him and asked if he knew of any course to save his life. Holles hinted at a reprieve, which would give himself time to use his influence with his friends in the commons. The king would appear to have assented to this course, but, with his usual inconstancy, he adopted another. The day after his assent to the bill (the 11th) he sent a letter by the young prince of Wales, written by himself, to the lords, urging them to join him in prevailing with the commons to consent to his imprisonment for life; "but," he subjoined, "if no less than his life can satisfy my people, I must say *Fiat justitia.*" In a postscript he adds, "If he must die, it were charity to reprieve him till Saturday." This postscript is said to have sealed the earl's doom.



LORD STRAFFORD, ON HIS WAY TO THE SCAFFOLD, RECEIVING THE BLESSING OF ARCHBISHOP LAUD

(From the painting by Paul Delaroche, in Sutherland House, London)

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The following morning (the 12th) was appointed for the execution. The scaffold was erected on Tower Hill; the earl, when ready, left his chamber; Laud, as he had requested, was at his window to give him his blessing as he passed; the feeble old man raised his hands, but was unable to speak, and fell back into the arms of his attendants. The earl moved on; the lieutenant desired him to take coach at the gate, lest the mob should tear him to pieces; he replied that it was equal to him whether he died by the axe or by their fury. The multitudes extended far as the eye could reach; the earl took off his hat several times and saluted them; not a word of insult was heard; "his step and air," says Rushworth,[v] who was present, "were those of a general marching at the head of an army to breathe victory, rather than those of a condemned man to undergo the sentence of death."

From the scaffold he addressed the people, assuring them that he had always had the welfare of his country at heart; it augured ill for their happiness, he told them, to write the commencement of a reformation in letters of blood; he assured them he had never been against parliaments, regarding them as "the best means under God to make the king and his people happy." He turned to take leave of his friends, and seeing his brother weeping, he gently reproached him. "Think," said he, "that you are now accompanying me the fourth time to my marriage-bed. That block shall be my pillow, and here I shall rest from all my labours." He then began to undress, saying, "I do as cheerfully put off my doublet at this time as ever I did when I went to bed." He knelt and prayed, Archbishop Usher and another clergyman kneeling with him. He laid down his head to try the block; then telling the executioner that he would stretch forth his hands as a sign when he was to strike, he laid it finally down, and giving the signal, it was severed at a single blow; and thus in the forty-ninth year of his age perished Thomas earl of Strafford, "who, for natural parts and abilities," says Whitelocke,[h] "and for improvement of knowledge, by experience in the greatest affairs, for wisdom, faithfulness, and gallantry of mind, hath left few behind him that may be ranked equal with him." [u]

It is unnecessary here to enter into the question of the weakness or wickedness of the king in consenting to the sacrifice of Strafford. Charles held it, in the subsequent struggle of his life, as his one great fault—that which was justly punished by Heaven in his misfortunes. The firm yet modest demeanour of the great earl produced little mitigation of the dislike of the people. "In the evening of the day wherein he was executed the greatest demonstrations of joy that possibly could be expressed ran through the whole town and countries hereabout; and many that came up to town on purpose to see the execution rode in triumph back, and with all expressions of joy, through every town they went, crying, 'His head is off! his head is off!'" Warwick,[w] the zealous adherent of the court, tells this "to show how mad the whole people were, especially in and about this then bloody and brutish city, London." [g]

By one party Strafford has been represented as the noblest, most innocent martyr for the purest cause in the world; by the second, as the worst of criminals, whose death was entirely merited and absolutely necessary for the establishment of liberty. An impartial examination confirms neither of these views, but leads to a judgment between the two. Strafford had committed no crime which deserved death according to the laws, and he had justly said, "I see nothing capital in their charge"; and the proceedings against him were carried on with acrimony, and with a violation of many forms. On the other hand, he had behaved, especially in Ireland, in individual cases in the

most arbitrary manner, in order to maintain certain general principles, and his plan, to free the king from all restraint, by an unlimited right of taxation and a standing army, was indeed not treason, according to the letter of the law, but more dangerous and more wicked than much that was designated by that name. For this reason, the popular leaders said that the question here was not the application of the letter of the law to cases which were foreseen, but a new action, nay, a whole series of actions and intentions, for which a new law and a new punishment must be laid down and applied, for the safety of the country. If the existing law was insufficient to avert the most dreadful danger, it ought not to be meanly submitted to, but means to punish such great criminals must be sought and found in the omnipotence of legislation.

As Vaughan[i] says: "If we blame the sentence which was passed upon Strafford, it is not so much on his account as for the sake of the laws which he trampled under foot, and of liberty which he betrayed."

Strafford was the ablest, and in one sense the most faithful, of Charles' councillors, but he undertook a task to which he was not equal, and which he could not have executed without violating all the existing laws. He failed in attaining what Richelieu at that time purposed, and executed with far greater energy, and under very different circumstances; yet a more elevated point of view, and more genuine fidelity to the king, would have happily led in England to a far greater object.

But precisely because the victory over the king's system was so decisive, and he had already granted everything advantageous to real liberty, it appears doubly wrong that the parliament was not satisfied with the fall of Strafford, without violating the existing law, and giving a retrospective power to the newly adopted principle; that, without a sufficient motive, it stained the road to peaceful improvement with blood, and after the king had sacrificed to it his erroneous principles, wantonly inflicted the deepest wound upon his heart. A milder course would have proved a better guarantee for liberty. By Strafford's death, on the contrary, the breach became incurable, all nobler feelings became subordinate to cold calculation, and in order to attain the object nearest at hand, that which was far greater was, in truth, sacrificed. From the moment that the affecting entreaty of Charles for the life of his servant and friend was refused, the very trace of everything pleasing and humane in the relation between king and parliament was lost, without an indemnity being found for it on any other side—nay, without the possibility of ever finding it.

While the rejoicings were taking place in London on the execution of the earl, the windows of those who would not illuminate were broken. Richelieu, on the other hand, said: "The English are mad in cutting off the best head of their country." Digby's speech in favour of Strafford, which was printed, was burned by order of the house of commons, and Taylor expelled, imprisoned, and declared incapable of ever sitting in parliament, because he had called the execution of the earl a judicial murder.[i]

MACAULAY ON STRAFFORD'S EXECUTION

Defeat, universal agitation, financial embarrassments, disorganisation in every part of the government, had compelled Charles again to convene the houses before the close of the same year. Their meeting was one of the great eras in the history of the civilised world. Whatever of political freedom exists either in Europe or in America has sprung directly or indirectly from those

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institutions which they secured and reformed. We never turn to the annals of those times without feeling increased admiration of the patriotism, the energy, the decision, the consummate wisdom, which marked the measures of that great parliament, from the day on which it met to the commencement of civil hostilities.

The impeachment of Strafford was the first, and perhaps the greatest blow. The whole conduct of that celebrated man proved that he had formed a deliberate scheme to subvert the fundamental laws of England. Those parts of his correspondence which have been brought to light since his death place the matter beyond a doubt.

It is not strange that a man so careless of the common civil rights, which even despots have generally respected, should treat with scorn the limitations which the constitution imposes on the royal prerogative. We might quote pages, but we will content ourselves with a single specimen: "The debts of



MARKET-PLACE, LEDBURY, HEREFORDSHIRE
(Built Time of Charles I)

the crown being taken off, you may govern as you please; and most resolute I am that may be done without borrowing any help forth of the king's lodgings."

Such was the theory of that thorough reform in the state which Strafford meditated. His whole practice, from the day on which he sold himself to the court, was in strict conformity to his theory. For his accomplices various excuses may be urged—ignorance, imbecility, religious bigotry. But Wentworth had no such plea. His intellect was capacious. His early prepossessions were on the side of popular rights. He knew the whole beauty and value of the system which he attempted to deface. He was the first of the rats, the first of those statesmen whose patriotism has been only the coquetry of political prostitution, and whose profligacy has taught governments to adopt the old maxim of the slave-market, that it is cheaper to buy than to breed, to import defenders from an opposition than to rear them in a ministry. He was the first Englishman to whom a peerage was a sacrament of infamy, a baptism into the communion of corruption. As he was the earliest of the hateful list, so was he also by far the greatest; eloquent, sagacious, adventurous, intrepid,

ready of invention, immutable of purpose, in every talent which exalts or destroys nations pre-eminent, the lost archangel, the Satan of the apostasy. The title for which, at the time of his desertion, he exchanged a name honourably distinguished in the cause of the people, reminds us of the appellation which, from the moment of the first treason, fixed itself on the fallen Son of the Morning,

"Satan—so call him now. His former name
Is heard no more in heaven."

The defection of Strafford from the popular party contributed mainly to draw on him the hatred of his contemporaries. It has since made him an object of peculiar interest to those whose lives have been spent, like his, in proving that there is no malice like the malice of a renegade. Nothing can be more natural or becoming than that one turncoat should eulogise another.

Many enemies of public liberty have been distinguished by their private virtues. But Strafford was the same throughout. As was the statesman, such was the kinsman, and such the lover. His conduct towards Lord Mountmorris is recorded by Clarendon.[c] For a word which can scarcely be called rash, which could not have been made the subject of an ordinary civil action, the lord lieutenant dragged a man of high rank, married to a relative of his wife, that "saint" about whom he whimpered to the peers, before a tribunal of slaves. Sentence of death was passed. Everything but death was inflicted. Yet the treatment which Lord Ely experienced was still more scandalous. That nobleman was thrown into prison in order to compel him to settle his estate in a manner agreeable to his daughter-in-law, whom, as there is every reason to believe, Strafford had debauched. These stories do not rest on vague report. The historians most partial to the minister admit their truth, and censure them in terms which, though too lenient for the occasion, are still severe. These facts are alone sufficient to justify the appellation with which Pym branded him, "the wicked Earl."

In spite of all Strafford's vices, in spite of all his dangerous projects, he was certainly entitled to the benefit of the law; but of the law in all its rigour, of the law according to the utmost strictness of the letter, which killeth. He was not to be torn in pieces by a mob, or stabbed in the back by an assassin. He was not to have punishment meted out to him from his own iniquitous measure. But if justice, in the whole range of its wide armoury, contained one weapon which could pierce him, that weapon his pursuers were bound, before God and man, to employ.

——"If he may
Find mercy in the law, 'tis his; if none,
Let him not seek't of us."

Such was the language which the commons might justly use.

Did, then, the articles against Strafford strictly amount to high treason? Many people, who know neither what the articles were nor what high treason is, will answer in the negative, simply because the accused person, speaking for his life, took that ground of defence. The journals of the lords show that the judges were consulted. They answered, with one accord, that the articles on which the earl was convicted amounted to high treason. This judicial opinion, even if we suppose it to have been erroneous, goes far to justify the parliament. The judgment pronounced in the exchequer chamber has always been urged by the apologists of Charles in defence of his conduct respecting ship-money. Yet on that occasion there was but a bare majority in favour of the party at whose pleasure all the magistrates composing the tribunal

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were removable. The decision in the case of Strafford was unanimous; as far as we can judge, it was unbiassed; and though there may be room for hesitation, we think on the whole that it was reasonable. "It may be remarked," says Hallam,[r] "that the fifteenth article of the impeachment, charging Strafford with raising money by his own authority, and quartering troops on the people of Ireland, in order to compel their obedience to his unlawful requisitions, upon which, and upon one other article, not upon the whole matter, the peers voted him guilty, does at least approach very nearly, if we may not say more, to a substantive treason within the statute of Edward III, as a levying of war against the king." This most sound and just exposition has provoked a very ridiculous reply. "It should seem to be an Irish construction this," says an assailant of Hallam, "which makes the raising money for the king's service, with his knowledge and by his approbation, to come under the head of levying war on the king, and therefore to be high treason." Now, people who undertake to write on points of constitutional law should know, what every attorney's clerk and every forward schoolboy on an upper form knows, that, by a fundamental maxim of our polity, the king can do no wrong; that every court is bound to suppose his conduct and his sentiments to be, on every occasion, such as they ought to be; and that no evidence can be received for the purpose of setting aside this loyal and salutary presumption. The lords, therefore, were bound to take it for granted that the king considered arms which were unlawfully directed against his people as directed against his own throne.

If we had thought that Strafford might be safely suffered to live in France, we should have thought it better that he should continue to live in England than that he should be exiled by a special act. As to degradation, it was not the earl, but the general and the statesman, whom the people had to fear. Essex said on that occasion, with more truth than elegance, "Stone dead hath no fellow." And often during the civil wars the parliament had reason to rejoice that an irreversible law and an impassable barrier protected them from the valour and capacity of Wentworth.

It is remarkable that neither Hyde nor Falkland voted against the bill of attainder. There is, indeed, reason to believe that Falkland spoke in favour of it. In one respect, as Hallam has observed, the proceeding was honourably distinguished from others of the same kind. An act was passed to relieve the children of Strafford from the forfeiture and corruption of blood which were the legal consequences of the sentence. The crown had never shown equal generosity in a case of treason. The liberal conduct of the commons has been fully and most appropriately repaid. The house of Wentworth has since that time been as much distinguished by public spirit as by power and splendour, and may at the present moment boast of members with whom Saye and Hampden would have been proud to act.

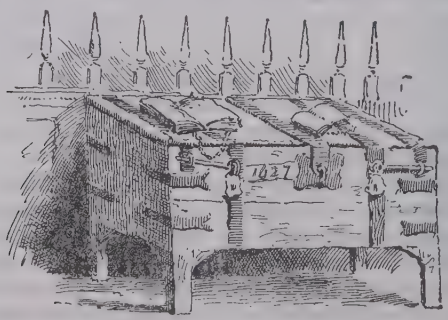
It is somewhat curious that the admirers of Strafford should also be, without a single exception, the admirers of Charles; for whatever we may think of the conduct of the parliament towards the unhappy favourite, there can be no doubt that the treatment which he received from his master was disgraceful. Faithless alike to his people and to his tools, the king did not scruple to play the part of the cowardly approver who hangs his accomplice. It is good that there should be such men as Charles in every league of villainy. It is for such men that the offer of pardon and reward which appears after a murder is intended. They are indemnified, remunerated, and despised. The very magistrate who avails himself of their assistance looks on them as more contemptible than the criminal whom they betray. Was Strafford innocent?

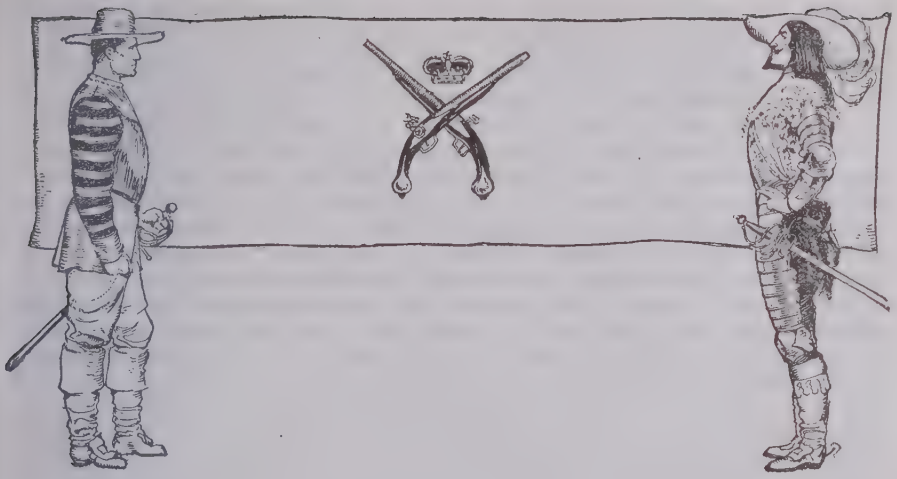
Was he a meritorious servant of the crown? If so, what shall we think of the prince who, having solemnly promised him that not a hair of his head should be hurt, and possessing an unquestioned constitutional right to save him, gave him up to the vengeance of his enemies?

There were some points which we know that Charles would not concede, and for which he was willing to risk the chances of civil war. Ought not a king, who will make a stand for anything, to make a stand for the innocent blood? Was Strafford guilty? Even on this supposition, it is difficult not to feel disdain for the partner of his guilt, the tempter turned punisher. If, indeed, from that time forth, the conduct of Charles had been blameless, it might have been said that his eyes were at last opened to the errors of his former conduct, and that, in sacrificing to the wishes of his parliament a minister whose crime had been a devotion too zealous to the interests of his prerogative, he gave a painful and deeply humiliating proof of the sincerity of his repentance.

It required ever after the most rigid justice and sincerity in the dealings of Charles with his people to vindicate his conduct towards his friend. His subsequent dealings with his people, however, clearly showed that it was not from any respect for the constitution, or from any sense of the deep criminality of the plans in which Strafford and himself had been engaged, that he gave up his minister to the axe. It became evident that he had abandoned a servant who, deeply guilty as to all others, was guiltless to him alone, solely in order to gain time for maturing other schemes of tyranny, and purchasing the aid of other Wentworths. He, who would not avail himself of the power which the laws gave him to save an adherent to whom his honour was pledged, soon showed that he did not scruple to break every law and forfeit every pledge in order to work the ruin of his opponents.

"Put not your trust in princes," was the expression of the fallen minister, when he heard that Charles had consented to his death. The whole history of the times is a sermon on that bitter text. The defence of the Long Parliament is comprised in the dying words of its victim.[x]





CHAPTER XX

COMMONS AGAINST CROWN

[1641–1642 A.D.]

> If ever lesson had been plain to read, it was that which had been given to Charles by his failure to save the life of Strafford. Yet scarcely was Strafford dead when he prepared himself to tread once more the weary round of intrigue which had already cost him so dear. Anything seemed to him to be better than an attempt to come to an understanding with parliament.—S. R. Gardiner.[b]

On the 5th of May, when the lower house was deliberating how the urgent pecuniary embarrassments were to be remedied, a nobleman from Lancaster had, as we have seen, offered to procure the king £650,000, till the actual receipt of the taxes, provided he would promise not to dissolve the parliament till all abuses were done away with, and not without its own consent. This notion was immediately taken up with the greatest zeal by the parliamentary leaders, the bill drawn up, read twice on the same day, contrary to the laws, and for the third time on the day following, pushed with equal rapidity through the upper house, and laid before the king. Since large sums are required, says the preamble, and cannot be obtained without credit, and credit suffers through want of confidence, and none can be found to lend for fear of the dissolution of the parliament, the king will not interrupt, prorogue, or dissolve the two houses, or one of them, without their consent. The privy councillors advised the king to assent to this bill, because otherwise no money was to be obtained, either by grants or loans, and this concession would satisfy the parliament, and produce confidence and moderation. On the 11th of May, the day when Charles signed the sentence for the execution of Strafford, he also gave his assent to that bill which led to his destruction. In the uneasiness and sorrow caused by the loss of the earl, the king and his councillors had not paid due attention to it, and by no means appreciated its importance. Strafford's death and this law, which produced the Long Parliament, form the

culminating point, from which the natural and necessary amelioration of defects changes into a disastrous and violent revolution.[c]

The consent of the king to the bill for the attainder of Strafford, and to the measure which was afterwards called "The Act for the Perpetual Parliament," can scarcely be attributed to any other feeling than a sense of his immediate weakness. Hallam[d] imputes Charles' ready acquiescence in this parliamentary bill to his own shame and the queen's consternation at the discovery of the Army Plot. Lord Clarendon[i] says, "After the passing these two bills, the temper and spirit of the people, both within and without the walls of the two houses, grew marvellous calm and composed." The parliament now went boldly and steadily forward in the work of reform. A subsidy and a poll-tax were granted; but another subsidy of tonnage and poundage was granted for a very limited time, from May 25th to July 15th, so that the commons might exercise the right of renewal, according to circumstances. This subsidy was renewed, by subsequent acts, until July 2nd, 1642. It is difficult to blame them for this excessive jealousy of the designs of the crown. The bill for triennial parliaments was absolutely necessary, to take out of the hands of the king the power to govern again without a parliament.

The queen, under the influence of terror, as some have believed, but more probably with the hope of procuring the interference of foreign powers to restore the absolute authority of Charles, was preparing to leave the country. The princess royal was betrothed to the eldest son of the prince of Orange. A secret article of the treaty stipulated that the prince should assist the king, if the disputes with his parliament came to an open rupture. The queen, a few months later, alleging her ill-health, wished to seek a remedy in the Spa waters. Upon the remonstrance of both houses of parliament she consented to remain in England. Amidst the contradictory and obscure traces of court secrets, one thing is manifest: that there was not the slightest approach to a real union between the king and the parliament for the public good. The royal concessions were made with a sort of recklessness which argues that there was a hope and belief that they might become nugatory under some turn of fortune. The suspicions of the commons were never wholly set at rest.

In the great legislative measures of this session the houses were invariably anxious to rest their reforms upon the ancient foundations of law and liberty. Thus in the statute granting tonnage and poundage, it is declared and enacted "That it is and hath been the ancient right of the subjects of this realm, that no subsidy, custom, impost, or other charge whatsoever ought or may be laid or imposed upon any merchandise, exported or imported by subjects, denizens, or aliens, without common consent in parliament." In "An act for the declaring unlawful and void the late proceedings touching ship-money," it is declared that the writs and judgments thereupon "were and are contrary to and against the laws and statutes of the realm, the right of property, the liberty of the subject, former resolutions in parliament, and the Petition of Right made in the third year of the reign of his majesty that now is." Again and again the principle of arbitrary taxation was made to bear its death-knell.

In the act for dissolving the court of Star Chamber and taking away the whole of its powers, all the ancient statutes, including the Great Charter, which declare that no freeman shall be imprisoned or condemned but by judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land, are recited; and it is affirmed that the authority of the Star Chamber, under the Statute of Henry VII, has been abused, and the decrees of the court have been found "to be an intolerable burthen to the subjects, and the means to introduce an arbitrary power and government." This statute not only abolishes the court of Star

Chamber, but the jurisdiction of the courts of the Marches of Wales, of the Northern Parts, of the Duchy of Lancaster, and of the County Palatine of Chester. Under these arbitrary courts one-third of the people had been deprived of the protection of common law, and were at the mercy of such local despots as Strafford.

In the act for abolishing the court of High Commission, it is maintained that, under the statute of the first of Elizabeth "concerning commissioners for causes ecclesiastical," the commissioners "have to the great and insufferable wrong and oppression of the king's subjects used to fine and imprison them, and to exercise other authority not belonging to ecclesiastical jurisdiction." The act of abolition goes farther, and takes from the ecclesiastical courts the power to inflict temporal penalties for spiritual offences. The "act for the certainty of forests, and of the meres, meets, limits, and bounds of the forests," goes back to the days of Edward I as to ancient boundaries, and, reprehending their real or pretended extension, confines forests within such limits as were recognised in the twentieth year of James I. In "An act for preventing vexatious proceedings touching the order of knighthood," reference is made to an ancient usage that men seized of lands to the yearly value of forty pounds might be compelled to take upon themselves the order of knighthood, or else to make fine; but it declares that many have been put to grievous fines and vexations for declining to receive the same dignity, being wholly unfit for it in estate or quality.

In all these enactments for the removal of great oppressions, constant reference is had to the origin of the abuses. There is no unreasoning pretext for their abolition, as if the subject were to be benefited by arbitrarily curtailing the prerogative of the crown. Clarendon[e] fully admits all the abuses which these enactments swept away; and yet, in the spirit of that ignoble belief which he has done so much to perpetuate, that justice to the subject can only be derived from the favour of the sovereign, he says, of these acts of parliament, that they "will be acknowledged by an uncorrupted posterity to be everlasting monuments of the king's princely and fatherly affection to his people." Much more rationally do we now feel with Hallam[d] that "in by far the greater part of the enactments of 1641 the monarchy lost nothing that it had anciently possessed; and the balance of our constitution might seem rather to have been restored to its former equipoise than to have undergone any fresh change."

It is to the Long Parliament, in this triumphant session, that England owes a new era of civil liberty. If they had rested here in their great work, they would have placed the political rights of Englishmen upon the broad foundation upon which the national greatness and security has been since built up.[f]

THE ATTACK ON THE BISHOPS

After the dissolution of the last parliament, the clergy, as we have seen, continued their deliberations in the convocation, passed resolutions relative to the doctrine and discipline of the church, granted money to the king,[1] drew up a new oath for the unconditional immutability of the existing constitution of the church, and expressed themselves respecting the rights of the king almost entirely on the system of unlimited power and divine right.

Hereupon the loudest complaints were made in parliament, and on the 16th of December, 1640, it was unanimously resolved that the English clergy

[1] It was not till 1664 that the taxation of the clergy by the clergy ceased.

has no right, in any assembly, synod, or convocation, to pass resolutions on the doctrine, constitution, rites, and discipline of the church, without the consent of parliament; the points adopted in 1640, and sanctioned by the king, are therefore not obligatory, are contrary to the rights of the king and the parliament, to the laws of the kingdom, the freedom and property of the subjects, tend to excite dissension and rebellion, and produce the most dangerous consequences. Nay, not contented with thus annihilating a separate legislative authority for the church, the prelates who had attended the convocation were fined in immense sums (from £500 to £20,000) and many matters relative to the church afterwards decided by the commons, without any participation of the clergy. Thus, without consulting the king and the lords, they drew up many directions respecting the placing of the altars, the removal of all crosses and pictures, the abolition of kneeling, etc. Those who did not obey were condemned and punished as favourers of idolatry, and no regard paid to the consideration that, by the indiscriminate application of those directions, many works of art and fine monuments would be destroyed.

At the opening of the parliament there were in it many faithful adherents of the established church, but Presbyterian principles gradually gained ground, and numerous petitions against the bishops and the constitution of the church in general were presented; among others, one on the 11th of December, 1640, from London. All that history, experience, learning and passion offered either for or against was brought forward in parliament, or discussed in printed pamphlets. As early as the 28th of November, 1640, Sir Edward Dering had required that a committee should be appointed to examine into the tyranny of the bishops; which, in connection with the London petition, produced more accusations and increased the zeal against the bishops. A bill was brought in and passed, on May 3rd, 1641, that no bishop should in future fill any other spiritual, temporal, or judicial office. Very remarkable debates took place in the upper house upon this bill. The lords resolved that the archbishops and bishops should retain their seats and votes in the upper house, but should not be members of the privy council, or the Star Chamber, or justices of the peace.

At the moment that the lords were preparing to submit, and to prove to the lower house the reasons for their changes and modifications, the latter, impatient at the delay and opposition, proceeded in its increasing zeal much farther than many of the advocates of the bill had themselves at first desired. Supported by Haslerig, Vane, Cromwell and others, St. John drew up a bill for the total abolition of all bishops, deans, and other officers connected with the Episcopal constitution. It was passed on the 27th of May, by a majority of 139 to 108, and, from its contrast to the first moderate bill, received the name of "the Root and Branch bill." The lords, seeing their conciliatory proposals rejected, hereupon threw out the first bill entirely, on the 7th of June, and on the 12th of the same month Sir Henry Vane defended the second in the lower house.

The Presbyterians, consistently with their view, went farther, and on the 15th of June made a motion for the abolition of all canons and chapters, and endeavoured to support it by many arguments, which we have no room to detail. Benjamin Rudyard said: "One thing disturbs me beyond measure in our important debates, and staggers my reason, namely, that, in contradiction to the wisdom of all ages, the principle is set up—No reformation without destruction."

The question respecting the best constitution of the church was not only

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discussed in parliament, but caused a general excitement in the minds of the people. Shoemakers and tailors contended with the most vehement zeal for and against the bishops, and prayers and fasts were held by many of the godly, especially by the women, that God would no longer delay the destruction of the ungodly Episcopal church. Lord Brook affirmed, in a pamphlet, that the bishops were of too low origin to sit in the same house with the noble lords. In conformity with these views, they were often treated with contempt in the upper house, and never allowed precedence in the public ceremonies; nay, on the 4th of August the thirteen bishops who had latterly taken a share in the debates of the convocation were criminally accused, and on the 23rd of October Pym addressed the house of lords in favor of the bill for abolishing the whole Episcopal system. The animosity against the bishops was so far from being mitigated that it was proposed in the bill that the confiscated lands should be employed for the advancement of piety and learning, and for the support of the persons affected, in so far as they are not sinners and delinquents against the house of commons. Among the latter were reckoned not only those already accused for assisting at the convocation, but other persons were gradually added in an arbitrary manner.



Costume in the Time of Charles I

On the 30th of December, 1641, twelve bishops were induced to present the following declaration to the king and the house of lords: "As our right and our duty to appear in the upper house is beyond all doubt, we would wish to take part in the business of the house, and prove that we have no community with popery and malignant parties. But having been several times in our way to parliament insulted, threatened, and attacked by the mob; nay, the last time been put in imminent danger of our lives, without being able to obtain protection and assistance from the house of lords or commons, notwithstanding our complaints, we declare, with the reservation of our rights, that, till measures are taken to prevent such dangers and insults, we will not appear in the upper house, and declare everything null and void that shall be resolved upon during our forced absence."

The complaint of the bishops, of threats, insults, and violence, was perfectly well-founded, nor had anything been done to secure them, or punish the delinquents; but it was ill-advised in them to absent themselves at this moment from the parliament, and abandon the field to their enemies; it was presumptuous to think of entirely checking or annihilating the business of parliament by their opposition. Instead, therefore, of exciting compassion by this declaration, and leading to favourable conclusions, both the upper and lower houses were equally indignant. The latter at least acted consistently on this occasion, but the former precipitately and without foresight. The commons, in particular, were convinced that the object of the bishops, probably in concert with the king, was to effect in this indirect manner a dissolution of parliament. They were therefore accused of high treason on the 30th of

December, 1641, and confined in the Tower.[1] Their friends declared they were not traitors, but fools, who ought to be sent to Bedlam; while their enemies, under apparent anger, concealed a secret joy that they had themselves, by their mistaken conduct, led to their own overthrow, which it would have been difficult to procure by a general law, and had thereby converted into enemies the lords who had before been, for the most part, friendly to them. The king alone was still sincerely attached to them, but a series of various events rendered him every day less able to afford them any competent support; besides which, their expulsion had greatly diminished the number of his adherents in the upper house.

Having thus brought down the course of the ecclesiastical disputes to a remarkable crisis, we have now to resume the narrative of the civil affairs of England, and then the important history of Scotland and Ireland. After the fall of Strafford, Laud, and the other ministers, the king considered it imprudent and unbecoming to intrust the management of affairs to their adversaries; but the insignificant and unpopular persons who surrounded him were unable to stem or to direct the torrent, and when he too late employed eminent patriots, they either required him wholly to submit to the will of the parliament, or lost their popularity as soon as, being placed in a different point, they ceased to consider this as useful or advisable. Consequently the administration, as opposed to the parliament, now suffered by too great weakness, as formerly by illegal power, and, with the increasing attacks on the royal authority, it was not unnatural that the idea suggested itself, whether a support might not be found for it in the army. With this view, officers well affected to the king endeavoured to attain this object, and a petition was drawn up, containing among other points that the king should not be limited in his concessions and resolutions. It may appear doubtful how far Charles and his queen immediately co-operated or assented;[2] but the negotiations were certainly not entirely concealed from them, and some of their pretended friends had perhaps prematurely and purposely made the plan known. While the king affirmed that he had nothing to do with the whole affair, and that it was unimportant, because it had only been talked of, and nothing had been done, others alleged that he had seen the outlines of the petition, and had approved it by affixing a C. R. [Carolus Rex] to it.

However this may be, the commons turned these circumstances to their advantage. On the 3rd of May, 1641, as we have seen, they made a report on the very dangerous intrigues, the object of which was to separate the army from the parliament, and to introduce foreign troops into the country. Actuated by real or partly feigned apprehension, a protest was drawn up, the object of which was to maintain the religion of the country and the union of the three kingdoms, which was sworn to by both houses with very little opposition. At the same time the speaker, having received directions to that effect, satisfied the army by a declaration that it was intended to provide for it, and to act without secondary views, solely for the welfare of the state.

Thus all passed over apparently as an insignificant question, but in fact led to important consequences. In parliament the suspicion gained ground that Charles intended by every possible means to recover his unlimited

[1] They remained in prison till May, 1642, and then gave bail. No legal proceedings ever took place Wren, bishop of Ely, was imprisoned in September, 1641, and still remained in confinement in 1658, without any reason being alleged.

[2] Gardiner *b* definitely accuses the queen of urging the pope to send her troops, and of bringing the army from Yorkshire to overpower parliament. This was called the Army Plot. Charles had previously planned to seize the Tower and release Strafford by force.]

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authority, from which it was inferred that every means was allowable to avert so great a danger. With this view, Pym laid before the upper house, on the 24th of June, many demands of the commons for the disbanding of the army, the dismissal of evil counsellors, rigorous treatment of the papists, the protection of the country, etc.

SCOTCH AFFAIRS; THE KING'S VISIT

Both the king and the parliament had lost all confidence in the army, and both now wished for a reconciliation with the Scotch, because each party hoped to gain them to its own side. Hence nearly all their demands were acceded to, and in the peace of the 7th of August, 1641, it was stipulated that the acts of the late parliament of Scotland shall be acknowledged as laws. With respect to religion and divine worship, as great a conformity as possible shall be introduced in both kingdoms, and no person censured on account of the Covenant. The Scotch receive from England £300,000 for their friendly services; all the declarations, ordinances, writings, etc., against them are suppressed. No person shall receive an office, or have access to the king, who has been judged incapable by sentence of parliament. No war shall be declared between England, Scotland, and Ireland, without the consent of their respective parliaments.

The king at this moment, no less pressed by the English than formerly by the Scotch, earnestly desired a reconciliation with the latter; nay, if possible, to obtain their assistance against the English. But, for this very reason, his plan of going to Scotland offended the commons, who made a great many objections; as these, however, could not move him from his purpose, the parliament adjourned, after having appointed committees, with great powers, which partly conducted the business in London, and partly accompanied the king to Scotland, and in fact kept him under a strict superintendence.

The Scots had in the mean time opened their parliament on the 11th of June, 1640, without waiting for a royal commissioner; because the king's solemn promise to call it, given at the conclusion of the peace, could not be defeated by continual prorogation. This was accompanied by the following declaration: That the prorogation of parliament without the consent of the estates is contrary to the laws and liberties of the kingdom, without precedent, and in positive contradiction with the conditions of peace. They then proceeded to confirm the Covenant and the new church laws, and in the year 1641, after a further prolongation, a second session of the parliament was opened with similar declarations and reservations. In July Charles caused several proposals and concessions to be laid before it; which measure was the less calculated to attain his end, as he at the same time urged a prorogation, and thereby awakened their former suspicions.

At length, notwithstanding all obstacles and difficulties, he set out for Scotland, and on the 19th of August, 1641, made a speech in parliament. In conformity with his offers and promises, the king successively consented to the following points: The acts of the late parliament have legal force. Every estate chooses its own lords of the articles. All proposals are in future addressed, in the first instance, to the whole parliament, and are referred by it at its pleasure to those lords for examination. There shall be no war between England and Scotland without the consent of their parliaments. In cases of attack or internal troubles, both kingdoms mutually to assist each other. During such time as the parliament is not sitting, special persons shall be

appointed for the preservation of peace. As the king's absence in England prevents him from being thoroughly acquainted with the qualifications of individuals, he will appoint the privy councillors and other important officers according to the proposals of the parliament. The persons appointed are answerable to the parliament and the king.

Agreeably to these legal enactments, the king favoured the most distinguished of the Covenanters, and gave them offices, or pensions and presents —even to Henderson and Gillespie, the latter of whom, notwithstanding, vehemently opposed reconciliation with the king in 1648. These measures diffused the greatest joy, and on the king's departure the estates declared, in a solemn address, that he had given them entire satisfaction with regard to their religion and liberties, and that a contented king left a contented people. He, too, was himself persuaded that he had so entirely gained Scotland, that in case of need it would support him in his disputes with England, or at least remain neutral. On the other side, many of his old Scotch adherents complained that he had sacrificed them and the royal authority, and favoured and exalted enemies who now made great promises, but would keep none of them, and would advance new demands. If he agreed to the abolition and condemnation of the Episcopal system in Scotland, how could he think of maintaining it in England; and if the administration came into the hands of the Scotch parliament by the appointment of officers, how could he resist similar demands from the English house of commons? But an event now occurred, of such importance that everything else became insignificant in comparison, and the position of parties was totally changed, almost entirely to the disadvantage of the king—we mean the rebellion of the Irish Catholics.

THE IRISH REBELLION

In order to place this event, which has in general been partially and falsely represented, in its true light, we must again recur to earlier history. At the conclusion of the reign of Elizabeth, Ireland had been entirely subdued, and a portion of the people had so far been gainers, that the English laws were applied to them, and the former almost unlimited privileges of the chiefs were limited. James I had very decidedly resolved to civilise Ireland and make it happy; and many, referring to the measures adopted by him, have not only confirmed this praise, but have represented the state of Ireland, from 1603 to 1641, as healthy and prosperous, and affirmed that the rebellion had commenced in the last year without ground or occasion, merely from presumption and barbarism. This view, however, may be proved to be in the main false. It must be owned that much was done under James I to promote order and civilisation. The old British laws, by which every crime could be atoned for by fines, were abolished; some other injurious customs annulled; the rights of the lords were more strictly defined; waste lands cultivated, settlers encouraged, etc. But in all this there were partly great evils concealed, and in part others still greater opposed to them.

Hence the Irish had occasion for heavy complaints, which we may sum up as follows: "No Irish parliament has been called since 1587, and our country has never been represented in the English parliament, whose laws bind us.[1] We

[1] The parliaments of 1613 and 1634 were of no importance; nay, by the manner in which the members were chosen, they were hostile to the Roman Catholics. Often, too, Irish titles were given to Englishmen, though they had no estates in Ireland, and they voted by proxy in the upper house.

are still looked upon as savages, and the defence of our religion, customs, and possessions as a crime. We are expected to consider it as a favour that King James, in 1613, granted an amnesty; but, not to mention that we had committed no crime that required a pardon, the law makes innumerable exceptions, and disappoints every hope that was founded upon it. Above all, the cruel immense confiscations of estates are the greatest injustice and the most arbitrary punishment. No title avails, and every legal pretext is taken advantage of to expel the Irish from their possessions and transfer them to strangers. Cunning, fraud, perjury, bribery, are employed with the most shameless effrontery for these shameless purposes; nay, what limits shall be found to such arbitrary proceedings, when, under the pretext of the right of conquest, every title to an estate, as far back as the time of Henry II, was called in question, or, for the alleged fault of a chief, all the innocent vassals were deprived of their property? Did not the English house of commons, on the confiscation of O'Neil's estates in 1583, prove the unlimited right of the kings of England to dispose at their pleasure of all Irish landed property, by the fact that the Irish came from Spain, and their leaders Heberus and Hegemon had submitted to the English king Gurmond! In a similar spirit, King James seized upon 380,000 acres of land, not according to law or justice, not by contract or cession, but on the stress of those foolish fables, and of the still subsisting right of conquest. At the same time the declared object was, that no Irishman should have any part in the new settlements, and that none should remain, even for great sacrifices, in the possession of his hereditary estates. Their expulsion was sought, in order to attract, as it was alleged, a more noble and civilised race of men; though these settlers, in truth, were for the most part rapacious adventurers or indigent rabble. With this political injustice, religious intolerance was intimately connected. Thus all Catholics were in fact excluded from the acquisition of landed property, by the condition imposed upon the settlers of taking the oath of supremacy. None of them obtains a public office of any kind; their churches and chapels are violently closed, their clergy expelled, their children delivered to Protestant guardians. Under innumerable pretences, such as not attending divine service, they are punished, and religion is always alleged as a motive; while both in the temporal and spiritual courts selfishness and intolerance are the sole springs of action."

All these grievances of the Irish were perfectly well-founded, though they very naturally gave sufficient reason to recriminations on their perfidy, ferocity, and intolerance. Language, manners, religion, and the state of civilisation were different; the masters and tenants were diametrically opposed to each other; interests essentially different were everywhere manifested; and nowhere was there any political wisdom, or religious tolerance, to soften and reconcile these contrarieties. The Catholics considered the Protestants as infidels; the latter, on their part, called the former idolaters; each party thought it meritorious not to tolerate the other, but to extirpate it. The priests, attached to Rome and Spain, appeared, besides, to the English as rebels; and because the Protestant clergy were for the most part ignorant of the Irish language, they could exercise no useful influence over the people. In addition to this, they were divided into such as were very rich, who possessed several livings, but attended to none, and in such as were wretchedly poor, who could acquire no respect, and were too easily led to endeavour to improve their circumstances by unjustifiable means.

Such was the state of affairs when Charles I ascended the throne. The Irish readily came forward with an offer to assist him, and to maintain 300

cavalry and 5,000 infantry, if he would grant greater toleration in religious matters; but this proposal was rejected, chiefly through the interference of the bishops. Two years later, in 1628, the king, whose distress became more urgent, was more compliant, and at the earnest request of the Irish caused the Charter of Graces to be drawn up. It contained scarcely anything but urgently necessary and reasonable regulations respecting the billeting of soldiers, the limitation of the military laws to times of war, the pardon of criminals, judicial forms, monopolies, hereditary rights, and the oath of supremacy. In particular, it decreed that sixty years' possession should constitute a legal title, and protect the possessor against all claims from the crown, and from all other persons.

If this humane and just course had been persevered in, the most salutary effects for Ireland must have followed. That this was not done was the fault of the king, and, above all, of the earl of Strafford, whom he had appointed governor in the year 1632. For if, on the one hand, he provided, with correct judgment and laudable energy, for the establishment of schools and of linen manufactories, the extension of trade, the suppression of piracy, etc., yet, here as elsewhere, his will, or his pleasure, was in his opinion the supreme law, and as he acknowledged no public law, how could he acquire real political wisdom? "I found," says Strafford, "the state, the church, and the people of Ireland in a state of perfect dissolution. Nothing was to be effected with kind looks and pleasant smiles; stronger measures were necessary. I have therefore raised and rewarded the worthy, punished and thrown down the perverse, and not changed my conduct till they repented. None but thorough measures can subdue the spirit of the times, and the elevation of the royal power must be the most important—nay, the sole object of my government." Ireland (as in fact every country) undoubtedly required a vigorous and powerful government. To substitute this for the tyranny that had hitherto prevailed, and to connect it with the Charter of Graces, would have been the proper business of the governor. Instead of this, as the above empty words themselves show, he adhered to the notion that the Irish were still too barbarous to be treated according to justice and the laws, and that the kingdom was, in the strictest sense of the word, a conquered country. From these harsh and arbitrary notions he drew the inference, which was defended during his trial, but which in truth was equally foolish and condemnable, that all the Irish, without exception, had forfeited the rights of citizens and of men, and that it depended wholly on the royal favour what and how much should be granted them. But as means were wanting to obtain by force the principal object, that is, supplies of money, the earl did not disdain to employ artifice. He maintained that taxes imposed by royal authority were as valid as parliamentary grants; and at the opening of the parliament said that it was entirely below his master's dignity to bargain every year, with his hat in his hand, whether they would be pleased to do something for their own preservation. When John Talbot made some objections, he was driven out of the house, and arrested till he begged pardon of the governor on his knees.

We will not attempt to decide how far Strafford's threats, or some other means, had any influence; but it is certain that the Irish house of commons cheerfully and voluntarily granted six subsidies, an uncommonly large sum, and now justly expected a solemn confirmation and further development of the Charter of Graces. But Strafford thought that, as he had this time obtained money without granting anything, he might spare the confirmation for another time; nay, he and the king, whose sentiments were similar, were

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resolved entirely to evade and defeat it. They therefore now said plainly that some of the concessions in that charter were only occasional and temporary; others no longer necessary; that others required a more accurate investigation, or might be carried into effect by the ordinary officers. Lastly, Strafford positively rejected the most important point, that sixty years' undisputed possession of landed property should constitute a good title, even against the claims of the crown.

Accordingly, innumerable inquiries now began; and, with mild and plausible words about maintaining the laws, the most glaring acts of injustice were committed. Thus almost all the grants of Queen Elizabeth, the clearest documents, were declared null and void, under subtle pretexts, and the possessors expelled, or forced to pay large sums. It appeared from the way of procedure that there was no such thing as landed property in Ireland: as if all title to it should vanish at the discretion of the government or the king. Strafford boasted that the king's power in Ireland was as unlimited as that of any prince in the world, and that the pernicious concessions were now forever lulled to sleep. Because twelve jurymen, in the year 1636, would not, agreeably to his opinion, deprive their fellow-citizens of their land, the governor fined each of them £4,000, imprisoned them till they paid, and compelled them to beg pardon on their knees. The judges received four shillings in the pound of the first year's incomes of all the confiscated lands; and Strafford wrote to the king: "Each of these four shillings paid, once for all, will add four pounds to your majesty's revenue." Instead of disdaining these and other base ways and means, Charles answered, to the complaints that were made, that Strafford's conduct was not harsh, and that he approved of the earl's serving him in this manner; and the latter affirmed (when a strict account was required of him in the sequel) for his justification, that it always had been so and still worse, seeing that, according to the laws of war, innumerable people have been hanged in Ireland without any legal formalities.



Old English House

It was natural enough that, after Strafford's arrest, the praises which had been extorted from the Irish by fear were changed into loud complaints; and the Irish parliament contrived, by arbitrary regulations, to reduce almost to nothing the former liberal grant of money. The Irish house of commons, encouraged by what was doing in England and Scotland, extended its demands, and the most lively hopes and plans were conceived by the whole people. Even the most prudent and moderate could not but wish, after centuries of oppression, for the independence of the Irish parliament, the appointment of Irishmen to manage the affairs of their own country, free trade, and the exercise of religion, civil rights, and the admission of Roman Catholics to public employments. All these claims, say most authors, have been again justly forfeited for centuries to come by the rebellion of the Irish Catholics in the year 1641.

On the 22nd of October, immediately before the rebellion broke out, MacMahon informed the lords justices of Ireland that a general conspiracy was prepared, according to which the Roman Catholics were on a certain day and hour to make themselves masters of all the fortresses, especially the castle of Dublin, and to massacre all the Protestants without exception. Notwithstanding this information, three hundred thousand Protestants were murdered within a short time in a most dreadful and cruel manner: such is the tenor of the story which has been a hundred times repeated, with the addition that the happy Irish had no grounds for discontent, and had been seduced only by superstitious infuriate priests. This is the accusation: the result of unprejudiced investigation, on the contrary, is, the Irish were impelled by numberless reasons to take advantage of the apparently highly favourable circumstances for the improvement of their civil, religious, and political situation; and thought, if the Scotch have been so commended for their covenant, directed against the king, a union for him, against arrogant subjects, might be still more easily justified. But such a union had not been concluded when MacMahon gave his essentially false and incredible information; nor was there ever any general conspiracy to murder all the Protestants. The troubles which arose in Ulster from local reasons spread slowly and, mostly through the fault of the English magistrates, over the greater part of the country, and the number of the Protestants who perished by violence or in open combat is reduced to about six thousand.[1]

According to Carey,[g] there were not so many Protestants in the country as were said to have perished. Hallam[d] estimates the number of those who perished at eight thousand, of the murdered, etc., at four thousand. Lingard[h] estimates the number of those who perished at from four thousand to eight thousand.

At the head of the Irish government were the lords justices Parsons and Borlace—the former of mean origin and without education, but active, artful, extremely selfish and covetous; Borlace, an old soldier, indolent and entirely subordinate to his colleague. Instead, then, of carefully examining the statements of MacMahon, the two justices, actuated by absurd fears and other secondary views, sent the most exaggerated reports to the king and the parliament, and issued proclamations which took for granted the universal guilt of the people; and, notwithstanding their entire want of military resources, spoke only of coercion and punishment. Yet they did nothing to check the evil. A wish was now generally expressed that the prorogued Irish parliament might be again assembled, most of the members being rich men, who were so extremely interested in the restoration of tranquillity that they would readily grant the means to effect it. But Parsons and Borlace desired to rule alone, and leave the evil to take its own course, that they might have the more ground for accusation and punishment. It was foolish and unjust to manifest suspicion of all the members of parliament at once, nay, to withhold from the whole people the legal means of consulting on the critical state of affairs, and adopting some resolution accordingly. This naturally excited discontent in men who had hitherto been peaceable, and raised the courage of the turbulent; because, without a parliament, means were wanting to oppose them effectually.

In consequence of these reports, the English parliament, in the absence of the king, came to a resolution to prepare everything for an active war against

[1 Gardiner[b] says that Clarendon's[e] estimate of 40,000 is "ridiculously impossible," and that "the number of those slain in cold blood at the beginning of the rebellion could hardly have much exceeded four or five thousand, while about twice that number may have perished from ill-treatment." This subject will be taken up in more detail in Irish history.]

the Irish, and issued a proclamation to the following effect: That by the treacherous and wicked excitement of Roman Catholic priests and Jesuits, a conspiracy had been formed for the bloody murder of all Protestants and loyal Catholics of English origin, as well as for the total destruction of the royal authority and of the present government. Thus the English parliament went beyond the accusations of the credulous, and increased the number of the guilty by designating everybody as such. Pardon was, it is true, at the same time offered to all such as should repent; but as it was added that no papist should be tolerated in Ireland, the offer of pardon not only signified nothing, but appeared like bitter irony and illegal cruelty.

Unhappily everything concurred—natural rudeness, religious zeal, unlimited thirst of vengeance on the one hand, arrogance, self-interest, and injustice on the other—to give to this Irish contest a character of inhuman severity and ferocity of which there are but few examples in the history of the world. For, whatever may be allowed for exaggeration, however certain it is that blame must be attributed to both parties, there still remains but too much that cannot be denied. But if the follies, the vices, and the crimes of the Long Parliament, if not forgotten, are yet thrown into the background, and judged of with less severity, the same equity should be shown to the Irish, who had more reason for complaints than the English and Scotch of those times, or the Americans and French of a later period; and the more moderate Irish, when the zeal of their countrymen and the measures of the English governors gradually obliged them to take a part in the movement, exerted themselves to the utmost to introduce order and consistency into the whole enterprise. Four-and-twenty men, nobles, clergy, and citizens, placed themselves at the head of affairs, and made use of a seal with the motto: *Pro Deo, pro Rege, et Patria Hibernia.* In the oath of their union, they swore to maintain and defend the rights of the king, the parliament, and the subjects; and in November, 1641, asked nothing but what a reasonable government ought voluntarily to have granted them long before, namely, the abolition of all penalties against Roman Catholics, as they were willing to be obedient subjects, admissibility to offices, the right of acquiring land, which was extremely limited, and amnesty for the past. All these demands were refused by the English house of commons; nay, it was so infatuated or so insincere that it attributed the Irish disturbances wholly to the perfidious and popish counsellors of the king. The Irish asked more justly, "Is it not more legal and pardonable if we conclude a union for the maintenance of our religion, of the royal prerogatives, and of the true liberty of the people, than when others do so in order to have an opportunity and pretext to diminish and undermine the king's lawful authority?" United Irishmen, therefore, recognised the rights and authority of Charles, but rejected the actual governors in Dublin, because they entirely depended on the seditious party in London.

Notwithstanding the preceding arguments and events, many worthy Roman Catholics in Ireland themselves doubted whether the course that had been adopted was fully to be justified and was likely to lead to a happy issue. For this reason, the noble Lord Clanricarde (a half-brother of the earl of Essex), for example, though a Catholic, took arms for the existing order, and for the Protestants.

When faithful subjects of the king, in Ireland, might justly doubt what their duty and conscience demanded, Charles himself was placed by the insurrection in the most unpleasant situation; for, though he had not the smallest share in its breaking out, yet it was believed that he and his counsellors had a

hand in it, in order to maintain unlimited power by means of the Catholics, and to paralyse the efforts of the English and Scotch Protestants in favour of liberty. Nay, it was affirmed, with deliberate falsehood, that on the 1st of October, 1641, he had given instructions to sequestrate the estates of all the Protestants in Ireland, and to arrest them. Because his declarations to the contrary did not meet with entire credit, he, in order to remove all suspicion, left to the English parliament, even while he was still in Scotland, the entire direction of Irish affairs. Accordingly, it resolved, on the 8th of December, 1641, that the Roman Catholic religion should no longer be tolerated in Ireland; it resolved, in February and March, 1642, that two and a half millions of acres of land in Ireland should be confiscated, in order to defray the expenses of the war. On the 23rd of February it ordered, word for word, as follows:

"All rebels, as well as their adherents and favourers, shall be wounded, killed, put to death, and annihilated by all means and ways; all places, towns, and houses, where the rebels abide or have abode, or where they have been protected or assisted, shall be plundered, laid waste, pulled down and burned; all the hay and corn in them shall be destroyed, and all the inhabitants able to bear arms shall be killed!"

It is an almost inconceivable, and surely most humiliating fact, that men who with suspicious anxiety watched for the preservation of their own liberty, and endeavoured by every means to extend it in England and Scotland, should, in mad infatuation and culpable arrogance, have issued for their Irish fellow-citizens ordinances of so barbarous a kind that obedience was impossible and resistance a duty. But before we proceed with the history of Ireland, we must return to that of England and Scotland.

THE GRAND REMONSTRANCE

Though the Irish insurrection was very unwelcome to the king for many reasons, and the remote possibility of one day deriving advantage from it entirely disappeared before the present evils, Charles, when he set out from Edinburgh for London, entertained the most flattering hopes; for Scotland, he believed, was entirely pacified and gained, and England, if moderation and prudence did not entirely vanish, must likewise consider his concessions as sufficient for the foundation and protection of true liberty. And in fact, even before Charles' departure for Scotland, all those evils had been remedied by laws which had been originally and justly complained of; for instance, the Star Chamber, which judged without a jury, and often in a selfish and too rigorous manner; the court of High Commission, the arbitrary levying of taxes, especially of tonnage, poundage, and ship-money, the severe application of the forest laws and feudal customs, the oppressive increase of the army, etc. But, in particular, by the law on triennial parliaments, and the non-dissolution of the one now sitting, the preponderance of power had been so transferred from the king to the two houses, that he might justly say he had already granted so much that there would be no reason to wonder if he now refused something. "I showed," says he in another place, "by confirming those laws, the highest confidence, and hoped that I had forever turned suspicion and jealousy out of doors. But I certainly did not mean to turn out and exclude myself."

In proportion as the king's courage and his popularity, especially in London, increased, the apprehensions of the timid and over-zealous were revived, and

three days before his return from Scotland, on the 22nd of November, 1641, a struggle on this subject took place of such duration and violence as had never before been seen in parliament. One party wished to address a Petition and Remonstrance to the king, while the other objected to both. In the petition they requested that Charles would draw up all resolutions in a parliamentary form; that he would remove the bishops from the upper house, and all evil-minded, wicked, and suspicious persons from his councils, and employ only those who had the confidence of the parliament; lastly, that he would annex to the crown the estates to be confiscated in Ireland, in order to defray the expenses of the war. The remonstrance contained a circumstantial enumeration of every evil which had been anywhere mentioned or touched upon since Charles' accession to the throne, put together above two hundred grounds of complaint, and affirmed that the king was surrounded by a wicked party, which wished to change the religion, calumniate the parliament, and had been for years the cause of all evils. Sir Edward Dering, otherwise a warm adversary of the court, said on this occasion: "This remonstrance, if it is carried, must make such an impression on the king, the people, and the parliament, our contemporaries, and posterity, that no time can efface it, so long as history shall be written and read. Let us not rashly and inconsiderately resolve on anything that must afterwards be subjected to a long and rigorous examination. In the whole kingdom there is not a single person who requires or expects such a declaration. It is said that by abolishing the Episcopal constitution of the church, knowledge and learning will not be discouraged, but promoted and diffused. Fair words, but I see no deeds! If you could cut up the moon into stars, you would have the same moon in small pieces, but you would have lost its light and its influence."



SKETCH OF VANDYKE'S PAINTING OF CHARLES I

The speech of Sir Edward Dering was afterwards burned, and he himself expelled from the house.

The parliamentary struggle continued from three o'clock in the afternoon till ten o'clock the following morning, with such vehemence that the members were on the point of drawing their swords upon each other. At length the zealots triumphed by a majority of 159 to 108. "It was," says an eye-witness, "the sentence of a faint and exhausted jury"; but what weight the former attached to the remonstrance, and how much they intended thereby to place the king in a very unfavourable situation, and to deprive him of his newly acquired popularity, is evident from the fact that Cromwell, at the end of the sitting, said to Falkland, that if that motion had not been carried, he, with

many who thought like him, would have sold their property and never seen England again.

Sir Richard Gurney, the mayor, and the aldermen of London acted in a directly contrary spirit. As soon as the king had arrived at Whitehall they repaired thither, with many of the principal citizens, to welcome him and invite him to the city. The recorder made, on this occasion, a most cordial and affectionate speech, to which the king immediately replied.

The entry of the king and his family into London took place with the greatest solemnity. The high officers of state, many lords, all the magistrates, and the most distinguished citizens took part in it. The city militia lined the streets, the houses were gaily decorated, and amidst the ringing of the bells and the sound of music were heard uninterrupted shouts of "Long live the king! God bless King Charles and Queen Henrietta Maria!" After a grand entertainment in Guildhall they accompanied the king to his palace of Whitehall, when he embraced the lord mayor, and again returned his cordial thanks to him and to the city.

This harmony between the king and the citizens, and the everywhere increasing attachment to his majesty, increased the anger and the apprehension of the zealots, especially because many affirmed that drawing up and delivering a remonstrance, without the participation of the consent of the house of lords, was dangerous and illegal. Jeffery Palmer, a lawyer, having maintained this assertion with much learning and eloquence, was committed to the Tower as a fomenter of troubles; and even then the principle was laid down that the house of commons represented the whole kingdom, while the peers, on the other hand, were private persons, possessing only private rights; therefore, if they did not do what was necessary for the preservation and safety of the kingdom, the commons must unite with those lords who had more sympathy with them, and directly address the king.

On the 1st of December, 1641, the petition and remonstrance were presented to the king, to which he promised an answer at a future opportunity. On the 2nd of December he went to the house of lords to pass the bill relative to tonnage and poundage.

Meantime the house of commons had, contrary to usual custom, printed the petition and remonstrance before the receipt of the king's answer, which offended him again, but perhaps hastened his reply and refutation.

New alarms and disputes now arose daily. Thus a bill of the lower house respecting the formation of the Irish army met with difficulties in the upper house, because it was stated in it that the king had no right to levy troops unless in cases of war with foreign powers. As Charles was extremely desirous to hasten the armaments, he suffered himself to be persuaded, probably by the malicious advice of the attorney-general St. John, to go to the parliament in person on the 14th of December, to recommend that the bill might be passed as soon as possible, reserving his and their rights. The two houses took no notice of the well-meant objects of the king's proposal, but attending only to the form, declared unanimously that it was a violation of their rights if his majesty took notice of a bill still pending, proposed alterations, or expressed his displeasure against some persons for matters moved in the parliament; and they desired that he would punish those who had wickedly advised him to take such a step. The king, who after what he had experienced on a former similar occasion might and ought to have foreseen this result, declared, on the 20th of December, that he had no intention whatever of infringing the privilege of parliament by his speech of the 14th, but only wished to bring about more speedy resolutions, and to facilitate their agreement with each

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other. Neither had he intended to express any displeasure with a member of parliament for his proposals or votes. The question how he had obtained the knowledge of the bill was easily answered, because it was already printed, nor would he ever require a man of honour to be an informer. If they were as little disposed to infringe his right as he was theirs, there would be no further dispute upon that subject. The bill, however, passed without reserving his right, and he gave his assent to it, in order to allay the ferment in people's minds.

At this same time the attacks upon the bishops, which we have above related, occurred, as well as the dispute with the king about the appointment of Lunsford, a debauched ruffian, as governor of the Tower and the guard of the parliament. While the party attached to the king [1] complained that the commons disdained no means by speaking, writing, printing, preaching, etc., to inflame the people, to excite sedition of all kinds, to free the guilty, and to impede and to disturb the magistrates of London in their useful exertions, it was replied, on the part of the commons, that these reproaches were rather merited by the accusers, and that the members of parliament therefore lived in great apprehension. An impartial examination shows that the commons did not agree to the laudable proposals of the upper house for preserving public tranquillity, partly because many believed that they recognised in the voice of the people the voice of God; nay, that others directly favoured those disturbances, and considered the mob as a necessary and useful ally. Even Pym declared: "God forbid that we should deprive our adherents of their courage, at a time when we ought to make use of all friends whatever." The same man had said before, the law makes the difference between good and evil, between just and unjust. If you take away the law, everything falls into confusion, and license, envy, ambition, fear, then take the place of law, whence the most pernicious consequences must ensue. On the other side, as the lawlessness of the people increased, and young noblemen and officers thought it to be their duty to step forward in defence of the king, in which they too, both in words and deeds, went beyond due bounds, the party names of "Cavaliers" and "Roundheads" arose.[2]

On the 28th of December the king issued a serious proclamation against riots and disturbances, and on the following day Smith again brought forward the subject in the commons. He began by saying: "Permit me to draw your attention to some impediments which oppose a more rapid discussion of important affairs. We have received not only sensible petitions of worthy men, but others from idle and ignorant people, which deserve no attention whatever. Still more offensive, however, is the riotous assemblage of the populace that surrounds the house, and wickedly attempts, with outcries and violence, to prescribe to us what we shall do, or not do; whom we shall accuse or not accuse. Our excessive patience encourages and increases this illegal rage, whereas serious measures would easily restore order. These measures ought to be employed by the magistrates, and a guard ought to be formed for us, which, in case of need, might disperse the rioters by force." In conformity with this proposal, the commons presented to the king the following petition: "We, your majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, who are ready to give our lives and property and the last drop of our blood to maintain your throne

[1 "Charles had at last got a party on his side. If only he could have kept quiet he would probably before long have had a majority, even in the house of commons, on his side."—GARDINER.*b*]

[2 The "Roundheads," or Puritans, were so called from cropping their hair close, while the Cavaliers wore theirs in long curls.]

and person in greatness and glory, throw ourselves at your royal feet, to express to your majesty our humble wishes respecting the great apprehensions and just fears occasioned by wicked intrigues and the design of ruining us; for threats have been uttered against single individuals, and attempts made to destroy all. There is a malignant party which is bitterly opposed to us, and which daily gains confidence and strength, and has already dared to imbrue its hands in the blood of your subjects at the gates of your majesty's palace, and in the face and at the doors of the parliament, and has even used threats and insolent language towards the parliament. We therefore petition your majesty immediately to provide a guard for the protection of parliament, under the command of the earl of Essex."

The king, in his answer of the 3rd of January, 1642, complains of the continued suspicions and unfounded apprehensions. That he was wholly ignorant of the grounds of them, and solemnly assured them that, if he had or should obtain any knowledge or reason to believe the least design of violence against them, he would punish it with the same severity and detestation as if it was the most heinous attempt against his crown. He solemnly pledged his royal word that the security of all the members of parliament, and of each of them, from violence, was as much his care as the preservation of himself and his children; and if this general assurance should not suffice to remove their apprehensions, he would command such a guard to wait upon them as he would be responsible for to Him who had charged him with the safety and protection of his subjects.

THE KING TRIES TO ARREST THE FIVE MEMBERS

On the same day in which Charles made this solemn tranquillizing declaration, Sir Edward Herbert, the attorney-general, appeared in the house of peers and acquainted them that the king had commanded him to accuse of high treason Lord Kimbolton and five members of the house of commons, viz., Sir Arthur Haslerig, John Hampden, Denzil Holles, John Pym, and William Strode. They were accused of endeavouring to subvert the constitution; to make the king odious by calumnies; to seduce the army; to excite war at home and abroad; to alarm the parliament by concerted riots, and to govern it at their pleasure. At the moment when deputies from the house of lords gave notice to the commons of this circumstance, Francis, the sergeant-at-arms, appeared and demanded, in the name of the king, the arrest of the persons accused. The commons replied they would immediately take this important affair into their most serious deliberation, and return an answer, in all due submission, as soon as possible, and also take care that the five members should answer every legal accusation. Their arrest was refused, and it was resolved, with the assent of the lords, that the seals which had been affixed by the king's order to the doors and papers of the accused should be immediately removed, and that they themselves should appear in their places in the house as usual. Every arrest of a member of parliament, said they, is illegal and null; however, they will be produced to answer to every just and legal process, as we are all as ready, as in duty bound, to do justice against evil-doers as to defend the rights and liberties of Britons and of parliament.

Not taking warning by this declaration, the king, in his anger, resolved to effect the arrest of the five members himself, in the house of commons, on the following day. But they received information of this secret plan,

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either through the countess of Carlisle[1] or the French ambassador, on which they were ordered by the house to withdraw, in order to prevent any violence being used. Immediately after the king appeared with numerous attendants [about 500 armed men], who, however, stopped at the door, when he went in, seated himself in the speaker's chair, and made the following speech: "I am sorry for this occasion of coming among you. Yesterday I sent a sergeant-at-arms to apprehend some persons accused by my command of high treason, to which I expected obedience, and not a message. And I must declare unto you here, that albeit no king that ever was in England shall be more careful of your privileges than I, yet you must know that in cases of treason no person has a privilege; therefore I am come to know if any of the accused persons are here. For I must tell you that as long as these persons are here, I cannot expect that this house will be in the right way." The king asking the speaker whether the accused were in the house, or where they were, Lenthall fell upon his knees, and answered: "I have in this place neither eyes to see nor a tongue to speak, except what the house, whose servant I am, commands me; and I beg your majesty's pardon that I can give no other answer."

"I see," continued the king, "that the birds are flown, and expect from you that you will send them to me as soon as they return; but I assure you, on the word of a king, that I never did intend any force, but shall proceed against them in a fair and legal way; and as I cannot do what I came for, I think fit to repeat what I have said formerly, that whatever I have done in favour and to the good of my subjects, I intend to maintain it. I will trouble you no more, but tell you that I expect that as soon as they come to the house you will send them to me, otherwise I must take my own course to find them."

At the moment when the king left the house many called after him, "Privilege! privilege!" and were doubly angry when they heard what rash and threatening language his attendants had used in the lobbies. Equally irritated, Charles went on the following day, the 5th of January, to Guildhall, and confiding in the attachment that had been shown to him, hoped to carry his plan by means of the magistrates and citizens. But here too he failed, and on his return from Guildhall he heard on all sides cries that he ought to agree to the parliament and not violate its rights.

On the same day the house passed the following resolution: "Yesterday, the 4th of January, 1642, his majesty came to the house of commons, accompanied by a great number of persons armed with halberts, swords, and pistols, who occupied the doors and avenues of the house, to the great disturbance and terror of the members, who, according to their duty, were there in a peaceable and orderly manner, deliberating on the public affairs. His majesty seated himself in the speaker's chair and required that several members should be given up. This is a gross violation of the rights and privileges of parliament, incompatible with its safety and liberty; wherefore the house declares that it can no longer meet without full satisfaction for that violation of its rights and a guard deserving of confidence, which it had hitherto requested in vain." Hereupon the commons adjourned till the 11th of April, and appointed a committee for the further management of this affair in particular.

Almost at the same time the city of London presented a petition to the king, to the effect that he would give aid to the Protestants in Ireland; place the Tower in the hands of persons worthy of confidence; remove suspicious persons from court; grant a guard to the parliament; and not proceed against

[1] She had been the mistress of Strafford, and was now in liaison with Pym. The queen is believed to have told her of the plan of arrest.]

the five members, except according to the legal forms. In his justification the king issued a declaration, and ordered the arrest of the five members, who, he said, conscious of their guilt, had absconded and would not surrender to justice. But in the mean time the members had defended themselves at length before the house of commons, which, in increasing animosity, now likewise printed a narrative of the transaction and a counter-declaration. The king, it says, appeared with more than 500 armed men, who pushed aside the door-keepers, and used very offensive and threatening expressions, for instance, "The plague take the house of commons! let them come and hang themselves—when will the word be given?" etc. If this word had been given, they would have fallen upon us and cut our throats. All this proves treacherous plans against the king and parliament. The accused have indeed withdrawn, to avoid many inconveniences, with the consent of the house of commons, but not in consciousness of their guilt. They can now again appear in the house, and everyone may harbour and receive them, under the protection of the parliament. On the other hand, a declaration which has been published respecting these matters, is false, scandalous, and illegal.

As the attorney-general Herbert confessed that he had merely executed the king's commands, though he possessed and knew no proofs of the accusation, a criminal prosecution was instituted against him, and he with his associates was declared an enemy to the country. The king on his part again affirmed that he had no intention of violating the rights of parliament, nay, that he was ready to let the whole accusation drop, and to proclaim a general pardon. He was answered that the innocent needed no pardon, but that the guilty authors must be named and punished.

THE KING LEAVES LONDON

Thus pressed on every side, blamed by all, and alarmed by the tumults which took place even in the vicinity of his palace, the king resolved to leave London till the ferment should be allayed. In fact he abandoned the field to his adversaries, and did not see his capital again till he was brought to it as a prisoner. On the following day, the 11th of January, the five members were brought back to parliament in triumph.

All these highly important events have been judged of in very different ways. The defenders of the king say: It was his duty to seize the chiefs of his opponents, and thereby to set bounds to the spread of the revolution; if this plan had succeeded, he would have received, instead of reproaches, the greatest praise; the house of commons did not hesitate to act against Strafford and the bishops in the manner which was now imputed to the king as a crime, as if the sovereign was not permitted to do what the subjects considered as an honour. On the other side, the king's adversaries saw in his conduct the greatest want of faith, and entertained no doubt that, if he recovered his power, he would revoke all his concessions, and cruelly punish all the friends of the people.[c]

MACAULAY ON THE ATTEMPT ON THE FIVE MEMBERS

The attempt to seize the five members was undoubtedly the real cause of the war. From that moment the loyal confidence with which most of the popular party were beginning to regard the king was turned into hatred and

incurable suspicion. From that moment the parliament was compelled to surround itself with defensive arms. From that moment the city assumed the appearance of a garrison. From that moment, in the phrase of Clarendon,[e] the carriage of Hampden became fiercer, that he drew the sword and threw away the scabbard. For from that moment it must have been evident to every impartial observer that, in the midst of professions, oaths, and smiles, the tyrant was constantly looking forward to an absolute sway and to a bloody revenge.

The advocates of Charles have very dexterously contrived to conceal from their readers the real nature of this transaction. By making concessions apparently candid and ample, they elude the great accusation. They allow that the measure was weak and even frantic, an absurd caprice of Lord Digby, absurdly adopted by the king. And thus they save their client from the full penalty of his transgression, by entering a plea of guilty to the minor offence. To us his conduct appears at this day as at the time it appeared to the parliament and the city. We think it by no means so foolish as it pleases his friends to represent it, and far more wicked.

In the first place, the transaction was illegal from beginning to end. The impeachment was illegal. The process was illegal. The service was illegal. If Charles wished to prosecute the five members for treason, a bill against them should have been sent to a grand jury. That a commoner cannot be tried for high treason by the lords, at the suit of the crown, is part of the very alphabet of our law. That no man can be arrested by the king in person is equally clear. This was an established maxim of our jurisprudence even in the time of Edward IV. "A subject," said Chief Justice Markham to that prince, "may arrest for treason: the king cannot; for, if the arrest be illegal, the party has no remedy against the king."

The time at which Charles took this step also deserves consideration. We have already said that the ardour which the parliament had displayed at the time of its first meeting had considerably abated, that the leading opponents of the court were desponding, and that their followers were in general inclined to milder and more temperate measures than those which had hitherto been pursued. In every country, and in none more than in England, there is a disposition to take the part of those who are unmercifully run down and who seem destitute of all means of defence. Every man who has observed the ebb and flow of public feeling in our own time will easily recall examples to illustrate this remark. An English statesman ought to pay assiduous worship to Nemesis, to be most apprehensive of ruin when he is at the height of power and popularity, and to dread his enemy most when most completely prostrated. The fate of the coalition ministry in 1784 is perhaps the strongest instance in our history of the operation of this principle. A few weeks turned the ablest and most extended ministry that ever existed into a feeble opposition, and raised a king who was talking of retiring to Hanover to a height of power which none of his predecessors had enjoyed since the revolution. A crisis of this description was evidently approaching in 1642. At such a crisis, a prince of a really honest and generous nature, who had erred, who had seen his error, who had regretted the lost affections of his people, who rejoiced in the dawning hope of regaining them, would be peculiarly careful to take no step which could give occasion of offence even to the unreasonable. On the other hand, a tyrant whose whole life was a lie, who hated the constitution the more because he had been compelled to feign respect for it, and to whom his own honour and the love of his people were as nothing, would select such a crisis for some appalling violation of law, for some stroke which might remove the chiefs of

an opposition and intimidate the herd. This Charles attempted. He missed his blow, but so narrowly, that it would have been mere madness in those at whom it was aimed to trust him again.

It deserves to be remarked that the king had, a short time before, promised the most respectable royalists in the house of commons, Falkland, Colepeper, and Hyde, that he would take no measure in which that house was concerned without consulting them. On this occasion he did not consult them. His conduct astonished them more than any other members of the assembly. Clarendon[e] says that they were deeply hurt by this want of confidence, and the more hurt because, if they had been consulted, they would have done their utmost to dissuade Charles from so improper a proceeding. Did it never occur to Clarendon, will it not at least occur to men less partial, that there was good reason for this? When the danger to the throne seemed imminent, the king was ready to put himself for a time into the hands of those who, though they disapproved of his past conduct, thought that the remedies had now become worse than the distempers. But we believe that in his heart he regarded both the parties in the parliament with feelings of aversion which differed only in the degree of their intensity, and that the awful warning which



Ruins of Kenilworth Castle, which passed into the Hands of the Earls of Clarendon in the Seventeenth Century

he proposed to give, by immolating the principal supporters of the remonstrance, was partly intended for the instruction of those who had concurred in censuring the ship-money and in abolishing the Star Chamber.

The commons informed the king that their members should be forthcoming to answer any charge legally brought against them. The lords refused to assume the unconstitutional office with which he attempted to invest them. And what was then his conduct? He went, attended by hundreds of armed men, to seize the objects of his hatred in the house itself. The party opposed to him more than insinuated that his purpose was of the most atrocious kind. We will not condemn him merely on their suspicions. We will not hold him answerable for the sanguinary expressions of the loose brawlers who composed his train. We will judge of his act by itself alone. And we say, without hesitation, that it is impossible to acquit him of having meditated violence, and violence which might probably end in blood. He knew that the legality of his proceedings was denied. He must have known that some of the accused members were men not likely to submit peaceably to an illegal arrest. There was every reason to expect that he would find them in their places, that they would refuse to obey his summons, and that the house would support them in their refusal. What course would then have been left to him?

Unless we suppose that he went on this expedition for the sole purpose of making himself ridiculous, we must believe that he would have had recourse

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to force. There would have been a scuffle; and it might not, under such circumstances, have been in his power, even if it had been in his inclination, to prevent a scuffle from ending in a massacre. Fortunately for his fame, unfortunately perhaps for what he prized far more, the interests of his hatred and his ambition, the affair ended differently. The birds, as he said, were flown, and his plan was disconcerted. Posterity is not extreme to mark abortive crimes; and thus the king's advocates have found it easy to represent a step which, but for a trivial accident, might have filled England with mourning and dismay, as a mere error of judgment, wild and foolish, but perfectly innocent. Such was not, however, at the time the opinion of any party. The most zealous royalists were so much disgusted and ashamed that they suspended their opposition to the popular party, and, silently at least, concurred in measures of precaution so strong as almost to amount to resistance.

From that day, whatever of confidence and loyal attachment had survived the misrule of seventeen years was, in the great body of the people, extinguished, and extinguished forever. As soon as the outrage had failed, the hypocrisy recommenced. Down to the very eve of this flagitious attempt, Charles had been talking of his respect for the privileges of parliament and the liberties of his people. He began again in the same style on the morrow; but it was too late. To trust him now would have been, not moderation, but insanity. What common security would suffice against a prince who was evidently watching his season with that cold and patient hatred which, in the long run, tires out every other passion? *i*

BILL AGAINST THE BISHOPS; CONTEST FOR THE MILITIA

The king now, in consequence of his unfavourable position, publicly assumed a very different tone, and on the 20th of January sent a message to parliament, desiring them to comprehend all their grievances and wishes at once in one representation, that he might understand them all, that suspicions and calumnies might cease, and he might show how ready he was to exceed the greatest examples of the most indulgent princes in their acts of grace and favour to the people.

This offer of the king excited the greatest joy, and the house of commons, in the petition of the 19th of February, stated most of its demands: That the king would appoint to offices only persons whom the parliament proposed to him, and remove all others; that he would not listen to the advice of the queen respecting the affairs of the state or the church, and would lay before her an oath drawn up for the purpose; not conclude a marriage of a prince or princes without the consent of parliament, would not go out of the country, would punish Catholic priests according to the laws, exclude the Catholic lords from the upper house, sell no offices, and nominate no peer without the consent of the house. Not to mention that the granting of these demands would have placed almost the whole administration in the hands of the house of commons, they interfered in the personal and family affairs of the king. About the same time a letter from Lord Digby to the queen was opened by order of parliament, and an accusation of treason brought against him in consequence. The queen wrote very politely that she left the letter and the judgment to the house of commons, and only requested a copy. The house, in its answer, laid indeed all the blame upon the lord, but begged her not to listen to him and others of the same opinion. After such experience, the queen set sail without delay (lest a prohibition might be given), with her daughter Mary, for the Nether-

lands, and took the crown jewels and other valuables with her, in order, in case of need, to use them for hostile purposes.

Meantime the attacks against the constitution and the church were renewed with the greatest warmth. Already, on the 4th of February, a brewer's wife, in the name of many gentlewomen, merchants' wives, and other females, presented a petition against the bloodthirsty papists and prelates. They said they had a right to give their opinion in these matters, because Christ had redeemed them as well as the men, as they shared in all the sufferings of the state as well as the church, and that Esther and other women were to be considered as their models. Pym answered, in the name of the house of commons: "Good women, your petition, with the annexed arguments, has been read; it has been received with thanks, and found seasonable." In general, many petitions were received at this time, with increasing demands from different parts of the country, which parliament readily received when they coincided with its views, otherwise rejected them with censure. Petitions from apprentices, sailors, and porters against Catholics and prelates were readily listened to; offensive songs against them were publicly sung, and dogs with black and white heads were called bishops.

On the 5th of February the bill against the bishops (that is, the first, not the Root and Branch bill) was passed by the upper house, only three of them having formally opposed it; and when Charles did not immediately grant the assent which they required, an urgent application of the parliament was made, on the 8th of February, to hasten so necessary and important a business, for the exclusion of the bishops from the upper house and from civil offices. Charles gave his assent to the bill, on the 13th of February, without, however, attaining his object or gaining general approbation; for, while he did not convert any adversary, he lost many adherents, and gave ground for the belief that there was no security for the latter, because everything was to be obtained from him, and he aided in covering what was extorted by force with the appearance of legality.

Still more important in their consequences than this bill against the bishops were the demands and disputes respecting the army and the militia. Only two days after the departure of the king from London, the house of commons issued orders to the governors of the Tower and of the town of Hull not to do anything without the command of parliament; and on the 25th of January, though the lords, after a long interchange of notes, refused their consent, it requested that the king would place the fortresses and the militia in the hands of persons in whom the parliament confided. On the 7th of February, the king declared that he would give the chief command to the persons whom the parliament recommended.

On the 9th of February, 1642, a new bill on the militia was passed, and two days afterwards a lord lieutenant appointed by the house of commons for each county, whose commission is in the following terms: As a most dangerous and desperate plan has lately been formed, in consequence of the sanguinary counsels of the papists and other evil-disposed persons, and as in consequence of the Irish Rebellion, and for other reasons, sedition and war are to be apprehended, therefore, for the safety of the king, the parliament, and the kingdom, power is hereby given to ——— by the king and both houses, to call together all his majesty's subjects in the county to arms, exercise them, and to appoint or dismiss officers. He is to expect further orders from the king and both houses, and his power shall continue till it be otherwise ordered or declared by both houses of parliament (the king is not mentioned here), and no longer.

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When these resolutions were submitted to the king for his approbation, he answered, on the 28th of February, in substance as follows: The preamble, which speaks of dangerous and desperate designs against the house of commons, contains a reproach upon my conduct and appearance in parliament, respecting which I have already sufficiently declared myself. I consider it as not advisable to put such great power in the hands of any other person for an indefinite time.

After receiving his answer, both houses resolved that it contained an absolute denial of all their proposals; that it put peace and security to hazard, unless a remedy was provided by the wisdom and authority of parliament; all who had advised it were enemies to the king and kingdom.

Disregarding his objections, the bill on the militia passed both houses of parliament, with the addition that it should have legal validity without the king's assent. One of the lords expressing a doubt whether this was not contrary to the oath of allegiance, it was read, and the question resolved in the negative. No attention was paid to a protest of sixteen lords, or to the objections of Hyde and other prudent men in the lower house. Two days later, both houses represented to the king the grounds of their suspicion and fears, in a declaration which recalls to mind the former Remonstrance. They mention danger to the Protestant church, the influence of the Jesuits, the negotiations of the queen in Rome, the war against Scotland, rebellion in Ireland, endeavours to gain the army and to employ it against the parliament, the unjust accusation of the five members, the refusal to name the authors of it or to prove its truth, the ill-conduct of the royalists towards peaceable citizens, the reinforcement of the royal guard, and the refusal of a guard to the parliament; manifold advertisements from letters that had been opened, accounts from Rome, Venice, and Paris of violent designs, extraordinary levies, calumnies of the parliament, the retirement of the king from London, and preparations for internal war. "An easy and safe way is open to the king to happiness, honour, greatness, plenty and security, if he will sincerely join with the parliament and his faithful subjects in defence of religion and the public good. This, with his necessary and salutary return to London, is all that we ask and request of him."

When this declaration was laid before the king at Newmarket, he said, with very animated gestures: "The declaration of the parliament is no means to induce me to return, and in the whole rhetoric of Aristotle there is no argument of this kind. The affairs of Ireland cannot be put in order by four hundred persons, but must be confided to one; and, though I am myself a beggar, I will procure the means to do it, and accomplish the work." The earl of Pembroke asking what he required, Charles answered, a schoolboy must be whipped who cannot answer that question. Being then asked by the earl whether he would grant the militia, as was required by the parliament, for a time, he answered, "No, not for an hour; it is a thing with which I would not trust my wife and children."

Three days after this conversation the king sent a message to both houses, in which he said that he was resolved to observe all the laws, and to require obedience to them from his subjects, but that no law could be valid or have authority without his assent. In reply to this, the commons voted that those who had advised the king to send this message, and to keep at a distance from London, were enemies to their country; that when the two houses declared anything to be law, to have this not only questioned and controverted, but contradicted, and a command that it should not be obeyed, is a high breach of the privilege of parliament.

The parliament, in its excessive zeal, would not observe that the king's declaration was conformable to custom, to law, and to reason; theirs, on the other hand, abolished the constitution in one of its most essential points, and was just as unreasonable as the demand of Charles, which had formerly been so severely censured, that his proclamations should pass as laws without the consent of parliament. But if the house of commons went too far, there was the more reason to expect that the upper house would put a check upon its proceedings, as it had before disapproved of the demand respecting the militia. On this account Pym concluded a much-admired speech, on the 25th of January, with the words: "If the upper house holds back, the lower house must do its duty. Then history will testify how it was compelled to save the kingdom alone, and the house of peers have no part in the honour." Intimidated by these and similar expressions, and blind to its own real advantage, the house of lords acceded to those resolutions relative to the legislation.

THE KING SHUT OUT AT HULL

During this correspondence, in spite of all the violent language, nothing serious was done to suppress the Irish insurrection, which was becoming more and more general. For which reason, the king proposed, on the 11th of April, to go himself to Ireland and put an end to the troubles. But the parliament, fearing that Charles would form and gain over a Protestant army, or would reconcile himself with the Catholics on advantageous terms, sought for all kinds of specious reasons to decline the proposal. The king, they said, exposes himself without necessity to danger, and encourages the rebels, who boast of his support; encourages suspicion, increases expense, and interrupts the course of business. Therefore no levy, carrying on of war, or appointment by the king must be approved or tolerated; but the kingdom must be governed with, and according to, the advice and regulations of the parliament.

About the same time an event took place which necessarily afforded Charles grounds for new complaint. As far back as the 12th of January the house of commons had ordered that the town of Hull, which was amply provided with military stores, should not be delivered up to any person without an order from the king, given to the governor through parliament. This resolution was communicated to the king for his information, without his having been previously consulted; and on the 15th of April written orders were sent to Sir John Hotham in Hull, and in the same manner to all the sheriffs and officers in the country, to obey only the commands of the parliament. Charles hereupon appointed the earl of Newcastle governor of Hull in the room of Hotham, but he was not received; nay, the king himself was, contrary to all example, refused admittance at the gates. On the 26th of April a message from him was presented to the parliament, stating that on the 23rd of April he desired to see the stores at Hull, and dispose of them for the public service in the north of England and Ireland; but that Hotham, though he was unable to produce any written order from parliament, had refused to admit him and only twenty attendants; that, on account of such conduct to his king and master, Hotham had been declared a traitor.

This account agrees in all the essential points with that of Hotham. The latter declared on his knees from the rampart that he could not admit anybody without breach of the confidence placed in him by parliament. For, though the king was not named in its orders, there could be no doubt whatever of their sense and object. Hotham, too, was certainly in great embarrassment

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when the mayor and citizens appeared on the rampart, contrary to his orders; and it was apprehended that the king might persuade them by his friendly language.

Far from appeasing Charles' just anger, by giving a plausible turn to the affair, and trying to effect a reconciliation, the parliament, immediately on receiving the royal message, declared that Hotham and the citizens of Hull deserved commendation for their conduct, which tended to the preservation of peace; it promised rewards to the soldiers, and ordered a copperplate to be burned by the hangman which represented Hotham triumphant on horseback upon the rampart, and the king on the outside begging for admittance, on foot. The parliament wrote to the king that he should not see in Hotham's conduct any violation of his authority, but a just cause to unite with his parliament for the preservation of peace, and the suppression of a wicked and malignant party, which is the cause of all the dangers and misfortunes.

Proceeding in the same course, the parliament passed, in May, 1642, the following resolutions: "The bill on the militia shall be law, without the consent of the king. He is not entitled to summon a free man, and he who takes arms by his orders shall be considered as committing a breach of the peace. No person henceforth raised by the king to the peerage shall have a seat and vote in the upper house. Charles' plan to levy war against the parliament is a breach of the confidence placed in him by the people, as well as of his coronation oath, and aims at the subversion of the constitution. Every person supporting him in it is a traitor. The king, like his predecessors, must confide only in the fidelity and affection of his subjects, and give up all violent plans, otherwise we think ourselves bound to maintain justice, peace, and order by all the means in our power." All these violent proposals and resolutions were not only approved of by the lords, but some of the most violent even originated with them.

The king did not delay replying to the complaints that were made, but wrote to the parliament an answer, in which are the following passages: "You consider everything as a breach of your privileges; nothing as an infringement of my rights. You declare everybody, previous to all proof, at your own discretion, a traitor; I, on the other hand, am expected to be silent to the most notorious faults. Were your apprehensions just, which they are not, they could not dispense with and destroy the laws. Give up at length indefinite accusations, name those whom you call evil counsellors, and prove that they are such. You tell me I ought to cherish no suspicion of the great council of parliament. I cherish no more against you than you against me your king. If the majority of the members of parliament might, by a mere declaration, set up anything as incontrovertible right, what security would there be for any right already existing? I therefore conclude my justification with the words of Pym, which ought to be duly taken to heart by you: 'If the king's prerogative overcomes the liberty of the people, tyranny ensues; and when the king's prerogatives are undermined, anarchy follows.' "

THE DECLARATIONS OF PARLIAMENT AND THE NINETEEN PROPOSITIONS

The result of the debates was two declarations from the parliament of the 21st and 26th of May. The former says: If the king denies the existence of evil counsellors, we must impute the blame of what has been done to him, which would be as contrary to the laws as to the feelings of our hearts; the kingdom ought never to be destitute of the means of its preservation, and

to procure these is the business of the king and the parliament. But as the former, being an individual, is more liable to the accidents of nature and of chance, and the multitude must not be left without rule and guide, parliament has been furnished with power to supply that which is wanting on the part of the king; and when both houses have declared that such a state of things exists, this declaration requires no further confirmation, and cannot be revoked or abolished by any other. It is therefore to be wished and hoped that the king will not suffer himself to be guided by his own judgment in public affairs, but by the great council of the nation—the two houses of parliament, which are the two eyes of the nation.

The second declaration of the 26th of May relates chiefly to the events at Hull. They say the king speaks improperly of his city, his magazines, his ammunition, etc. They no more belong to him than to the whole kingdom. From this fundamental error, that kingdoms are the property of kings, arises all tyranny. But if the king, or others, had such a right to any town, etc., the parliament may, however, take such measures respecting it that no danger may accrue to the country from such claims. The king is bound by his conscience, justice, and his coronation oath, to sanction every bill laid before him, for he is to remedy all the grievances of the kingdom; but, to decide what are grievances, and whether new laws are necessary, the representatives of the whole nation are the fittest, and the form of rejecting a bill, *le Roi s'avisera*, does not imply an absolute refusal, but only a delay, which must yield on the repeated demands of the parliament. It is here the judge between the king and the people; the king therefore was wrong in endeavouring to take possession of Hull, without the knowledge and contrary to the will of the parliament; and what Hotham did was for the advantage of the king himself, and also right, inasmuch as it was agreeable to the laws. On the other hand, it was unjust to declare Hotham a traitor without observing the legal forms, whence an opinion originates that all those who gave him orders or approved his proceedings were traitors also. Treason may doubtless be committed against the king as king; but treason against the kingdom is more than treason against the person of the king merely. Nor can the levying of war for the maintenance of the laws be considered as war against the king; but it is contrary to the oath of allegiance for anyone to serve the king against the country.

A few days afterwards, in the beginning of June, the parliament laid before the king nineteen propositions, upon which it was ready to be reconciled with him. Ministers, privy councillors, tutors to the royal princes, and all high officers of state shall be appointed with the approbation of parliament, and all those removed of whom it does not approve. The same consent is necessary to the marriage of members of the royal family. The laws against the papists, Jesuits, etc., shall not only be enforced but made more rigorous, and the children of the former be intrusted to Protestants for their education. Catholic lords shall lose their votes in the upper house. The king approves beforehand the reformation of all abuses in the church. The king recalls his declaration respecting the militia, and confirms that of the parliament. All judges and civil officers hold their places only during good behaviour; members of parliament who have lost offices shall be restored to them, or indemnified. Every person appointed to an office takes a new oath, drawn up in conformity to the new legislation. All persons cited by either house must appear, and abide its censure. It determines what exceptions are to be made to the amnesty offered by the king. The king shall dismiss his military guard, and not appoint any commander without the approbation of parlia-

ment. Levies of troops to be made only according to law, in case of rebellion or of hostile invasion. No lord to be admitted into the upper house without the consent of the commons. The king consents that the five members shall be cleared by an act of parliament, so that we may be secured in future against such proceedings.

Not to mention that the above conditions were extremely intolerant in respect to religion, and required beforehand the sanction of future resolutions which were then entirely unknown, they undoubtedly annihilated the royal authority in many essential points, destroyed the intended balance of the legislative powers, and gave a decisive preponderance to the parliament. Yet some zealous royalists advised concession, because the king had no arms and no money, and the hope of gaining the fleet was wholly delusive on account of the sentiments of the principal officers. Notwithstanding these arguments, Charles would the less resolve to accept those oppressive terms, as he had promised the queen not to take any final resolutions without her knowledge and consent. It was her wish that the blessings of peace might be restored through her mediation, and that the people's dislike to her might be removed. Charles, too, hoped to effect a change in the tempers of the people by a new and clear statement of his views and his rights. He first answered the declarations of parliament on the 26th of May, in the following manner: "No person who reads this writing will think that we have much reason to be satisfied with it; it is forged in a hotter oven than others. Yet we must praise the openness and sincerity of the authors, who will no longer suffer us to be mocked by saying, 'We will make you a great and glorious king,' while they with the greatest dexterity plague us into distress and want; or 'We will make you beloved at home and feared abroad,' while every means is adopted to make us odious to our subjects and contemptible to foreign princes.

"On the contrary, they now say to us in plain English, We have done you no wrong, for no wrong can be done to the king. We have taken nothing from you, because you possess nothing that could be taken. Everyone who is not of their opinion they class among a malignant and wicked party, and believe, placing themselves above us, that they may do everything that they may think fit. But what then is tyranny, except recognising no law but one's own will; and in Athens that of the thirty tyrants was the most oppressive. If a party accidentally obtains the majority or the preponderance, and then outlaws its opponents and abolishes the laws themselves, is that, in form or in substance, right? The paramount right of the king does not abolish the property of individuals, and he may certainly have a right to Hull without violating private property. If an office was trusted to Hotham, a much higher one is intrusted to the king; or do they understand our office so that we shall be entitled only to destroy our own rights and our government? The parliament then considers itself alone as infallible and unlimited, and says, like the Irish rebels, we do everything for the good of the king and the kingdom. The authors of that declaration endeavour in every way to make the king odious. The people, however, will in the sequel feel the burdens and the misery which these pretended deliverers bring upon them. All evil, according to them, comes from evil counsellors, whom they do not name; from conspiracies, which nobody discovers; from suspicions, which nobody understands. But, indeed, he who thinks that Hotham's conduct to the king is a proof of affection and loyalty, might also affirm that the papists, or even the Turks, drove us from London; he might in the same affectionate and loyal manner bow us entirely out of the kingdom. According to the notion of the parliament, none of its members could be accused of theft or murder till inquiry was made at London

whether it was agreeable to all the others. The principles of the innovations are: the parliament has the unlimited and sole right of declaring the laws, and what it declares is right. No law or custom can limit its omnipotent will, and the king's assent to the laws is not necessary. He has no veto, but is subject to the commands of the parliament. If it does the utmost that other parliaments attempted, this is no violation of moderation and duty; that is to say, as some already openly proclaim, they may depose the king without deserving blame on that account. After such language and with such principles, which cannot be carried to a greater height, we may justly expect the most culpable actions."

By this declaration, and various accounts which were received, the parliament was still more embittered, accepted voluntary contributions, and ordered loans for the preservation of the Protestant religion, of the king, as well as of his rights and dignities, of the laws, of peace, and of the privileges of parliament. Nine lords and sixty-five members of the house of commons, who disapproved the resolutions, and most of whom had joined the king, were accused and excluded from parliament. But Charles issued, on the 13th of June, a new declaration, to the effect that he required no obedience or assistance except according to the laws of the land; he would esteem everybody who would render him services in this sense, for the preservation of religion and the constitution. He would not commence war, nor raise men for that purpose, but only in case of an unjust attack to defend himself and his friends.

Two days later the king again declared before God and the world that he abhorred all thoughts of war, and called upon his counsellors, and the numerous lords assembled about him, to testify that he had the most serious wish for peace. Hereupon they declared: We are fully convinced that his majesty has no hostile intentions, nor do we know of any councils or preparations that might excite a belief of such plans; on the contrary, the king desires to maintain religion, justice, liberty, and the laws. Disregarding these testimonies, which the parliament assumed to be partial, surreptitious, or false, it declared everybody guilty who should obey the king's commands respecting the militia, prohibited any payments of money being made to him, and at length, on the 12th of July, resolved that an army should be raised for the security of the king's person, for the defence of the parliament, the preservation of religion, the laws, liberty, and peace.

In this moment of mad infatuation, when many considered a civil war, that most dreadful of all evils, as fortunate, or as a deliverance from evils, some at least shuddered at the abyss before them, and warned against the danger with all the energy of their heart and understanding. Thus Whitelocke,[i] though otherwise a zealous adherent of the parliament, says: "Our misery is the joy of our enemies, and the Catholics, who call us heretics, impel us towards it by all kinds of means and arts, well knowing that nothing can extend their dominion so much as our disunion. We were blessed by a long and happy peace; but, instead of enjoying with moderation and gratitude the many blessings given us by God, we have become proud and luxurious, so that God suffers us to punish ourselves by a civil war. It is surprising how we have gradually and imperceptibly drawn nearer to this war, and were, as if unconscious, borne along by the waves. From a paper war, we have come, through declarations, representations, remonstrances, resolutions, messages, answers, and replies, to the levy of a military force and the appointment of generals and commanders.

"We must place our laws and liberties, our property and lives, in the hands of insolent mercenaries, whose violence and fury will then command us and all

we possess; reason, honour, and justice will abandon our country, the base will command the noble, vice prevail over virtue, and wickedness over piety. From being a powerful people, we shall become weak and be the instruments of our own destruction."

Benjamin Rudyard spoke to the same effect: "That we may the better understand the situation in which we are, let us look back three years. Would anyone at that time have thought it possible that the queen, for whatever reason, would go to Holland, the king leave London and his parliament, such a dreadful insurrection break out in Ireland, and such disputes and disorders in church and state? On the other hand, if anyone had said: In consequence of new laws, the parliament will be assembled every three years; ship-money, monopolies, the court of High Commission and the Star Chamber be abolished; the bishops removed from the upper house, the forests limited, nay, that we should possess a parliament which cannot be dissolved without its own consent —who would not have considered this as a dream of happiness? But now that we possess and enjoy all this, we think only of future securities and guarantees, as if they were not included in the possession of these things, which mutually support and maintain each other. Let us not, for the sake of a precarious future security, risk everything, or fancy that we possess nothing because we have not everything that we wish. Everyone is bound to the utmost of his power to hinder bloodshed; for blood cries to heaven, and defiles the country. Let us therefore secure liberty and property, but in such a manner that we do not at the same time lose our own souls."

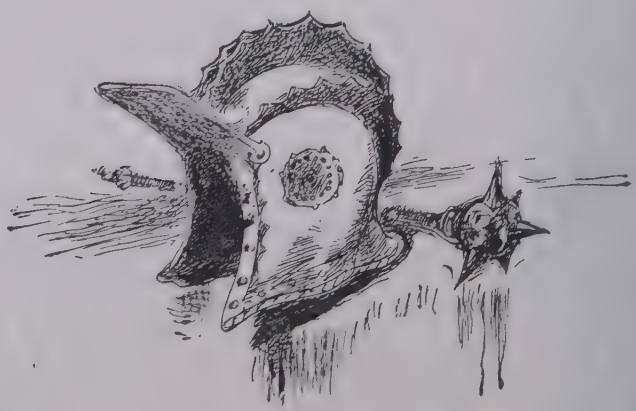
PREPARATIONS FOR WAR

These eloquent warnings so far produced an effect that the parliament again sent a petition to the king respecting peace. After an introduction on the dangers of the times, on the armaments made by Charles, and his erroneous ideas of deciding everything by force, it demanded that he disband all troops, suspend all levies, and repair to parliament, which was ready, on those terms, to desist from all preparations for war, to regulate military affairs by a new and suitable bill, and to prove that the members valued the king's welfare, safety, honour, and greatness much more than their own happiness and lives, which they would most heartily and willingly devote to his support and preservation. The king replied, that it was no proof of moderation and love of peace that the preamble to their petition laid all the blame upon him, and that at the same time Essex was appointed commander, and the mayor of London arrested because he had obeyed the king's commands. Then follows a repeated justification of his conduct, with the remark that the parliament had armed and caused force to be employed against him at Hull, at a time when not a single man had been raised by him; and yet it was certainly for the king, in case of undoubted danger, to be the first to adopt defensive measures. He therefore called upon them to prevent disorders, duly to punish the authors of seditious publications, and to designate as delinquents only such as violated the laws, and not the faithful servants of the king. If Hull were delivered to him, the persons named by him placed over the fleet, the military preparations stopped, the parliament removed to a place of safety, and if it were acknowledged that his assent was necessary to general laws, he would pardon and forget all that was past, cease armaments and levies, and give his royal word before God that he did not and would not think of any hostilities.

The parliament answered, at the end of July, that till the causes which had led to the present state of things were all removed, their duty to the king and kingdom forbade them to accept the above proposals. On the 2nd of August it detailed at length the causes for which recourse was had to arms. A wicked and impious party, they said, had attempted to overthrow the constitution in church and state, and now required that they should give themselves up, unarmed, to their will and pleasure. But the lords and commons were resolved to risk their lives and fortunes for the defence and preservation of true religion, of the king's person, honour, and dignity, of the power and rights of parliament, and the liberty of all the subjects. Everyone, therefore, who had any sense of piety and honour, and was bound by his duties to God, the king, and the country, was called upon to hasten to their defence.

At the same time, the house of commons declared those lords who had repaired to the king to be incapable of sitting in the upper house, accused them as traitors, and ordered them to be imprisoned. It commanded new taxes, such as tonnage and poundage, to be levied; levied recruits with increased activity, dismissed and arrested Gurney, the mayor of London, who would not second these measures, and swore to live and to die with the earl of Essex, the new general. The king had before called upon the earls of Essex and Holland to attend him as officers of his court; but they replied that they were more necessary in parliament, where they could do him better service. Hereupon the king, on the 11th of August, declared the earl of Essex and his followers to be rebels; and, on the other side, the parliament gave the same name to all the adherents of the king.

After the struggle had been thus begun by both sides, in word and deed, it seems merely a symbol that the king, on the 25th of August, 1642, caused the royal standard to be raised at Nottingham. It bore a hand pointing to a crown, with the motto, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's." In the first night a dreadful storm threw down the standard from the eminence on which it had been erected, so that it could not be replaced till two days afterwards. This accident was considered by many as a bad omen.[c]



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Chapter XVIII. Charles I and Buckingham (1625–1628 a.d.)

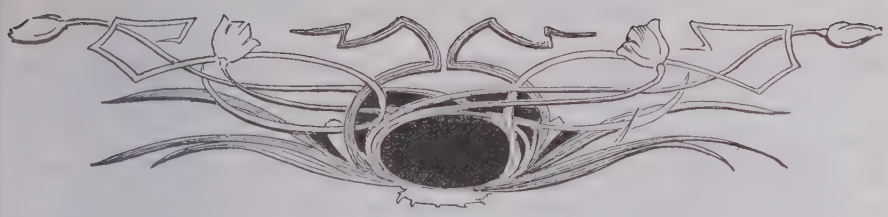
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Chapter XIX. Charles I and Strafford (1629–1641 a.d.)

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CHAPTER XX. COMMONS AGAINST CROWN (1641–1642 A.D.)

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CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FROM 1485 TO 1642 A.D.

1485 Death of Queen Anne. Richard proposes to marry his niece, Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV. Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond, lands at Milford Haven. Richard marches to meet him, and is defeated and slain at Bosworth. Parliament declares for Richmond, who becomes king as **Henry VII.**

1486 Henry marries Elizabeth of York. The uprising of Lord Lovel is suppressed.

1487 Lambert Simnel, calling himself the earl of Warwick, is made the centre of a revolt in Ireland supported by the earls of Kildare and Lincoln and Lord Lovel. The rebels cross to England, and are defeated by Henry at Stoke. Lincoln is killed. The court of Star Chamber is established.

1492 Perkin Warbeck, who calls himself Richard of York, lands in Ireland. Henry invades France, but abandons the war, and concludes a treaty of peace at Etaples.

1494 Poyning's Act is passed by the Irish parliament.

1495 Perkin Warbeck makes his first landing in England.

1496 James IV of Scotland invades England in behalf of Perkin Warbeck.

1497 Perkin Warbeck is overcome and captured in Cornwall. Henry sends the Cabots on a voyage to America.

1499 Perkin Warbeck and the earl of Warwick are executed.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

1501 Arthur, prince of Wales, marries Catherine of Aragon.

1502 Prince Arthur dies. Catherine is contracted to Prince Henry.

1503 Princess Margaret marries James IV of Scotland.

1509 Henry dies.

1509 Accession of **Henry VIII.** Junction of houses of York and Lancaster. Henry VIII's marriage to Catherine of Aragon. Execution of Empson and Dudley on charge of threatened conspiracy for carrying off the king.

1511 Henry, having arranged domestic affairs, engages in European politics. Pope Julius establishes the Holy League to protect Italy against designs of Louis XII. Henry VIII joins the League.

1512 English army sent to co-operate with Ferdinand of Spain in south of France. Disorganisation of English army, which returns under Dorset in same year. At sea an indecisive battle fought off the coast of Brittany between England and France. The French are worsted in Italy and driven from the pope's domains. Death of Pope Julius.

1513 Accession of Pope Leo X. Henry VIII arranges a combined attack with Maximilian against France. The combined army besieges Terouanne (Thérouanne). Battle of the Spurs (August 16th); panic of the French soldiery before the allied troops. The fall of Terouanne and capture of Tournay by the English. Execution of Suffolk after seven years' imprisonment. James IV of Scotland quarrels with English. Invasion of England (August). Battle of Flodden Field (September 9th). Defeat of the Scotch. Death of James and of many of the Scotch nobility.

1514 The dissolution of the Holy League is followed by the conclusion of peace with France. Henry VIII receives in exchange for peace terms large payments of money. The peace is ratified by the marriage of Mary, sister of Henry VIII, to Louis of France. Louis dies three months later.

1515 Wolsey made archbishop of York by Henry, and the pope creates him a cardinal. He then becomes chancellor, with control of the entire government business. His aspiration after peace as symbol of the national greatness. Francis I, successor to Louis XII of France, attempts to reconquer the Milanese from Maxmilian Sforza. Milan is occupied by the French. A confederacy formed between England, France, and Spain against foreign aggression, and followed by a treaty (1518).

1516 Death of Ferdinand of Spain. Succession of his grandson Charles. Francis I of France and Charles become the rivals for supremacy on the Continent. Growing power of Wolsey. His primary object, to uphold the supremacy of the church. He enters on a course of arbitrary rule and provokes the dislike of both the nobility and commonalty. Birth of the princess Mary.

1515–1518 Wolsey and the Renaissance. Wolsey's peace aspirations reflected the spirit of his age. Internal peace being secured, men now sought some nobler object than merely their self-preservation. An outburst of intellectual vigour, receiving its impulse from Italy, characterises this period of Wolsey's pre-eminence. While Wolsey's own vision was turned towards the growing political importance of England, on the Continent great artists and poets arose who were not content with this, but sought to express in colour, and verse, and tone the new feeling of admiration for human action and human beauty. The spirit of the Renaissance reached England slowly. The invention of printing brought literature within reach of the uninitiated. In the English Renaissance there was no such breach with the old religious faith as in Italy. The Oxford reformers (1510) endeavour to introduce study of Greek into the University. St. Paul's School founded by Colet. Thomas More among its scholars. His *Utopia* (1515–1516) a satire on the defects of English government by picturing an imaginary ideal government.

1518 More, the author of *Utopia* (1515), is knighted and becomes privy councillor.

1519 Death of the emperor Maximilian (January). His grandson Charles succeeds as king of Spain. A struggle inevitable between Charles and Francis of France. Both sovereigns candidates for the empire, and Charles is chosen Emperor Charles V. An English alliance is sought by both Charles and Francis, and a personal meeting is arranged between Francis and Henry VIII.

1520 The meeting of the Field of the Cloth of Gold. Henry interviews Charles subsequently. Through Wolsey's scheming, England becomes pledged to the interest of Charles. Wolsey, arbitrating on their respective claims in certain grievances, pronounces against the French. Wolsey's aspiration for the papacy and promise of Charles' support. Death of the pope and election of Adrian of Utrecht as his successor.

1521 Execution of the duke of Buckingham on charge of high treason. Quarrel of Luther with Henry VIII. Henry receives from the pope title of Defender of the Faith for having written a work against Luther.

1522 Francis attempts to excite disaffection against England in Ireland and Scotland. The attempt proves ineffectual.

1522–1523 Expeditions sent by England under command of Surrey and Suffolk against France. Charles of Spain joins the English forces. The combined attack, however, proves a failure.

1523 Wolsey summons a parliament (the first since 1515) and demands a grant of £800,000 for war purposes, which parliament refuses. Wolsey again disappointed in hopes of papacy. Election of Clement VII to succeed Adrian.

1524 Wolsey abandons warlike preparations and enters into pacific relations with court of France. Defeat of the French by the Imperialists near Romagnano. The French evacuate Italy. Another decisive battle follows, resulting in the French defeat at Pavia and capture of Francis. Wolsey dissolves several small monasteries.

1525 Henry proposes invasion of France in conjunction with Charles of Spain. Charles declines proposal. Wolsey then transfers his support to Francis. He upholds the pope against the enemies of the church, which he identifies with the cause of Charles. Henry endeavours through Wolsey to raise a forced loan. Meets with great opposition throughout the country, and finally abandons the attempt. Treaty of peace signed between England and France in autumn of 1525.

1526 Negotiations with France are continued, and in following year Wolsey visits France with proposal for marriage of Princess Mary to son of the French king. The question of the legitimacy of the princess is raised.

1527 Henry questions the legitimacy of his marriage with Catherine, and submits the case to the pope. Wolsey supports Henry in his wish for a divorce.

1528 Pope Clement appoints Wolsey and Cardinal Campeggio his legates to adjudicate on the question of the validity of Henry's marriage. Finally he annuls the proceeding in England, and calls the cause to Rome.

1529 The failure of these negotiations, combined with the growing unpopularity of Wolsey in the country, bring about the latter's downfall. The king strips him of his offices and in the following year orders his arrest on charge of high treason. Sir Thomas More becomes chancellor. Meeting for the first time of the Seven Years' Parliament (November 3rd) which carried through the final severance from Rome.

1530 Death of Wolsey at Leicester. Cromwell attracts the king's notice and is raised to office. Henry renews the divorce question by consulting the universities of Europe as to the legality of his marriage. The decision indecisive. Growing dissatisfaction with the church in England. The king allies himself with national party, who desire the

independence of England in ecclesiastical matters from the supremacy of Rome. In December, 1529, parliament passes enactment regulating conduct and status of English clergy. In 1530 Henry demands that the clergy acknowledge him supreme head of the Church of England.

1531 The clergy incurring the penalty of præmunire, submit to Henry's demands, and address him as "Head of the Church and Clergy so far as the law of Christ will allow." Involves threat to the pope. Convocation makes proposal to limit the pope's power by petitioning the king and parliament to abolish payment of annates to the pope. Spread of Protestantism. Men embrace the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith.

1532 Parliament continues its attack on the clergy. The Mortmain Act, forbidding corporations to leave property to the clergy, is confirmed in its provisions. Parliament reforms the spiritual courts. The clergy itself continues the attack upon the power of Rome. Sir Thomas More dissents from the subordination of ecclesiasticism to the temporal power and resigns the chancellorship.

1533 Cranmer succeeds Warham as archbishop of Canterbury. Marriage of Henry to Anne Boleyn. Cranmer declares marriage with Catherine of Aragon void, and that with Anne legal. The pope opposes the divorce.

1533–1534 *Completion of breach of English Church with Rome:* Before 1533 Henry appealed from pope to a general council. When parliament met in 1534 Henry procured from it three acts: (1) A second act of Annates, giving him various additional powers. (2) An act concerning Peter's Pence, etc. (3) An act confirming the submission of the clergy to Henry and annulling the pope's intervention. These acts finally effected the separation from Rome. But though nominally the English ecclesiastical authorities became more independent, in practice they were entirely subservient to Henry's bidding. In theory and sentiment the Church of England was still a branch of the Catholic Church; practically, it was now a national church, ready to drift from its moorings and to accept new counsels.

1534 New measures introduced against the pope. All forms of tribute to Rome abolished; his authority to be transferred to the crown. The succession to the throne settled on the children of Anne Boleyn by act of parliament. Sir T. More, and Fisher, bishop of Rochester, refusing acquiescence in this, are sent to the Tower. The supplementary acts against the pope's authority completed the severance of the English and Roman churches. The jurisdiction of the pope in special appeals is abolished. Finally an act is passed abolishing the authority of the pope in England. The convocations of Canterbury and York declare that "the bishop of Rome has no greater jurisdiction conferred on him by God in the kingdom of England than any other foreign bishop." Execution of the Nun of Kent.

1535 Latimer is made bishop of Worcester. Act of Supremacy passed, by which Henry assumed title of "Supreme Head of the Church of England." Persecutions follow the passing of the act among the monastic orders. Fisher and More are executed for refusing to swear to the acts of Succession (1534) and Supremacy. Cromwell is appointed king's vicar-general in ecclesiastical matters and pushes his agitation against the friars.

1536 Cromwell extends his religious campaign in direction of abolishing the lesser monasteries. Parliament acquiesces. The property of all monasteries having incomes of less than £200 a year now passes to the crown. Dissolution of parliament follows. Death of Catherine of Aragon. Benefit of clergy is now restricted by act of parliament; thenceforth in the matter of jurisdiction clergy and laymen are on an equality. Anne Boleyn executed on a charge of adultery (May 19th). The following day Henry marries Jane Seymour. Mary and Elizabeth are declared illegitimate by act of parliament. An English translation of the Bible is set up in the churches. Convocation draws up the Ten Articles, 1536, intended to promote unity of belief.

1537 These changes responsible for insurrections amongst lower orders in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire (called in Yorkshire "the Pilgrimage of Grace"). Many executions follow. The "council of the north" instituted to keep order. Jane Seymour gives birth to a prince (afterwards Edward VI), but dies a few days later.

1537–1538 *Progress of the Reformation:* In 1536 Henry published the Ten Articles; the old doctrines are stripped of much that had given offence, and reasonable explanations are given of the doctrines and practices enforced. They showed a strict advance in direction of Lutheranism. Next, each church is supplied with a copy of the English Bible, until now forbidden. Then follows the dissolution of the greater abbeys and monasteries; the great popular relics and shrines are thus destroyed. In 1539, parliament allows the king to extend the dissolution to all the monasteries yet remaining. With the revenues, new ecclesiastical and educational objects are projected.

1538 Insurrection in the west. Lady Salisbury, mother of Cardinal Pole, is imprisoned. The marquis of Exeter and others are executed for treason. Beginning of the attack on the greater monasteries. Many executions of abbots and friars as implicated

in the Pilgrimage of Grace. All monasteries are now dissolved, and their property granted to the king. Relics and images in the churches are destroyed. Lambert is condemned and burned for heresy.

1539 Bill of Six Articles passed by parliament. The chief points of the Catholic religion are now laid down. Severe penalties are inflicted for disobedience. Completion of the suppression of monasteries. *Temporary check to Reformation:* The disclosure of priestly deceptions excites derision among lower classes. The Sacrament becomes object of ridicule. This disorder is repugnant to Henry's disposition. He promotes in parliament the Bill of Six Articles (1539), laying down chief points of Catholic religion. Arrests and executions follow.

1540 Henry marries Anne of Cleves (January 6th). Consequent fall of Cromwell. Execution of Cromwell by Bill of Attainder (July 28th) without being heard in his own defence. On July 24th the king's marriage with Anne of Cleves is abrogated by act of parliament. Henry marries Catherine Howard (July 28th).

1541 Execution of the countess of Salisbury.

1542 Henry takes the title of king in place of lord of Ireland. Catherine Howard executed on a charge of immorality. Panic and flight of the Scots at Solway Moss (November 25th).

1543 Henry marries his sixth and last wife, Catherine Parr. Treaty for the marriage of Prince Edward and Mary, Queen of Scots, is arranged with Scotland. The Geraldine Rebellion. The Fitzgeralds are put to death.

1544 Invasion of Scotland by Henry under Lord Hertford and Lord Lisle. Scotland is mercilessly ravaged. Henry invades France in person. The capture of Boulogne. The Peace of Crépy or Crespy signed, 1544. An act is passed, releasing the king from his debts.

1544–1545 *The Litany and the Primer:* In 1544 Cranmer, in directing that prayers be offered for Henry's success at Boulogne, ordered them to be said in English. This litany was the foundation-stone of the future Book of Common Prayer. A primer, or book of private prayer, also issued in English. In public services, the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments were to be English, the remainder in Latin.

1546 Peace of Boulogne. The duke of Norfolk and the earl of Surrey (his son) are committed to the Tower for treason. Lord Leonard Grey becomes lord-deputy of Ireland.

1547 Execution of earl of Surrey. Death of Henry VIII (January). Accession of **Edward VI.** *Progress of Reformation:* Somerset, full of revolutionary ardour, presses forward reformation. Destructive violence used. Images of saints pulled down; the purification of churches enjoined. Ridley preaches violent sermons. Picture, and window, and statues alike forbidden. The English liturgy enforced by a royal commission. The Book of Homilies issued under Cranmer's directions. Many old customs and holy days are suppressed (1548). Cranmer endeavours to preserve the historical continuity of the church; he accepts present doctrines and practices till tested and found wanting, but the more advanced Protestants attempted a violent cleavage from the past. Edward VI's First Prayer-Book issued in English (1549). Act of parliament permitting marriage of clergy (1549).

1547 Hertford (now created duke of Somerset) is made protector. His anxiety to carry out reforms. He pushes forward the Reformation. The purification of churches is ordered. Somerset invades Scotland to enforce the treaty of marriage of 1543, and defeats the Scots at the battle of Pinkie (September 10th). The Scots ally with Henry II of France, and the young queen marries the dauphin Francis. Somerset opens war with France. The use of English in services is ordered and the pulling down of images. Bonner and Gardiner protest and are imprisoned. The newly made treasons of Henry VIII are repealed; a reversal of Henry's arbitrary policy. Acts against vagrancy are passed in parliament. Execution of Lord Seymour.

1549 A complete English Service-Book is approved by parliament, called the First Prayer-Book of Edward VI. The first act of uniformity is passed. Act passed permitting the marriage of the clergy. Somerset introduces popular measures to check the growing evils, industrial and agricultural, of the poor. Somerset's revolutionary tendencies give rise to outbreaks. Insurrection in the west. Somerset's brother, Lord Seymour, is condemned for treason by attainder, without being heard in his own defence, and beheaded. Ket, a tanner, organises a rebellion in the east, especially directed against the nobles who had enclosed the common land. The rebellion is suppressed by the earl of Warwick, and Ket and other leaders are executed. War declared against France (September). Fall of Somerset. His failures discredit him and he resigns protectorship. Dudley, earl of Warwick, gains chief influence in the council, and continues Somerset's policy.

1550 The council makes peace with France and Scotland and restores Boulogne. Latimer declaims against the vices of the age. The depreciation of the coinage.

1551 Advance of the Reformation. Protestants are given the new appointments. The princess Mary forbidden use of the mass. Warwick becomes duke of Northumberland.

Somerset is charged with high treason and sent to the Tower. European affairs prevent the interference of Charles. *Rapid and disorderly advance of Reformation:* Imprisonment of non-conforming church dignitaries (Gardiner, Bonner, etc.). The new appointments are all Protestants (Ridley, Ponet, Hooper). Statues, figures, images, to be removed from churches; all service-books except prayer-book to be destroyed. Church property seized. Appointments to livings are made without reference to the bishops in authority. This removal of religious restraint provokes unbridled license in all directions. Parodies of the mass, desecration of sacraments, abuse of Catholics. Bishops become large pluralists, absorbing the revenues of the parishes.

1552 A revised prayer-book issued by parliament. Composed under the influence of the Swiss reformers. John Knox a leading participator—subsequently the father of the Scottish Reformation. Calvinistic doctrines replace the earlier orthodox creeds. The Forty-two Articles have a Calvinistic colouring. England becomes a refuge for the persecuted reformers of other lands. Somerset is tried and beheaded. Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI issued. Second Act of Uniformity passed. Parliament amends law of treason.

1553 The Forty-two Articles of Faith set forth. Warwick aims at changing succession to Lady Jane Grey. Illness of Edward VI; dies in July. Lady Jane Grey is proclaimed queen. Flight of Mary. The nation rallies round Mary. Northumberland's army deserts him. He fails in Norfolk. **Mary** proclaimed. Lady Jane Grey and Northumberland are committed to the Tower. Execution of Northumberland. Mary restores the mass. Bonner made bishop of London, and Gardiner lord chancellor. Gradual restoration of the Roman church. The laws concerning religion passed in Edward's reign are annulled in parliament. Negotiations opened for marriage of Mary to Philip of Spain.

1553 *Reaction towards Rome:* Bonner appointed to the council and Gardiner made chancellor. Mary's impetuosity towards Rome is checked by Simon Renard of Spain. She, however, replaces the displaced bishops and restores the mass. Protestant preachers and foreigners are expelled and imprisoned. In August, Mary refused to recognise the marriage of the clergy. The bishops are deposed.

1554 Unpopularity of Mary's marriage. Consequent risings in different parts of country. Wyatt's rebellion; it fails. Wyatt, Lady Jane Grey, her husband, father, and uncle are executed (February 12th). Princess Elizabeth sent to Tower. Marriage with Philip (July). Second parliament authorises the Spanish marriage. *The submission to Rome:* England accepts the papal absolution. All statutes against the pope since the twentieth year of Henry VIII are repealed. Parliament re-enacts statutes for burning the heretics and agrees to reconciliation of church of England to the see of Rome. Cardinal Pole, sent to England as pope's legate, receives the submission of England. England accepts the papal absolution. Mary begins her efforts to root out the heretics.

1555 Persecuting statutes re-enacted and put in force (January). Ridley and Latimer burned, also Hooper and Rogers. Thirty-seven members of the commons secede from parliament. Philip leaves England.

1556 Confession and death of Cranmer. Cardinal Pole is made archbishop of Canterbury. The Dudley conspiracy in behalf of Elizabeth fails. The conspiracy followed by increased persecution. Two hundred and seventy-seven persons suffer. Pole made archbishop of Canterbury. He presses forward the persecutions.

1557 France supports the English exiles. Strafford's attempt upon Scarborough with French help fails. Philip embroils England in war with France. England and Spain defeat France at St. Quentin.

1558 Calais is besieged and captured by the French under the duke of Guise. The French are defeated at Gravelines by the Spanish, who are assisted by the English fleet. Negotiations for a European peace. Death of Mary and Cardinal Pole.

1558 Accession of **Elizabeth.** She retains Mary's council, adding Sir William Cecil to their number. Difficult conditions at opening of her reign. She forbids unlicensed preaching, and allows part of the liturgy to be used in English. A new prayer-book is prepared. Gradual establishment of the English church. Elizabeth declines Philip's offer of marriage. The threatened danger from France.

1559 Parliament passes the Act of Supremacy, with penalties for refusing it. The Act of Uniformity is passed establishing the revised prayer-book. Peace with France and Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis. Death of Henry II of France. Parker made archbishop of Canterbury. *Establishment of English Church:* Elizabeth becomes the champion of European Protestantism. Cecil moves cautiously in introducing Protestant measures. The elevations of the host at mass is forbidden; a committee of divines appointed to revise and correct the English liturgy of Edward VI. The parliament of 25th of January proceeds with religious reform. The Supremacy and Uniformity Acts. New bishops take the place of the recusants. Spread of Calvinism

by returning exiles. Antagonism between Scotch and French. Rise of the lords of the congregation. The Reformation in Scotland.

1560 Elizabeth assists the Scottish rebels. The regent of Scotland dies, and by the Treaty of Edinburgh it is agreed that the French troops shall leave Scotland. Protestantism established by the Estates. Queen Mary returns to Scotland.

1561 Rise of Dudley, earl of Leicester. Beginning of the religious wars in France.

1562 Elizabeth sends help to the French Huguenots. English disaster at Havre. Mary's demands to be acknowledged Elizabeth's successor refused. A severe act passed against the Roman Catholics.

1563 The Thirty-nine Articles are drawn up and signed by convocation.

1564 Archbishop Parker and the queen enforce uniformity. Supported by Dudley, earl of Leicester, many of the London clergy refuse to obey and leave the church.

1565 Marriage of Mary Queen of Scots to Darnley. Insurrection in Ulster.

1566 Murder of Rizzio. Peace is made with France. The commons resolves to petition the queen to marry.

Spread of Calvinism.—The English Puritans contend for purity of worship, the rejection of the rites and vestments of the Roman church.

1567 The murder of Darnley. Deposition and flight of Mary Queen of Scots.

1568 Mary escapes to England. Her case investigated by English commissioners at a conference at York. She remains a prisoner at Tutbury. Elizabeth's difficulties increased by affairs in the Netherlands and the rise of the Puritans. Marriage suggested with the archduke of Austria.

1569 Cecil tries to draw queen into war with Spain. Philip adopts Mary's cause. Norfolk committed to the Tower for proposing to marry Mary. Insurrection in behalf of Mary under Northumberland and Westmoreland in the northern counties. Suppressed with great cruelty. Insurrection in Munster.

1570 The two earls escape to Scotland. Consequent complications with Scotland. Murray assassinated. Pope Pius V excommunicates Elizabeth and absolves her subjects from their allegiance. Marriage proposed between Elizabeth and the duke of Anjou (afterwards king of France). Cartwright, a Puritan leader, expelled from professorship at Cambridge.

1571 The Ridolfi plot in favour of Mary. Parliament introduces many bills of Puritan tendency and against the introduction of papal bulls. Alterations in religion proposed by Puritans in parliament. Alençon proposed as queen's husband.

1572 Norfolk executed. Francis Drake's voyage to Panama. Seizure of Briel by exiles from Netherlands. The queen's duplicity. Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Parliament proposes an attainder against Mary, but is forbidden by the queen to proceed. Colonisation of Ulster by Essex.

1575 The Netherlands offer the sovereignty of Holland and Zealand to Elizabeth, who declines.

1576 Grindal succeeds Parker as archbishop of Canterbury.

1577 Drake's voyage to the Pacific. Insurrection in Ireland under the Burkes of Connaught.

1579 Elizabeth's intention to marry duke of Anjou; unpopularity of marriage. Insurgents in Ireland. Fitzmaurice is defeated.

1580 At Smerwick, Lord Grey defeats combined Spaniards and Italians. Two Jesuits, Campion and Parsons, land in England to reconvert country to papacy. Suppression of riot insurrection.

1581 Parliament passes the Recusancy laws. Campion arrested and executed. Intended joint rule of Mary and James in Scotland.

1582 Plots for assassination of Elizabeth.

1583 Arrest of Francis Throcmorton for complicity in plot. Whitgift succeeds Grindal as archbishop of Canterbury and persecutes the Puritans. The high commission court is placed on permanent footing.

1584 Association formed to defend the queen. Breach with Spain. Mary Queen of Scots deserted by her son James. Growth of Philip of Spain's power. Assassination of prince of Orange. Armada gathers in the Tagus.

1585 Elizabeth determines to assist the Netherlands and sends Leicester with that object.

1586 Drake returns laden with spoils from West Indies. Elizabeth negotiates with Spaniards. Leicester returns with mission unaccomplished. Babington's conspiracy detected. Trial of Mary Stuart. Battle of Zütphen and death of Sir Philip Sidney.

1587 Popular feeling against Mary Queen of Scots. Mary's execution at Fotheringay; its effect on European politics. Philip's preparations fo. invasion. Drake burns Spanish fleet at Cadiz. Pope Sextus V proclaims crusade against Elizabeth. Circulation of the Martin Marprelate tracts. English preparations for defence.

1588 Approach of the Armada. Its equipment. The English equipment. Defeat of Armada. The victory a national one. Leicester made general-in-chief. His death.

1589 Philip's designs against France. France and England ally against Spain. Expedition to Portugal to support Antonio against Philip of Spain. Drake plunders Corunna or the Groyne.

1590 Death of Walsingham. Publication of the *Faerie Queene.*
1591 Essex sent with English troops to assist Henry IV of France.
1592 A second expedition sent to help Henry IV.
1593 Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis.*
1594 Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity.*
1595 Death of Drake. Tyrone rebels and is assisted by Philip of Spain.
1590 *Expedition against Spain:* The commons press for war to be carried into Philip's own country. Yearly expeditions against Spain. Attack on Cadiz by Essex in 1596.
Effects of Armada: It definitely settled the religion of England and the claims of Spain upon it.
1590–1598 The war of religions is now transferred to France. Elizabeth makes treaty of alliance with Henry IV of France.
Elizabeth and parliament: Her arbitrary demands of large sums for personal expenditure. Her parliaments treated with scant respect. She curtails liberty of speech. The incident of Mr. Maurice (1593). Parliament acquires considerably more importance during this period. Puritanism developed independence of character; members bring high qualities to bear on their administrative duties.
In ecclesiastical matters, the same arbitrariness shown by Elizabeth, tenacious of her supremacy. The church becomes Protestant and Elizabeth fills vacant livings with Puritan divines. Her contempt for the bishops, whom she treated as creatures of her will. The divine origin of Episcopacy not yet distinctly asserted in English church. Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* rests the authority of the bishops upon political grounds.
1570–1583 *The Puritans:* Indignant at the abuses in the church, they raise the claims of Presbyterianism as a divine institution. Cartwright's admonition (published 1572) implies superiority of church to state. But the great mass of Puritans accepted queen's supremacy and acknowledged the Established Church. The advanced Puritans (under Whitgift's administration) are persecuted for their republican views. In 1583 the court of high commission attained full powers, and its proceedings were characterised by much arbitrariness.
1590 *Growth of the High Church Party:* The church of England asserts its highest pretentions after Armada. Catholics now enter the national church. The high church party is formed, and the divine right of Episcopacy formulated. The Puritans are impelled to a more organised opposition. In 1590 associations formed for introducing all the apparatus of Presbyterianism (synods and classes). The Star Chamber is brought into requisition, but without detracting from the spread of Puritanism.
1588–1596 *Increasing prosperity in England:* Trade grew together with piracy and war. Increase of manufactures. Corn extensively grown by landed proprietors. The gorgeous court attire. Rise in general standard of comfort. Improvement in Elizabethan buildings over those of Middle Ages. Windows and glass introduced, where previously men lived in fortified castles. Manor-houses take the place of the old castles. Chimneys are now introduced. Comfortable bedding takes the place of the straw pallet or bag of chaff. Pewter platters and tin spoons replace wooden ones. The quest after wealth accompanies the introduction of greater luxury.
1588–1595 *Literary development:* Hooker (*Eccles. Polity*) introduces elegant prose style; attention to form as well as matter. Spenser and Shakespeare are affected by the spirit of the age. Their reverence for the reign of law. Spenser's cardinal virtues as enumerated in *Faerie Queene*—the laws of purity, temperance, and justice. Shakespeare's moral in his plays, the retribution which follows close on the heels of the transgression of law, whether moral or physical. Francis Bacon begins to dream of a larger science than known hitherto—a science based on a reverent inquiry into the laws of nature.
1596 Rise of Raleigh of Essex. Expedition to Cadiz under Essex and Howard.
1597 Failure of expedition of Essex and Raleigh against Spain. Essex loses the queen's favour. Philip makes proposals of peace.
1598 Death of Philip II of Spain. O'Neil of Ireland defeats English army. Death of Sir John Norris. Death of Burghley. Robert Cecil succeeds.
1599 Essex sent to conquer Ireland. He fails, returns without permission and is imprisoned.
1600 Essex's intrigues with James of Scotland, and with Romanists and Puritans.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

1601 Essex plans rebellion and seeks partisans among the disaffected. His trial and death. Spaniards land in Ireland. The first regular Poor Law passed. The withdrawal of monopolies.
1603 Submission and pardon of O'Neil. Reconquest of Ireland. Death of Elizabeth.
1603–1604 Accession of **James I.** Peace with Spain entered into. The Millenary Petition presented by Puritan element; imprisonment of petitioners. Discovery of the main

plot to change the government and the Rye plot to obtain toleration. Imprisonment of Sir Walter Raleigh.

1604 Hampton Court conference. Triumph of high church party. The project for authorized version of Bible. First parliament of James. Its Puritan temper. To appease parliament, James persecutes the Catholics. New body of canons drawn up. Parliament claims to deal with both church and state. Death of Whitgift. Bancroft succeeds as archbishop of Canterbury. Peace concluded with Spain. Gunpowder plot projected against James and parliament.

1605 Gunpowder plot discovered. Flight of conspirators. Their capture and execution. Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*.

1606 The post-rate. Naturalisation of James' Scottish subjects. Disaffection in Ireland. Parliament increases severity of laws against Catholics.

1607 Cecil's impositions in attempting to raise money. Bates case. Bill for union of England and Scotland rejected in the commons. The enclosure of commons leads to disturbances.

1608 A new book of rates issued, largely increasing customs.

1610 The Great Contract. The commons remonstrate against the court of high commission, the Royal Proclamations, and "Impositions." Parliament's petition of grievances. Plantation of Ulster. Bancroft dies. Abbot succeeds as archbishop of Canterbury. He increases the severity of court of High Commission.

1611 James dissolves parliament. James institutes the order of baronets. Arabella Stuart imprisoned in Tower for marrying William Seymour.

1612 Death of Salisbury. Princess Elizabeth betrothed to elector palatine. Robert Carr becomes James' chief adviser. The treasury is placed in commission. Death of Prince Henry (November 6th).

1613 Carr created earl of Somerset. Marriage of the elector palatine.

1614 The Addled Parliament meets. James' first quarrels with parliament. Parliament refuses supplies bill till it has dealt with James' imposition of customs. It is dissolved. Several members imprisoned.

1615 Rise of Villiers.

1616 Raleigh, released from the Tower, is allowed to go to South America. Trial of the earl and countess of Somerset. Dismissal of Chief Justice Coke. Death of Shakespeare. Villiers becomes chief favourite of James.

1617 Raleigh's last voyage to Guiana. Bacon made lord-keeper. Proposals for the Spanish marriage. The Declaration of Sports.

1618 Execution of Raleigh. Beginning of Thirty Years' War.

1619 James refuses to assist his son-in-law, the elector palatine, who has been elected king of Bohemia. Sympathy in England with the Protestant side in the dispute.

1620 Invasion of the Palatinate. Negotiations with Spain concerning the marriage of Prince Charles. Landing of the Pilgrim fathers in New England.

1621 James' third parliament meets. The commons impeach Bacon, lord chancellor, and deprive him of the great seal. Impeachment of Mompesson for holding monopolies. Behaviour of James. He tears up the protestation of the commons. Bacon's *Novum Organum*. Digby's mission and the dissolution of parliament.

1622 The loss of the Palatinate. Coke, Pym, Selden and others are imprisoned.

1623 Prince Charles and Buckingham go to Spain. On their return, Buckingham procures the breaking off of the match. Buckingham's consequent popularity.

1624 Resolve of war against Spain. Last parliament of James I. Votes supplies against Spain. Monopolies finally declared illegal. The lord treasurer is impeached and condemned for bribery. Mansfield's expedition to go to the Palatinate. Projected marriage of Prince Charles arranged with France.

1625 Death of James.

1625 Accession of **Charles I.** First parliament dissolved, after granting two subsidies. Marriage of Charles to Henrietta of France. Failure of expedition against Cadiz. Dislike of Buckingham. Loan of ships to Richelieu.

1626 Second parliament meets and appoints three committees—for privileges, for religion, and for the state of the kingdom. Impeachment of Buckingham by Sir John Eliot. Parliament dissolved to save him. Levy of forced loans. Tonnage and poundage illegally levied.

1627 War between France and England. Drs. Sibthorp and Mainwaring preach in favour of the king's prerogative.

War funds collected by forced laws. Unpopularity of Buckingham. The Five Knights' case: their case decided against them. Poor men are pressed for army and navy under martial law and billeted on the refractory knights. Danger of a Catholic reaction.

1628 Third parliament meets. Commons blame Buckingham for their grievances. Mainwaring's sermons are condemned by proclamation, at request of the commons. Petition of Right drawn up, after conferences with the lords and commons. Charles assents to it. Parliament grants five subsidies and is prorogued. Laud becomes

bishop of London and the king's chief ecclesiastical adviser. Preparations made for a second expedition against France. Wentworth is made president of the council of the north. Assassination of Buckingham (August). Chambers declines to pay tonnage and poundage duties. He is imprisoned.

1629 Reassembling of parliament. Resolution passed that they who make innovations in religion or who exact or pay subsidies not granted by parliament are enemies of the realm. The king dissolves parliament—the last for eleven years. Breach between the king and commons. Sir John Eliot and others are sent to the Tower.

1630 Charles launches various financial schemes. Large sums collected from the gentry by distraint of knighthood. Peace is made with France and Spain. The Star Chamber directs its powers against the king's enemies. Dr. Leighton is imprisoned for writing against prelates. Puritan emigration to New England. Laud upholds uniformity.

1632 Sir John Eliot dies in the Tower.

1633 Inquiry by Lord Holland into extent of royal forests and alleged encroachments. The grant of monopolies to certain countries irritates the merchant class. The king is crowned in Scotland. Wentworth appointed lord deputy in Ireland. Laud becomes archbishop of Canterbury. Prynne's *Histriomastix:* an attack on the existing drama. Milton's *Allegro* and *Penseroso.*

1634 Milton's *Comus.* Noy draws up a writ for "ship-money," on pretext of defending coast against pirates. It is assented to. Antagonism to Laud.

1635–1636 Financial pressure. Additional impositions laid on commerce and established corporations. New writ of ship-money issued, extending the tax to inland towns and countries. Laud holds a visitation, and gives greater prominence than before to ritual. Juxon becomes lord treasurer. Book of Canons and Common Prayer issued for Scotland. Hampden refuses to pay ship-money.

1637 Charles consults the judges about ship-money, who declare the king's right to do what was necessary for the defence of the realm in time of danger. Judgment is given against John Hampden by a majority of the judges. Charles continued to levy ship-money. Unpopular action of the high church party in inflicting exorbitant fines. Opposition arises. Leighton, Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton write condemnatory theses. They are condemned by Star Chamber. Revolt of Edinburgh.

1638 Milton's *Lycidas.* The Scotch covenant, binding its signatories to recover the purity and liberty of the gospel.

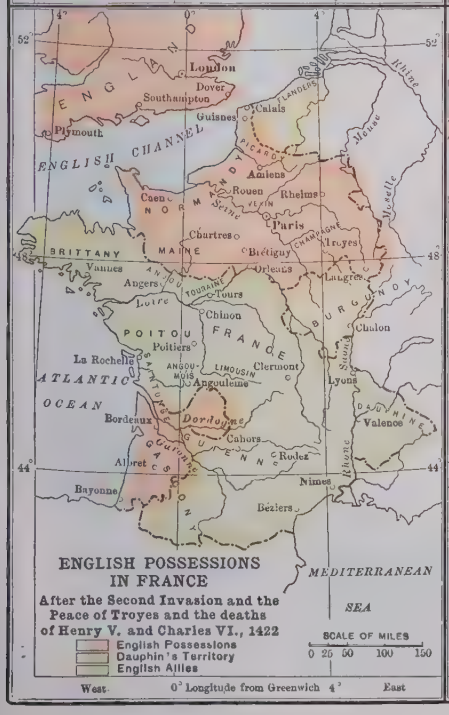
1639 Charles advances to Berwick. A bloodless war with the Scots is terminated by the pacification of Berwick.

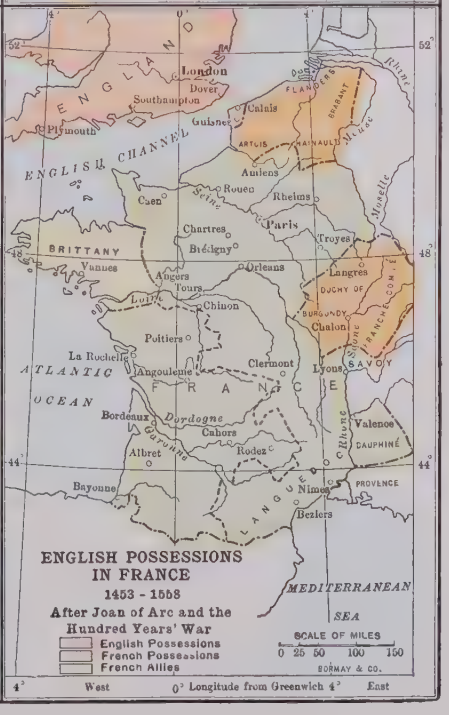
1640 The Short Parliament meets. Pym lays before it the grievances of the nation. Charles, rather than abandon the war with Scotland, dissolves parliament (May 5th). The Second Bishops' War. Great council of peers at York. Convocation passes canons asserting the divine right of bishops. The Treaty of Ripon (October). High commission court sits for last time (October 22nd). Meeting of Long Parliament. Pym leader of the commons. Impeachment and trial of Strafford. Charles consents to the Bill of Attainder. Impeachment of Finch, the lord chancellor, and of Laud.

1641 Execution of Strafford. Impeachment of Laud. Constitutional reforms: acts abolishing courts of star chamber and high commission. Root and Branch Bill. Ship-money declared illegal. Triennial Bill passed (parties formed on church questions). Bill against dissolving parliament passed. Charles visits Scotland. He organises the royalist party. The Irish insurrection. The Irish massacres in Ulster. Bill to exclude bishops from house of lords. Commons issue the Grand Remonstrance. Impeachment of the bishops. Riots in London. The names "Roundhead" and "Cavalier" coined. The English and Scottish armies are disbanded.









West 0° Longitude from Greenwich 4° East

West 0° Longitude from Greenwich 4° East

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CROMWELL AND HIS FAMILY LISTENING TO MILTON PLAYING THE ORGAN AT HAMPTON COURT

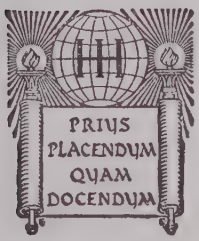
(From the painting by Charles Lucy, in the Glasgow Corporation Galleries)

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BY

HENRY SMITH WILLIAMS, LL.D.



IN TWENTY-SEVEN VOLUMES

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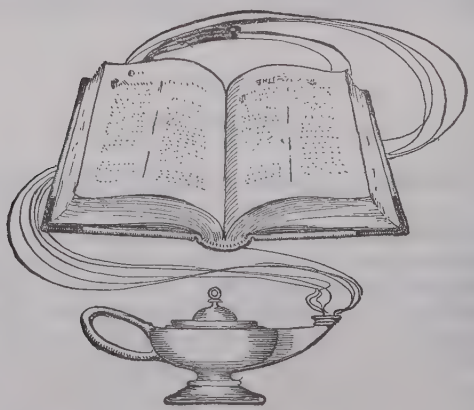
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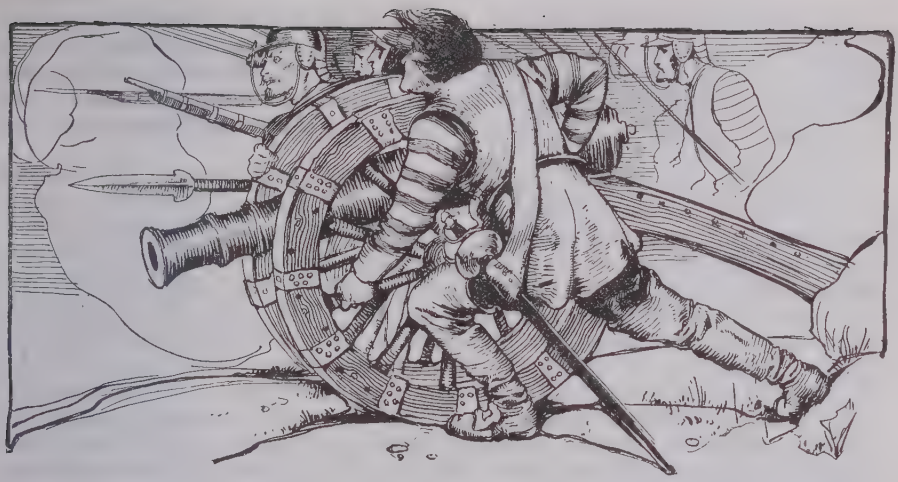
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BOOK III

ENGLAND FROM 1642 TO 1791

CHAPTER I

THE CIVIL WAR

[1642–1646 A.D.]

The Civil War, the outbreak of which was announced by the floating of Charles's standard on the hill at Nottingham, was rendered inevitable by the inadequacy of the intellectual methods of the day to effect a reconciliation between opposing moral and social forces, which derived their strength from the past development of the nation. The personal characters of the leaders might do much to shorten or prolong the time of open warfare, but no permanent restoration of harmony would be possible till some compromise, which would give security alike to the disciples of Hooker and to the disciples of Calvin, had been not only thought out by the few, but generally accepted by the many. On both sides the religious difficulty was complicated by a political difficulty; and, on the king's side at all events, it was from those who were least under the influence of religious motives that the loudest cry for war was heard. — S. R. GARDINER.[b]

LET us pause at this juncture, at which the public men of England are exhibiting the spirit of party in aspects so unusual and so portentous, and endeavouring to catch some faint glimpses of the life of the people immediately before the commencement of the Civil War. "Before the flame of the war broke out in the top of the chimneys, the smoke ascended in every country." So writes Lucy Hutchinson[c] a careful and honest observer of what was passing. She saw around her, in many places, "fierce contests and disputes, almost to blood, even at the first." The partisans of the king were carrying out his commissions of array. The partisans of the parliament were insisting upon obedi-

ence to the ordinance for the militia. The king proclaimed Essex, the captain-general of the parliament, and his officers, as traitors. The parliament voted the king's commissioners of array to be traitors. Not only were the king and the parliament each struggling to obtain possession of the munitions of war by seizing the fortified places, but each barrel of gunpowder was contested for by opposite parties.

Few of the members of parliament remained in London. The zealous men of influence in their several counties were in their own districts, raising volunteers, gathering subscriptions, drilling recruits, collecting arms. Each is subscribing largely "for defence of the kingdom." Fire-arms are scarce; and the old weapons of the long-bow and cross-bow are again put in use. Old armour, long since "hung by the wall," is brought down and furbished. The rustic, changed into a pikeman, puts on the iron skull-cap and greaves; and the young farmer becomes a dragoon, with his carbine and pistols. In the parliamentary army there is every variety of clothing. In some companies raised by gentlemen amongst their tenants, the old liveries of each family give the prevailing colour. Hampden's men are in green; Lord Brooke's in purple; others are in blue; others in red. The officers all wear an orange scarf, being the colour of their general. The buff doublet, "though not sword yet cudgel proof," is a substitute for armour. Haslerig's Lobsters, and Cromwell's Ironsides — each so called from their rough mail — are not formed as yet. Recruits are taken, at first, without much reference to their opinions.

Cromwell, with his super-eminent sagacity, saw the danger of this course. In a later period of his life, when he had attained supreme power, he thus described his position at the commencement of the war: "I was a person who, from my first employment, was suddenly preferred and lifted up from lesser trust to greater; from my first being a captain of a troop of horse." He then relates that he "had a very worthy friend, a very noble person, Mr. John Hampden, and he thus spake to him: 'Your troops are most of them old decayed serving-men, and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and their troops are gentlemen's sons, younger sons, and persons of quality: do you think that the spirits of such mean and base fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen that have honour, and courage, and resolution in them.'" What Cromwell did to meet the ardour of the cavalier with a zeal equally enthusiastic, he goes on to tell: "I raised such men as had the fear of God before them, as made some conscience of what they did." Cromwell did justice to the principle upon which the honour and courage of the cavaliers was founded. He saw, beneath their essenced love-locks and gilded doublets, clear heads and bold hearts. The gay were not necessarily debauched; the health-drinkers were not necessarily drunkards. There were other men in the royalist ranks than —

"The bravoes of Alsatia, the pages of Whitehall."

There were great spirits in both armies ready to measure their swords for "The king," or for "The cause."

We can scarcely assume that the bulk of the population, or even the greater number of the richer and more educated classes, at once took their sides in this great argument. We know they did not. Many of the best gentlemen of England withdrew from the quarrel which promised to be fatal either to order or to liberty. John Evelyn, whose inclinations were royalist, was one. Mr. Kemble[d] the editor of Twysden's "Government of England," from which we quote, says "Sir Roger Twysden was not the only gentleman

who, being unable to join either party, desired to leave England for a time." This learned student of our history adds, by way of accounting for the flight to other lands of some of the country gentlemen, that "they felt it was impossible to serve a king who never spoke a word of truth in his life; and yet could not arm against him, or remain neutral between the two parties."

THE STATE OF SOCIETY AND LITERATURE AT THIS PERIOD

From this period we cannot understand the causes and the events of the Civil War, without steadily keeping in mind that the zeal of the Puritans, in whatever sectarian differences it exhibited itself, was as much the sustaining principle of the great conflict, as the passionate desire for civil liberty. These two great elements of resistance to the Crown produced impressions upon the national character — for the most part salutary impressions — which centuries have not obliterated.

The strength of the Puritanical element in the parliament of 1642 led to bold interferences with popular habits. The parliamentary leaders knew that they would have the support of the most powerful of the community of London, and of many other great towns, if not of the majority of the nation, when they discouraged the ordinary amusements of the people, — the bear-baitings, the cock-fights, the horse-races, the May-poles; appointed a fast on Christmas Day; and shut up the theatres. Bitter must have been the heart-burnings amongst the actors when their vocation came to an end in London, in 1642. The five regular companies were dispersed. Their members became "vagabonds," under the old statutes, hanging about the camps of the cavaliers, or secretly performing in inns and private houses.

London is the shop of war; it is the home of thought. Let us look at the vast city under the first of these aspects. It has always had its trained bands. It has now its volunteers of every rank. Many who had been in the Protestant armies of the continent, some who had fought under Gustavus Adolphus, were competent to become instructors. Such a man was Skippon, who had been appointed major-general of the London Militia.

In the country the distractions of the time bore hard upon the richer families. Every manor-house was liable to attack by a royalist or a parliamentary band. Lady Brilliana Harley had to put her castle of Brompton, in Herefordshire, in a posture of defence, whilst her husband, Sir Robert Harley, was engaged in his parliamentary vocation. The courageous woman died at her post. Amidst such scenes as these, says Carlyle,[e] "in all quarters of English ground, with swords getting out of their scabbards," there is one neutral power not wholly cast down — "the constable's baton still struggling to reign supreme." That power never ceased to assert itself amidst hostile armies. The judges went their usual circuits. The sessions and the county courts were regularly held.

THE PRESS — THE POETS

In 1623 Charles had heard in Ben Jonson's "Prince's Masque" allusions to a power which was then beginning to make itself formidable. The "press in a hollow tree," worked by "two ragged rascals," expressed the courtly contempt of that engine which was to give a new character to all political action. In 1642, wherever Charles moved, he had his own press with him. His state papers, for the most part written by Hyde [later Clarendon] were appeals to the reason and the affections of his people, in the place of the old assertions of

absolute authority. In the same way, the declarations of the parliament approached the great questions in dispute, in the like spirit of acknowledgment that there was a court of appeal beyond the battle-field, where truth and right would ultimately prevail. This warfare of the pen gradually engaged all the master-minds of the country; some using the nobler artillery of earnest reasoning and impassioned rhetoric; others emptying their quivers of vehement satire, or casting their dirty missiles of abuse, on the opponents of their party.

Milton enters upon his task with a solemn expression: Cleveland rushes into the fray with an alacrity that suits his impetuous nature:

> "Ring the bells backward; I am all on fire;
> Not all the buckets in a country quire
> Shall quench my rage."

Herrick was living in his vicarage of Dean Prior in Devonshire, disliking the "people currish, churlish as the seas," amongst whom he lived; scarcely venturing to print till he was ejected from his benefice; but solacing his loyalty with the composition of stanzas to "the prince of cavaliers," and recording his political faith in two lines, which comprehended the creed of the "thorough" royalists:

> "The gods to kings the judgment give to sway:
> The subjects only glory to obey."

The general tone of the poets is expressed by Lovelace:

> "Our careless heads with roses bound,
> Our hearts with loyal flames."

Butler, from the time when he left his father's cottage at Strensham, on the banks of the Avon, to note down those manifold characteristics of his time which furnish the best picture of its common life, was a royalist. Cleveland, Carew, Suckling, Denham, Herrick, Butler, form a galaxy of cavalier verse-makers. The dramatic poets, who were left to see the suppression of the theatres, such as Shirley, were naturally amongst the most ardent haters of the Puritan parliament.

But Milton did not quite stand alone amongst those with whom civil and religious liberty was a higher sentiment than loyalty to the king. George Wither was the poet of Puritanism, as ready with bitter invective as Cleveland.

The inferior men of letters then rushed to take up the weapons of party in the small newspapers of the time. Their name was legion. Their chief writers, Marchamont Needham on the parliament side with his "Mercurius Britannicus," and John Birkenhead on the royalist side with his "Mercurius Aulicus," were models of scurrility. Whatever were their demerits, the little newspapers produced a powerful effect. They were distributed through the villages by the carriers and foot-posts.

THE OUTBREAK OF WAR

Such, then, is a very imperfect sketch of a few of the salient points of English society, at the time when rival armies of Englishmen stood front to front in the midland counties. The king in August had vainly attempted to obtain possession of Coventry. He had then gone to Leicester with a body

[1642 A.D.]

of cavalry. On the 21st of August, the king's nephew, Prince Rupert, had joined him, and received the command of the horse. The next day, as we saw in the last chapter, they rode to Nottingham. The king's purpose was, upon Nottingham Castle, to set up his standard — a ceremony which had not been seen in England since Richard III had raised his standard in Bosworth Field — a ceremony which was held by some legists to be equivalent to a declaration that the kingdom was in a state of war, and that the ordinary course of law was at an end. A stormy night came on; and, omen of disaster as many thought, the standard was blown down. The setting-up of the standard would appear from Clarendon's[f] account to have been a hasty and somewhat desperate act. The king had previously issued a proclamation "requiring the aid and assistance of all his subjects on the north side of the Trent, and within twenty miles southward thereof, for the suppressing of the rebels, now marching against him." Clarendon says, "there appeared no conflux of men in obedience to the proclamation; the arms and ammunition were not yet come from York, and a general sadness covered the whole town."[g]



MILTON'S HOUSE.

Of Prince Rupert, the king's cavalry leader whom Pepys[h] called "the boldest attaquer in the world" it may be well to state the previous career.[a] Rupert, prince of Bavaria, the third son of Frederick V, elector palatine and king of Bohemia, and of Elizabeth, sister of Charles I of England, was born at Prague on December 18, 1619. In 1630 he was placed at the university of Leyden, where he showed particular readiness in languages and in military discipline. In 1633 he was with the prince of Orange at the siege of Rhynberg, and served against the Spaniards as a volunteer in the prince's lifeguard. In December, 1635, he was at the English court, and was named as leader of the proposed expedition to Madagascar. In 1636 he visited Oxford, when he was made master of arts. Returning to the Hague in 1638 he made the first display of his reckless bravery at the siege of Breda, and shortly afterwards was taken prisoner by the Austrians in the battle before Lemgo. For three years he was confined at Linz, where he withstood the endeavours made to induce him to change his religion and to take service with the emperor. Upon his release in 1642 he returned to the Hague, and from thence went to Dover, but, the Civil War not having yet begun, he returned immediately to Holland. Charles now named Rupert general of the horse, and he joined the king at Leicester in August 1642, being present at the raising of the standard at Nottingham. He was also made a knight of the Garter. It is particularly to be noticed that he brought with him several military inventions, and, especially, introduced the "German discipline" in his cavalry operations. He at once displayed the most astonishing activity.[i]

The king, in new proclamations, repeated his declarations of the treason of the earl of Essex and others: at the moment when he had made another proposition that he would withdraw his proclamations if the parliament would withdraw theirs. Neither party would make the first concession. There is

nothing more remarkable, amidst the anger and suspicion of this momentous period, than the evident reluctance of both parties to proceed to extremities. In such a conflict all would be losers. But, there being no alternative but war, the parliament, on the 9th of September, 1642, published a declaration to the whole kingdom, setting forth the causes of the war. On that day, the earl of Essex marched in great state out of London to join the army in the midland counties with the trained bands. A few weeks later the parliament ordered London to be fortified; and the population, one and all, men, women, and children, turned out, day by day, to dig ditches, and carry stones for their bulwarks.

The flame of war is bursting forth in many places at once. Fortified towns are changing their military occupants. Portsmouth had capitulated to the parliament's army a fortnight before the king raised his standard at Nottingham. Lord Northampton, a royalist, had seized the stores at Banbury, and marched to the attack of Warwick Castle. That ancient seat of feudal grandeur was successfully defended by the commander who had been left in charge, whilst Lord Brooke marched with some forces to the parliament's quarters. Every manor-house was put by its occupiers into a state of defence. The heroic attitude of the English ladies who, in the absence of their husbands, held out against attacks whether of Cavaliers or Roundheads, was first exhibited at Caldecot manor-house, in the north of Warwickshire. Mrs. Purefoy, the wife of William Purefoy, a member of the house of commons, defended her house against Prince Rupert and four hundred cavaliers. The little garrison consisted of the brave lady and her two daughters, her son-in-law, eight male servants, and a few female. They had twelve muskets, which the women loaded as the men discharged them from the windows. The out buildings were set on fire, and the house would have been burnt had not the lady gone forth, and claimed the protection of the cavaliers.

Rupert respected her courage, and would not suffer her property to be plundered. This young man, who occupies so prominent a part in the military operations of the Civil War, was only twenty-three when Charles made him his general of horse. He had served in the wars for the recovery of the Palatinate, and had exhibited the bravery for which he was ever afterwards distinguished. But in his early warfare he had seen life unsparingly sacrificed, women and children put to the sword, villages and towns burnt, the means of subsistence for a peaceful population recklessly destroyed. His career in England did much to make the king's cause unpopular, though his predatory havoc has probably been exaggerated. The confidence which the king placed in him as a commander was not justified by his possession of the high qualities of a general.

About the middle of September, Charles marched with his small army from Nottingham to Derby. Essex, with the forces of the parliament, was at Northampton. The king's plans were very vague; but he at last determined to occupy Shrewsbury. He halted his army on the 19th at Wellington, where he published a "protestation," in which, amongst other assurances, he said, "I do solemnly and faithfully promise, in the sight of God, to maintain the just privileges and freedom of parliament, and to govern by the known laws of the land to my utmost power; and, particularly, to observe inviolably the laws consented to by me this parliament." There is a remarkable letter of the queen to the king, dated the 3rd of November, in which she expresses her indignant surprise that he should have made any such engagement. The only notion that the queen had of "royalty" was that it was to be "absolute." Who can believe that Charles ever resigned that fatal idea?

FIRST ENGAGEMENTS: THE BATTLE OF EDGEHILL

On the 22nd of September, Essex moved his army to Worcester. Here the first rencounter took place between the cavalry of Rupert and the parliamentary cuirassiers. The royalists had a decided advantage. Ludlow *i* who was in the skirmish, gives a ludicrous account of the inexperience, and something worse, of the parliament's raw troops. The lieutenant "commanded us to wheel about; but our gentlemen, not yet well understanding the difference between wheeling about and shifting for themselves, their backs being now towards the enemy whom they thought to be close in the rear, retired to the army in a very dishonourable manner; and the next morning rallied at head-quarters, where we received but cold welcome from our general, as we well deserved." After remaining at Shrewsbury about twenty days, Charles resolved to march towards London. He expected that, as the armies approached each other, many soldiers would come over to the royal standard. He was almost without money, except a sum of six thousand pounds which he received by "making merchandise of honour," to use Clarendon's *j* expression — being the price for which he created Sir Richard Newport a baron. His foot-soldiers were mostly armed with muskets; but three or four hundred had for their only weapon a cudgel. Few of the musketeers had swords, and the pikemen were without corselets.

The royal army moved from Shrewsbury on the 12th of October, on to Wolverhampton, Birmingham, and Kenilworth. Two days after, the earl of Essex marched from Worcester in the direction which Charles had taken. They were only separated by twenty miles when the king first moved from Shrewsbury, but it was ten days before they came near each other. "Neither army," says Clarendon, "knew where the other was." On the night of the 22nd of October, the king was at Edgecote, a village near Banbury. The council broke up late. There was disunion in the camp. The earl of Lindsay by his commission was general of the whole army; but when Charles appointed Prince Rupert his general of horse, he exempted him from receiving orders from any one but the king himself — to such extent did this king carry his overweening pride of blood. Rupert insolently refused to take the royal directions through Lord Falkland, the secretary of state. In the same spirit, when a battle was expected, Charles took the advice of his nephew, rejecting the opinion of the veteran Lindsay.

On Sunday morning, the 23rd, the banner of Charles was waving on the top of Edgehill, which commanded a prospect of the valley in which a part of the army of Essex was moving. The greater portion of the parliament's artillery, with two regiments of foot and one of horse, was a day's march behind. The king, having the advantage of numbers, determined to engage. He appeared amongst his ranks, with a black velvet mantle over his armour, and wearing his star and garter. He addressed his troops, declaring his love to his whole kingdom, but asserting his royal authority "derived from God, whose substitute, and supreme governor under Christ, I am." At two o'clock the royal army descended the hill. "Sir Jacob Astley," writes Warwick,*k* was major-general of the army under the earl of Lindsay; who, before the charge of the battle at Edgehill, made a most excellent, pious, short, and soldierly prayer: for he lifted up his eyes and hands to Heaven, saying, 'O Lord, thou knowest how busy I must be this day; if I forget Thee, do not Thou forget me,' And with that rose up, crying 'March on, boys.'"

"The great shot was exchanged on both sides, for the space of an hour or thereabouts. By this time the foot began to engage; and a party of the

enemy being sent to line some hedges on our right wing, thereby to beat us from our ground, were repulsed by our dragoons," says Clarendon. The foot soldiers on each side engaged with little result. But Rupert, at the head of his horse, threw the parliament's left wing into disorder. The disaster was attributable to the desertion of Sir Faithful Fortescue, who went over with his troop to the royalists, when he was ordered to charge. The fiery prince pursued the flying squadrons for three miles; he was engaged in plundering the parliamentary baggage-waggons, whilst the main body of the king's forces was sorely pressed by the foot and horse of Essex. The king's standard was taken. Sir Edmund Varney, the standard-bearer, was killed. The standard was afterwards recovered by a stratagem of two royalist officers, who put on the orange-scarf of Essex, and demanded the great prize from his secretary, to whom it had been entrusted. It was yielded by the unfortunate penman to those who bore the badge of his master. Brave old Lindsay was mortally wounded, and taken prisoner. Other royalists of distinction were killed.

"When Prince Rupert returned from the charge," writes Clarendon, "he found this great alteration in the field, and his majesty himself with few noblemen and a small retinue about him, and the hope of so glorious a day quite banished." Many around the king counselled a retreat; but Charles, with equal courage and sagacity, resolved to keep his ground. "He spent the night in the field, by such a fire as could be made of the little wood and bushes which grew thereabouts." When the day appeared, the parliamentary army still lay beneath Edgehill. It was, in most respects, a drawn battle. Gradually each army moved off, one to attack London, the other to defend it. The number of the slain at Edgehill was variously estimated by the two parties. Ludlow very impartially says, "it was observed that the greatest slaughter on our side was of such as ran away, and on the enemy's side of those that stood." There was no general desire in either army to renew the struggle.

THE KING REPULSED AT TURNHAM GREEN (1642 A.D.)

After the battle of Edgehill the king wasted a few days in occupying Banbury and other small places, and on the 26th was with his army at Oxford. Essex was slowly advancing with his army towards London, and at the end of the month was at Northampton. In November Essex arrived, and received the thanks of the two houses. On the 11th of November Charles was at Colnbrook. Thither went a deputation from the parliament, under a safe conduct, to propose that the king should appoint some convenient place to reside, near London, "until committees of both houses of parliament may attend your majesty with some propositions for the removal of these bloody distempers and distractions." The king met the deputation favourably, and proposed to receive such propositions at Windsor. "Do your duty," he said, "we will not be wanting in ours. God in his mercy give a blessing." Ludlow records the duplicity which followed this negotiation: "Upon which answer the parliament thought themselves secure, at least against any sudden attempt: but the very next day the king, taking the advantage of a very thick mist, marched his army within half a mile of Brentford before he was discovered, designing to surprise our train of artillery (which was then at Hammersmith), the parliament, and city." Clarendon endeavours to throw the blame of this dishonour upon Rupert.

The "assault intended for the city" at last became a reality. On the morning of the 12th of November, the sound of distant guns was heard in London. Before noon Rupert was charging in the streets of Brentford. The

regiment of Holles was quartered there, and they were not unprepared for the attack. The long and narrow street was barricaded. The contest was obstinately maintained for three hours by Holles' regiment. Hampden was at Acton, and Brooks in a neighbouring cantonment. Again and again the parliamentary forces charged the cavaliers. But the main body of the royal army now invested Brentford. The fighting went on till evening, when the royalists had a decided advantage, and compelled their enemy to retire from the town. They took many prisoners, amongst whom was John Lilburne, who began his career, when an apprentice, by calling down stripes and imprisonment upon his contumacy, and was now a captain of the trained bands. The old enemies of "sturdy John" did not forget his offences. He was tried for his life, and was about to be executed as a rebel, when Essex threatened that for every one of the parliament's officers thus put to death, he would execute three royalist prisoners. Lilburne was released, to be always foremost in opposition, whether to Charles or to Cromwell.

Many of the parliament's men were drowned in the Thames; but the greater number made their way in boats down the stream. Essex had arrived at Turnham Green with some trained bands, who, whilst the fighting was going on, had been exercising in Chelsea fields. It was dark when the trained bands, with the parliamentary regiments then recruited advanced again to Brentford, and the royalists fell back to the king's quarters at Hounslow. Skippon, the general of the city trained bands, came out with his well-disciplined shopkeepers and apprentices; talking now with one company, now with another, and calling them about him to make that famous oration which is more telling than all the rhetoric of Livy's Romans. "Come, my boys, my brave boys, let us pray heartily and fight heartily. I will run the same fortunes and hazards with you. Remember the cause is for God, and for defence of yourselves, your wives, and children. Come, my honest brave boys, pray heartily and fight heartily, and God will bless us." Twenty-four thousand of the parliamentary army were marshalled on that Sunday on Turnham Green.

Pacific counsels again prevailed. Hampden was recalled, when, in pursuance of a settled plan of attack, he was about to march by Acton and Osterley Park to take the royal army in the rear. Essex remained inactive, instead of advancing to Hounslow as had been agreed. The war, according to some writers, might have been brought to a conclusion in one day of certain triumph if the irresolution of Essex had yielded to the counsels of bolder spirits. The men were not yet in the field who were resolved to make war in earnest, whatever might be the consequences. Essex was brave and skilful; but, like many other good men, he fought with reluctance against his countrymen and his familiar friends.

After the royal army had withdrawn from the neighbourhood of London, the citizens, who had seen war so close at their doors, began to talk more earnestly of peace. But the exertions of this moderate party produced a corresponding determination of "the pious and movement party" that the war should be carried on with renewed energy. The Guildhall was the scene of many an angry debate. At length, on the 2nd of January, a petition from the common council was carried to the king at Oxford, in which he was asked to return to the capital, when all disturbance should be suppressed. Charles replied, that they could not maintain tranquillity amongst themselves. Amidst an immense uproar, Pym and Lord Manchester addressed the multitude, and the prospect of peace faded from the people's view.

The eastern counties formed themselves into an "Association," in the

organisation of which Cromwell was the master-spirit. Under his vigorous direction, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, Herts, not only kept the war away from their own localities, but furnished the most efficient support to its vigorous conduct in other quarters. The counties of Lincoln and Huntingdon soon joined this eastern association, with the like results. In the seven associated counties the cavaliers were never of any importance. During the winter a partisan warfare was going on in many places. The most important incident of these minor contests was the death of Lord Brooke at Lichfield. The war, as it proceeded, gradually assumed a fiercer character. It became to some extent, a war of classes.

In the beginning of 1643, the national feeling was exasperated by the landing of the queen with a foreign army. During a year she had been indefatigable in making the most of the funds she had acquired by the sale of the crown jewels, to purchase arms and ammunition, and to raise men. On the 22nd of February she arrived with four ships, and landed at Burlington. Batten, the admiral of the parliament had failed in intercepting her convoy; but he adopted measures of greater vigour than generosity when he arrived two days after the queen and her men had disembarked. These proceedings are described in the following characteristic letter of Henrietta Maria to Charles:

"One of the ships had done me the favour to flank my house, which fronted the pier, and before I could get out of bed, the balls were whistling upon me in such style that you may easily believe I loved not such music. Everybody came to force me to go out, the balls beating so on all the houses, that, dressed just as it happened, I went on foot to some distance from the village, to the shelter of a ditch, like those at Newmarket; but before we could reach it, the balls were singing round us in fine style, and a serjeant was killed twenty paces from me. We placed ourselves then under this shelter, during two hours that they were firing upon us, and the balls passing always over our heads, and sometimes covering us with dust. At last the admiral of Holland sent to tell them, that if they did not cease, he would fire upon them as enemies; that was done a little late, but he excuses himself on account of a fog he says there was. On this they stopped, and the tide went down, so that there was not water enough for them to stay where they were."

The earl of Newcastle, who came to escort the queen to York, had been authorised by the king to raise men for his service, "without examining their consciences"; and thus his army was styled by the parliament "the queen's army," and "the Catholic army." The prejudice against foreigners and Romanists thus came into renewed activity. To Oxford came commissioners from the parliament, towards the end of March, authorised to negotiate a suspension of arms, and a treaty of peace. Charles displayed his usual vacillation. He made concessions one day, and revoked them another. The parliament peremptorily recalled its commissioners. The battle must be fought out.

We have mentioned that during the Civil War the judges went their usual circuits. In the spring of 1643 this local administration of justice was temporarily suspended. The two houses of parliament, embarrassed by the king's possession of the great seal, ordered that the session of oyer and terminer should not be proceeded with "until it shall please God to end these distractions between the king and people." Charles issued a proclamation, commanding that the Eastern term should be held at Oxford instead of Westminster. The judges were ordered there to attend the king. Had this state of things continued, a greater evil would have ensued than the bloodshed and

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plunder of the war. But, by what was a practical compromise for the remedy of an enormous social mischief — one that might have led to a general insecurity of life and property — the parliament resolved to establish a great seal: and under this authority, and that of the king, judges executed their functions as usual, after a suspension of a few months.

During these unhappy times England was in a great degree exempt from crimes of violence, except those committed under the pretence of martial necessity. No bands of plunderers infested the country; no lawless and ferocious spirits who, as many passages of the histories of other countries record, considering a time of public commotion as their opportunity, held the peaceful in terror. England was safe from those massacres and spoliations which characterise a nation when the reins of just government are loosened. This immeasurable blessing she owed to her ancient civil organisation, and to that respect for law which has made the constable's staff the efficient representative of the sovereign's sceptre.



Monk Bar, Part of Old Town Wall of York

The repose of Oxford was soon broken up by new military enterprises. The suspension of arms contemplated in the negotiations which commenced at the end of March, were, on the 15th of April, declared by the parliament to be at an end. On that day Essex marched his army to the siege of Reading. The king himself, on the 24th of April, set out from Oxford to head a force for the relief of the besieged. The army which he led was numerous and well appointed. At Caversham Bridge the royalist forces were repulsed by those of the parliament, and fell back upon Wallingford. That day Reading was surrendered to Essex. The cavaliers were indignant that the commander of the garrison had not longer held out; and he was tried, and sentenced to death. The king reprieved him. Hampden, who had taken an active part in the siege of Reading, now urged Essex to follow up their success by an attack upon Oxford. The bold counsels were overruled. The parliamentary commander gradually became distrusted by his party. His honour and his capacity were unquestionable; but he was too inclined to forego present good in the contemplation of uncertain evils.

Meanwhile, the war was proceeding with doubtful fortune in other quarters. Sir William Waller was successful against the royalists in the south and west. Fairfax was disputing with Lord Newcastle the supremacy of the north. The Cornish men, in arms for the king, had gained a battle over Lord Stamford. What could not be accomplished in the open field by the

cavaliers was sought to be effected by a secret plot. The lady Aubigny had received a permission from the parliament, with a pass, to proceed to Oxford to transact some business arising out of the death of her husband, who was killed at Edgehill. On her return to London she was commissioned by the king to convey a box thither, with great care and secrecy. His majesty told her "it much concerned his own service." On the 31st of May, the members of the two houses were listening to a sermon in St. Margaret's church, when a note was delivered to Pym. He hastily left.

That night Edmund Waller, once famous as a poet, but whose "smooth" verse we now little regard, was arrested. His brother-in-law, Tomkins, Challoner (a citizen), and other persons, were also taken into custody. Waller was a member of parliament, and had been at Oxford, in March, with the commissioners There was unquestionably a plot to arm the royalists in London, to seize the persons of the parliamentary leaders, and to bring the king's troops into the capital. Waller, in a base spirit which contrasts with the conduct of most of the eminent of either party, made very abject confessions, with exaggerated denunciations of others, to save his own life. The parliament behaved with honourable moderation. Five persons were condemned by court-martial: two, Challoner and Tomkins, were executed. Waller was reserved, to exhibit in his literary character a subserviency to power which has fortunately ceased to be an attribute of poets — to eulogise the happy restoration of Charles II, as he had eulogised the sovereign attributes of the protector Cromwell. "He had much ado to save his life," says Aubrey,[l] "and in order to do it sold his estate in Bedfordshire, about 1300*l.* per annum, to Dr. Wright, for 10,000*l.* (much under value), which was procured in twenty-four hours' time, or else he had been hanged. With this money he bribed the house, which was the first time a house of commons was ever bribed."

Important events succeeded each other rapidly during this summer. Rupert's trumpet sounded to horse in Oxford streets on the 17th of June. After the occupation of Reading, the troops of Essex were distributed in cantonments about Thame and Wycombe. Rupert dashed in amongst the small towns and villages where these troops were quartered. Hampden had been visiting the scattered pickets, and urging upon Essex a greater concentration of his forces. On the morning of the 19th the prince was with a large force at Chalgrove Field, near Thame. Hampden, with a small detachment, attacked the cavaliers; expecting the main body of the parliamentary army soon to come up with reinforcements. The man who had triumphed in so many civil victories fell in this skirmish. On the first charge he was shot in the shoulder. The parliamentary troops were completely routed before Essex came up. The troops of Rupert were in the plain between the battle field and Thame, where the wounded Hampden desired to go for help. A brook crossed the grounds through which he must pass. By a sudden exercise of the old spirit of the sportsman he cleared the leap, and reached Thame; there to die, after six days of agony. "O Lord, save my bleeding country," were his last words.[g]

Macaulay's Estimate of Hampden

The public life of Hampden is surrounded by no obscurity. His history more particularly from the year 1640 to his death, is the history of England. The celebrated Puritan leader is an almost solitary instance of a great man who neither sought nor shunned greatness, who found glory only because glory lay in the plain path of duty. During more than forty years he was known

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to his country neighbours as a gentleman of cultivated mind, of high principles, of polished address, happy in his family, and active in the discharge of local duties; and to political men, as an honest, industrious, and sensible member of parliament, not eager to display his talents, stanch to his party, and attentive to the interests of his constituents. A great and terrible crisis came. A direct attack was made by an arbitrary government on a sacred right of Englishmen, on a right which was the chief security for all their other rights. The nation looked round for a defender. Calmly and unostentatiously the plain Buckinghamshire esquire placed himself at the head of his countrymen, and right before the face and across the path of tyranny.

The times grew darker and more troubled. Public service, perilous, arduous, delicate, was required; and to every service the intellect and the courage of this wonderful man were found fully equal. He became a debater of the first order, a most dexterous manager of the house of commons, a negotiator, a soldier. He showed himself as competent to direct a campaign as to conduct the business of the petty sessions. We can scarcely express the admiration which we feel for a mind so great, and, at the same time, so healthful and so well proportioned, so willingly contracting itself to the humblest duties, so easily expanding itself to the highest, so contented in repose, so powerful in action. Almost every part of this virtuous and blameless life which is not hidden from us in modest privacy is a precious and splendid portion of our national history.

His enemies have allowed that he was a man in whom virtue showed itself in its mildest and least austere form. With the morals of a Puritan, he had the manners of an accomplished courtier.

He had indeed left none his like behind him. There still remained, indeed, in his party, many acute intellects, many eloquent tongues, many brave and honest hearts. There still remained a rugged and clownish soldier, half fanatic, half buffoon, whose talents, discerned as yet only by one penetrating eye, were equal to all the highest duties of the soldier and the prince. But in Hampden, and in Hampden alone, were united all the qualities which, at such a crisis, were necessary to save the state, the valour and energy of Cromwell, the discernment and eloquence of Vane, the humanity and moderation of Manchester, the stern integrity of Hale, the ardent public spirit of Sidney. Others might possess the qualities which were necessary to save the popular party in the crisis of danger; he alone had both the power and the inclination to restrain its excesses in the hour of triumph. Others could conquer; he alone could reconcile. A heart as bold as his brought up the cuirassiers who turned the tide of battle on Marston Moor. As skilful an eye as his watched the Scotch army descending from the heights over Dunbar. But it was when to the sullen tyranny of Laud and Charles had succeeded the fierce conflict of sects and factions, ambitious of ascendency and burning for revenge, it was when the vices and ignorance which the old tyranny had generated threatened the new freedom with destruction, that England missed the sobriety, the self-command, the perfect soundness of judgment, the perfect rectitude of intention, to which the history of revolutions furnishes no parallel, or furnishes a parallel in Washington alone.[m]

GLOUCESTER AND NEWBURY

Four months had elapsed between the landing of the queen in England and her return to her royal husband. [Meanwhile, parliament had impeached her of high treason "for assisting her husband with arms."] She was a bold

and determined woman, who aspired to direct councils and to lead armies. On the 27th of May she writes to the king from York, "I shall stay to besiege Leeds at once, although I am dying to join you; but I am so enraged to go away without having beaten these rascals, that, if you will permit me, I will do that, and then will go to join you; and if I go away I am afraid that they would not be beaten." She had her favourites, especially Jermyn and Digby, whose advancement she was constantly urging. The scandalous chroniclers of the time did not hesitate in casting the most degrading suspicions upon the queen in connection with one of these. Jermyn was made a peer.

On the 11th of July the queen entered Stratford-on-Avon, at the head of four thousand horse and foot soldiers. She slept at the house in which Shakespeare lived and died — then in the possession of his daughter, Mrs. Hall. On the 13th she met Charles where his first battle had been fought, and from Keinton they proceeded to Oxford. The tidings of a victory on the 15th over the parliamentary forces at Roundway Down in Wiltshire greeted their arrival. A previous victory over Sir William Waller at Lansdown, in Somersetshire, filled the royalists with the most sanguine hopes. Such partial successes on the other side as the brave defence of Nottingham Castle by Colonel Hutchinson had no material influence upon the state of affairs.

In the summer of 1643 the power of the parliament is visibly in danger. On the 27th of July, Bristol, a city only exceeded by London in population and wealth, is surrendered to Rupert, after an assault, with terrible slaughter on both sides. A design of Sir John Hotham to surrender Hull to the king was detected. He and his son were committed to the Tower on a charge of betraying the cause of the parliament. London was in a state of unusual agitation. The lords came to resolutions, upon a proposal of peace, of a far more moderate character than had previously been determined on. There was a conference between the two houses, in which the upper house urged that "these unnatural dissensions" would destroy all the former blessings of peace and abundance. The commons, by a majority of nineteen, decided that the proposals of the lords should be considered.

The city was in an uproar. A petition from the common-council called for the rejection of the proposals. Multitudes surrounded the houses to enforce the same demand. The proposals were now rejected by a majority of seven. An attempt was then made to enforce the demand for peace by popular clamour. Bands of women, with men in women's clothes, beset the doors of the house of commons, crying out, "Give us up the traitors who are against peace. We'll tear them in pieces. Give us up that rascal Pym." The military forced them away; but they refused to disperse. They were at last fired upon, and two were killed.

Many peers now left parliament and joined the king at Oxford, amongst whom was Lord Holland. Those who remained, peers or commoners, saw that the greatest danger was in their own dissensions. The royalist army was growing stronger in every quarter. London was again in peril.

Had there been unanimity in the councils of the king at this period of dissensions in London amongst the people; with the two houses divided amonst themselves; men of influence deserting the parliamentary cause; no man yet at the head of the parliamentary forces who appeared capable of striking a great blow, — it is probable that if he had marched upon the capital the war would have been at an end. There would have been peace — and a military despotism. Charles sent Sir Philip Warwick to the earl of Newcastle to propose a plan of co-operation between the armies of the south and north. "But

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I found him very averse to this," Warwick[k] writes, "and perceived that he apprehended nothing more than to be joined to the king's army, or to serve under Prince Rupert; for he designed himself to be the man that should turn the scale, and to be a self-subsisting and distinct army, wherever he was." With this serious difficulty in concentrating his forces Charles determined upon besieging Gloucester. The garrison consisted of fifteen hundred men, under Edward Massey, the parliamentary governor. The inhabitants were under five thousand.

The people of Gloucester immediately set fire to all the houses outside the walls. From the 10th of August till the 6th of September these resolute people defended their city with a resolution and bravery unsurpassed in this warfare. All differences having been reconciled in London, the earl of Essex took the command of a force destined for the relief of "the godly city." At the head of fourteen thousand men he set out from London on the 24th of August. On the 5th of September he had arrived by forced marches within five miles of Gloucester. The king sent a messenger to him with pacific proposals. The answer was returned in a spirit of sturdy heroism: "The parliament gave me no commission to treat, but to relieve Gloucester; I will do it, or leave my body beneath its walls." The soldiers shouted, "No propositions." Gloucester was relieved. From the Prestbury hills Essex saw the flames of burning huts rising from the king's quarter. The royal army had moved away. On the 8th the parliamentary general entered the beleaguered city, bearing provisions to the famished people, and bestowing the due meed of honour upon their courage and constancy. On the 10th he was on his march back to London.



INTERIOR OF THE BOWYER TOWER.

Of the army of fourteen thousand men which marched to the relief of Gloucester, four regiments were of the London militia. These regiments were mainly composed of artisans and apprentices. At Prestbury they had to fight their way through Rupert's squadrons and to try how pikemen could stand up against a charge of horse. In less than a fortnight their prowess was to be proved in a pitched battle field. Charles and his army were lying round Sudeley Castle to the north-east of Gloucester. Essex marched to the south. In Cirencester which he surprised he found valuable stores for his men. The king's army moved in the same direction. Essex had passed Farringdon and was rapidly advancing upon Newbury on his road to Reading

when his scattered horse were attacked by Rupert and his cavaliers. There was a sharp conflict for several hours and Essex was compelled to halt at Hungerford.

When Essex came near to Newbury on the 19th of September, he found the royal army in possession of the town. The king had come there two hours before him. Essex was without shelter, without provisions. The road to London was barred against him. He "must make his way through or starve." On the morning of the 20th, the outposts of each force became engaged, and the battle was soon general. It was fought all day "with great fierceness and courage"; the cavaliers charging "with a kind of contempt of the enemy"; and the roundheads making the cavaliers understand that a year of discipline had taught them some of the best lessons of warfare. "The London trained bands and auxiliary regiments (of whose inexperience of danger, or any kind of service, beyond the easy practise of their postures in the Artillery Garden, men had till then too cheap an estimation), behaved themselves to wonder; and were, in truth, the preservation of that army that day," says Clarendon; "for they stood as a bulwark and rampire to defend the rest; and, when their wings of horse were scattered and dispersed, kept their ground so steadily, that, though Prince Rupert himself led up the choice horse to charge them, and endured their storm of small shot, he could make no impression upon their stand of pikes, but was forced to wheel about." The men of London, taken from the loom and the anvil, from the shops of Ludgate or the wharfs of Billingsgate, stood like a wall, as such men have since stood in many a charge of foreign enemies. On the night of the battle of Newbury, each army remained in the position it had occupied before that day of carnage. The loss of royalists of rank was more than usually great. Three noblemen fell, for whom there was lamentation beyond the ranks of their party — Lord Carnarvon, Lord Sunderland, and Lord Falkland.

Falkland, especially, still lives in memory, as one of the noblest and purest — the true English gentleman in heart and intellect. What is called his apostasy has been bitterly denounced, and not less intemperately justified, by historical partisans. Arnold,[n] whose intellect was as clear as his feelings were ardent in the cause of just liberty, has thus written of Falkland: "A man who leaves the popular cause when it is triumphant, and joins the party opposed to it, without really changing his principles and becoming a renegade, is one of the noblest characters in history. He may not have the clearest judgment or the firmest wisdom; he may have been mistaken, but as far as he is concerned personally, we cannot but admire him. But such a man changes his party not to conquer but to die. He does not allow the caresses of his new friends to make him forget, that he is a sojourner with them and not a citizen. His old friends may have used him ill, they may be dealing unjustly and cruelly; still their faults, though they may have driven him into exile, cannot banish from his mind the consciousness that with them is his true home, that their cause is habitually just and habitually the weaker, although now bewildered and led astray by an unwonted gleam of success. He protests so strongly against their evil that he chooses to die by their hands rather than in their company; but die he must, for there is no place left on earth where his sympathies can breathe freely; he is obliged to leave the country of his affections, and life elsewhere is intolerable. This man is no renegade, no apostate, but the purest of martyrs: for what testimony to truth can be so pure as that which is given uncheered by any sympathy; given not against enemies amidst applauding friends; but against friends, amidst unpitying or half-rejoicing enemies. And such a martyr was Falkland!"

It was not Falkland's duty to be in this battle. He was urged to stay away. "No," he said, "I am weary of the times; I foresee much misery to my country, but I believe I shall be out of it before night." Clarendon[a] tells us why his life had become a burthen to Falkland: "From the entrance into this unnatural war, his natural cheerfulness and vivacity grew clouded, and a kind of sadness and dejection of spirit stole upon him, which he had never been used to. When there was any overture or hope of peace, he would be more erect and vigorous, and exceedingly solicitous to press anything which he thought might promote it; and, sitting among his friends, often, after a deep silence and frequent sighs, would, with a shrill and sad accent, ingeminate the word Peace, Peace; and would passionately profess, 'that the very agony of the war, and the view of the calamities and desolation the kingdom did and must endure, took his sleep from him, and would shortly break his heart.'"

The relief of Gloucester and the battle of Newbury were fatal to many of the sanguine hopes of a speedy victory over disunited rebels which the royalists up to this time had entertained. They had seen how the despised trained bands had been disciplined into good soldiers. They had seen how such men as held the "godly city of Gloucester" for a whole month against the best troops of the king would die rather than surrender. There was a fatal concurrence of events to render it certain that although the queen was bestowing places upon her favourite courtiers the real power of the monarchy was fading away. The royalists called the battle of Newbury "a very great victory." Before this issue had been tried the parliament had appointed commissioners to negotiate a treaty of alliance with the Scots; for the parliament felt weak and dispirited.[1]

THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT WITH SCOTLAND

Sir Henry Vane, the chief negotiator, had acceded to the imperative demand of the Scots parliament that the religious system of Scotland should be adopted as that of England. Vane, who was an Independent, and a supporter of toleration, contrived, after great debate, to satisfy the zealous Presbyterians, who proposed "a covenant." Vane stipulated for a "solemn league and covenant." This obligation was to be taken by both nations. The Scots proposed a clause "for the preservation of the king's person." Vane added, "in preservation of the laws of the land and liberty of the subject." To the clause for "reducing the doctrine and discipline of both churches to the pattern of the best reformed," Vane added "according to the word of God."[2] This solemn league and covenant was to bind those who subscribed to it, "to endeavour, without respect of persons, the extirpation of popery and prelacy."

On the 25th of September, all the members of parliament, assembled in St. Margaret's church, swore to maintain "the solemn league and covenant." The oath was signed by two hundred and twenty-eight members of the commons. It was adopted in the city with enthusiastic demonstrations of religious fervour. On the next day Essex was received in London with a warmth that

[1 "The parliament," says May,[c] the historian, "was now in a low ebb; they had no forces at all to keep the field, their main armies being quite ruined, and no hope in appearance left, but to preserve awhile those forts and towns which they then possessed; nor could they long hope to preserve them, unless the fortune of the field should change."]

[2 As Gardiner[b] notes, Vane, who was eager for religious liberty, slipped in these words which the Scots could not reject, but which afterward enabled every Englishman to deny any distasteful part of the creed as not "according to the word of God." Gardiner emphasises the distinction between this Solemn League and Covenant and the covenant solely of the Scots in 1638.]

may have consoled him for some previous complaints of his want of energy, and for annoyances which he had received in his command. The lords and commons gave him an assurance of their confidence: and he remained the general-in-chief, without the divided powers which had created a jealousy between himself and Sir William Waller.

GROWING IMPORTANCE OF CROMWELL

Whilst the members of parliament in London are lifting up their hands in reverent appeal to Heaven as they accept the covenant, and the people are shouting around the earl of Essex as the banners are displayed which he won in the Newbury fight, there is one man, fast growing into one of the most notable of men, who is raising troops, marching hither and thither, fighting whenever blows are needful—work which demands more instant attention than the ceremony of St. Margaret's church. In the early stages of his wonderful history nothing is more interesting than to trace the steps of this man, now Colonel Cromwell. Whatever he says or does has some marks of the vigour of his character — so original, so essentially different in its manifestations from the customary displays of public men. In Cromwell's speeches and writings we must not look for the smooth and equable movement of common diplomatists and orators. His grand earnestness makes the artifices of rhetoric appear petty by comparison. The fluency of the scholarly writer is weak by the side of his homely phrases. He is urging some great friends in Suffolk to raise recruits, and choose captains of horse: "A few honest men are better than numbers. * * * * I had rather have a plain russet-coated captain, who knows what he fights for, and loves what he knows, than that which you call 'a gentleman,' and is nothing else. I honour a gentleman that is so indeed."

In this spirit Cromwell is forming his "ironsides," and at this period is heading them in the earliest of those famous charges which determined so many battles. On the 10th of October, in the skirmish of Winceby, near Horncastle, his career is well nigh ended. His horse was killed at the first charge; and as he rose, he was knocked down by Sir Ingram Hopton, who led the royalists. He seized another horse, and the enemy was routed. Denzil Holles,[p] in his memoirs, more than insinuates doubts of Cromwell's personal courage. He calls him "as errand a coward, as he is notoriously perfidious, ambitious, and hypocritical"; and states, of his own knowledge, that he basely "kept out of the field at Keinton battle, where he, with his troop of horse, came not in, impudently and ridiculously affirming, the day after, that he had been all that day seeking the army and place of fight, though his quarters were but at a village near hand." We must receive this testimony for what it is worth, as coming from one who had become a bitter enemy of Cromwell, as the leader of the Independents. For the ambition of such a man as Cromwell, whether as a soldier or a politician, there was now ample room. His religious party was fast rising into importance. The secretaries of all denominations eagerly gathered under the standard of a leader who insisted that his men should be religious, but he left the particular form of religion to their own choice. The religious principle of the Civil War thus became more and more prominent, when enthusiasts of every denomination regarded it as a struggle for the right of private judgment in matters of faith, and despised every authority but that of the Bible.

Such a leader as Cromwell had tougher materials to conquer with than

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Hampden, with his green-coated hunters of the Chilterns. He had themes to discourse upon in his oratory, so forcible, however, regardless of proem and peroration, which, far more than Pym's eloquent declamation, stirred the hearts of a parliament that had come to consider "the power of godliness" to be a higher cause than "the liberties of the kingdoms." Cromwell's opportunity was come. The man who had destroyed arbitrary taxation, and the man who had sent the counsellor of a military despotism to the block, were no more.

The year 1643 was memorable for the deaths of three of the greatest of the early patriots of the Long Parliament — Hampden, Falkland, and Pym. We have seen how two of the illustrious three died on the battle-field. Pym died on the 8th of December, having sunk under a lingering illness. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, his body being carried to its resting place on the shoulders of ten of the leading speakers and influential members of the house of commons.[g]

Clarendon[f] called Pym "the most popular man that ever lived." Parliament voted £10,000 to pay his debts. He had neglected his own affairs in the service of the country.[a]

Gardiner's Estimate of Pym

Peace may be made in two ways, by one side capitulating to the other, or by the discovery of a compromise which may give effect to the better aims of both sides. Pym was resolutely set against a capitulation, and he did not rise to the height of a mediator. His adversaries of the peace party, led by Holles and Maynard, had as little idea of a compromise as he had, and they were foolish enough to suppose it possible to obtain the assent of Charles and his supporters to the establishment of a Puritan church. Pym's policy was at least coherent with itself. In 1621, on his first prominent appearance in political life, he had advocated the formation of an association against popery. The protestation of 1641 was an attempt to carry this plan into practice and to make it at the same time available against royalist intrigues. The parliamentary covenant promulgated after the discovery of Waller's plot in June 1643 was an enlargement of the same project, and the solemn league and covenant in September, 1643, embraced the three kingdoms.

As long as he lived Pym was the soul of the parliamentary resistance to the king, but it is in the covenants and associations which he brought into existence that his permanent contribution to English political development is to be found. Eliot hoped to rally parliament and the constituencies as a whole to the cause which he maintained to be just. Strafford hoped to rouse the devotion of the nation as a whole to the king whose crown was supported by his own masterful intellect. Pym was the founder of party government in England. He recognised from the first that there were differences of religious opinions amongst his fellow-countrymen, and he hoped to rally round a common purpose those who on the whole felt as he did himself, with such liberty of opinion as was possible under such conditions. If the enterprise failed it was partly because he was assailed by intrigue as well as by fair opposition, and in his fierce struggle against intrigue learned to cling to doctrines which were not sufficiently expansive for the government of a nation, partly because the limitations of government itself and the insufficiency of force to solve a complicated religious and political problem were in his time very imperfectly understood. At least Pym prepared the way for the immediate victory of his party by summoning the Scots and by the financial measures which made the

campaigns of 1644 and 1645 possible. He did not, however, live to reap the harvest which was due to his efforts.[q]

RELIGIOUS FANATICISM

The men who now came upon the scene as the chief actors were of a different stamp than these earlier tribunes of the people. Henceforward the war will assume a broader character and a fiercer aspect. The prospect of accommodation will grow more and more faint. The religious element will go forward into what all who look impartially upon these times must consider as relentless persecution by one dominant party, and wild fanaticism amongst sectaries not yet banded into a common purpose. The arbitrary imposition of the covenant upon every minister of the Anglican church was the first great result of the alliance with the Scots. The Presbyterian parliament of England became more violent for conformity than the court of high commission which the parliament had destroyed. The canons of Laud had fallen lightly upon men who were indifferent about the position of the altar, or the precise amount of genuflexions; but the imposition of the covenant upon all the beneficed clergy was the declaration of an intolerant tyranny against the most conscientious.

The number of incumbents ejected from their livings, for their refusal to sign this obligation, has been variously reckoned. According to Neal[r] the historian of the Puritans, it was sixteen hundred; according to Walker[s] an extreme high churchman, it reached eight thousand. The statement of Walker is evidently a gross exaggeration. The sixteen hundred of Neal was about a fifth of the benefices of England. Whatever was the number of ejected ministers, and however some might have been, as was alleged, of evil lives, the tyranny of this measure is most odious, as coming from men who had themselves struggled against religious persecution; as Hallam[t] says: "The remorseless and indiscriminate bigotry of Presbyterianism might boast that it had heaped disgrace on Walton, and driven Lydiat to beggary; that it trampled on the old age of Hales, and embittered with insult the dying moments of Chillingworth." Amongst the eminent public men who advocated the covenant as a political measure, there were some who abhorred it as an instrument of persecution. The younger Vane, the chief promoter of it, declared upon the scaffold, that "the holy ends therein contained I fully assent to, and have been as desirous to observe; but the rigid way of prosecuting it, and the oppressing uniformity that hath been endeavoured by it, I never approved."[g]

THE IRISH "CESSATION" AND THE SCOTCH INVASION

We have seen reasons for suspecting the king of authorising the rising of the Irish Catholics. These men had now settled down to a kind of independent state; Kilkenny was the seat of government, where a general assembly was held, and a supreme council appointed to act as an executive. Ambassadors were to be sent to the pope and to the great Catholic princes. The English and Scottish forces had, however, meantime been reinforced, and they had frequently beaten the rebels in the field, and recovered several towns and forts. Charles had under various pretexts detained the earl of Leicester in England, that the earl (now marquis) of Ormonde, who was a zealous royalist, might have the authority in Ireland. The parliament, always jealous of the king's proceedings in that country, had sent over two of their members to watch matters there; but Ormonde after some time sent them back, and

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he removed Parsons, and even committed him, Sir John Temple, and two other officers of state, to prison. The parliament, now with the tide of war rather running against them, viewed Ireland as of minor importance, and the Catholics had a fair prospect of becoming complete masters of the island; but they were composed of two parties, differing in origin though agreeing in religion, and those of the English blood did not wish to cast off their allegiance. Moreover, they knew the power of England, and saw clearly that if the parliament should conquer the king, a fearful vengeance would be taken for the atrocities that had been committed.

The proposals of Ormonde for a cessation of arms during a twelvemonth, though opposed by the mere Irish, were therefore listened to, and on the 15th of September (just four days before the battle of Newbury) the cessation was signed, the Irish agreeing to give the king 30,000*l.*, half in money, half in cattle. In the following November Charles appointed Ormonde lord-lieutenant, and directed him to send over the regiments that were serving in Ireland. The intelligence of the cessation did injury to the cause of the king in England, for many deserted his party on account of it. In the king's defence it may be said, that he only followed the example of the parliament, who had sent to invite the Scots. But there was a wide difference between the Scots and the sanguinary bands whom Charles was willing to bring over from Ireland[1] to aid in restoring his despotism.[a]

The year 1644 opened with great events. On the 19th of January the Scottish army entered England. They marched from Dunbar, "in a great frost and snow"—"up to the knees in snow," say the narratives. Leslie, now earl of Leven, commanded them. The marquis of Newcastle was not strong enough long to oppose them. He had given up his attempt to take Hull, and was in winter-quarters at York. Leslie's army marched on to Newcastle, which they summoned to surrender. The governor and garrison were faithful to their trust. The Scots were straitened for provisions; and the royalist army of fourteen thousand men was intercepting their supplies. They determined to advance further into the heart of the country. At this juncture the English regiments that had been recalled by the king from Ireland, were besieging the parliamentary garrison at Nantwich. Sir Thomas Fairfax hurried to the relief of the place, and totally defeated this Anglo-Irish army, which was under the command of Sir John Byron. [They are said to have lost 500 killed and 1500 prisoners. Among these last was Colonel Monk, afterward famous.]

THE MONGREL PARLIAMENT AT OXFORD

Negotiation after negotiation between the king and the parliament having failed, and the appeal to the sword still remaining of doubtful issue, some strong measure was thought expedient to lower the character of the two houses sitting at Westminister. The king's notion was to issue a proclamation declaring the parliament to be dissolved; forbidding them to meet; and requiring all persons to reject their authority. Charles very unwillingly accepted Hyde's own counter-proposition. It was that of summoning the peers and commons that had adhered to the royal cause to meet him in parliament at Oxford. On the 22nd of December, 1643, the proclamation convoking this parliament was issued. On the 22nd of January, 1644, the parliament, or more truly convention, met at Oxford. A letter written from this assembly

[1 It is to be remembered, however, that these troops were not native Irishmen, but English soldiers hardened to the ruthless methods employed in Ireland.]

to the earl of Essex, expressing a desire for peace, was signed by forty-three peers, and one hundred and eighteen commoners. Others were absent on the king's service. In the same January, according to Whitelocke,[v] two hundred and eighty members appeared in the house of commons, besides those absent on the parliamentary services. A large majority of the commons were with the Westminster parliament; a large majority of peers with that of Oxford.

The measure might have been productive of advantage to the royal cause, had it not soon been manifest that the king and queen were impatient under any interference with the authority of royalty. This was more fatal than the absolute refusal of the parliament at Westminister to recognise "those persons now assembled at Oxford, who, contrary to their duty, have deserted your parliament," as they wrote to the king on the 9th of March. The parliament at Oxford continued to sit till the 16th of April, voting taxes and loans, passing resolutions of fidelity, but irritating the king in their refusal to be mere instruments for registering his edicts. But they produced no visible effect upon public opinion; and Charles congratulated the queen upon their being "freed from the place of all mutinous motions, his mongrel parliament," when he had willed its adjournment.

Whilst at Oxford the king's "mongrel parliament" only proved a hindrance to the vigorous prosecution of the war, the parliament at Westminster had adopted the rational course of strengthening their executive authority. A council was formed under the title of "The committee of the two kingdoms," consisting of seven lords, fourteen members of the commons, and four Scottish commissioners. The entire conduct of the war, the correspondence with foreign states, whatever belongs to the executive power as distinguished from the legislative, devolved upon this committee. In the spring of 1644 the parliament had five armies in the field, paid by general or local taxation, and by voluntary contributions. Including the Scottish army there were altogether 56,000 men under arms; the English forces being commanded, as separate armies, by Essex, Waller, Manchester, and Fairfax.[g]

In the west, the royal forces under Hopton had advanced as far as Arundel. Waller, who had about ten thousand men, was at Farnham, whence marching by night he surprised and cut to pieces a royal regiment at Alton, and then reduced Arundel (Jan. 6). The king having sent his general, the earl of Brentford, to reinforce Hopton, the two armies, about equal in number, engaged at Alresford (Mar. 29); the royalists were defeated with the loss of five hundred men, and Waller then took and plundered Winchester. Newark-upon-Trent, one of the strongest holds of the royalists, had been for some time besieged by the parliamentary forces. Prince Rupert, who was in Cheshire, having drawn together a good body of horse, prepared to relieve it. He marched with his usual rapidity, and came so unexpectedly on the besiegers (Mar. 22), that after a brief resistance they were glad to be allowed to depart, leaving their arms, ordnance, and ammunition. Lord Fairfax, being joined by his son Sir Thomas, engaged (April 11) at Selby, Colonel Bellasis, who commanded the royalists in Yorkshire, and routed him; Newcastle, who was at Durham, immediately fell back to York, where he was besieged by the Scots and the troops of Fairfax, to whose aid, some time after (June 3), came the troops of the eastern counties (fourteen thousand in number) under Lord Kimbolton, now earl of Manchester, and his lieutenant-general, Oliver Cromwell. Essex and Waller were at this time both gradually approaching Oxford with the intention of confining the king's forces to that city.[u]

The queen, who was in a situation that made the thought of remaining in

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a city exposed to siege very irksome, determined to go to a place of greater safety. She went to Exeter in April, and never saw Charles again. He remained shut up in Oxford. Its walls were surrounded by lines of defence; but the blockading forces had become so strong that resistance appeared to be hopeless. On the night of the 3rd of June the king secretly left the city and passed safely between the two hostile armies. There had been jealousies and disagreements between Essex and Waller. The committee of the two kingdoms had assigned to Waller the command of the army of the west, in the event of the separation of the two armies. Essex, supported by the council of war, resolved to march to the west himself. He was directed by the committee to retrace his steps, and go in pursuit of the king. Essex replied to the committee that their orders were opposed to military discipline; and he marched on. Waller, meanwhile, had gone in pursuit of the king into Worcestershire. Charles suddenly returned to Oxford; and then, defeated Waller who had hastened back to encounter him at Cropredy Bridge, near Banbury. Essex was before the walls of Exeter, in which city the queen had given birth to a princess. The king hastened to the west. He was strong enough to meet either of the parliamentary armies, thus separated.



PRINCE RUPERT
(1619–1682)

Meanwhile the north of England became the scene of the most momentous conflict that distracted England had yet beheld. The dashing enterprise of Rupert in the relief of Lathom House, so bravely held by Charlotte de la Trémouille, countess of Derby, became of small importance amidst the greater event that was to follow in the north. The moated house of the Stanleys had been defended by the heroic countess for eighteen weeks against a detachment of the army of Fairfax. Their artillery could produce little impression upon the thick walls and lofty towers; and the demand to submit herself, her children and followers to the mercy of parliament, produced from the lady, immortalised by history and romance, the reply, that "the mercies of the wicked are cruel." Rupert hung the walls of Lathom House with the parliamentary banners which he had captured in a fierce battle at Bolton; and he went on towards York to a fiercer strife and a perilous defeat. The combined English and Scottish armies were besieging York. Rupert received a letter from the king, containing these words: "I command and conjure you, by the duty and the affection which I know you bear me, that all new enterprises laid aside, you immediately march, according to your first intention, with all your force to the relief of York." He did march. Marston Moor saw the result.

MARSTON MOOR, LOSTWITHIEL, AND NEWBURY (1644 A.D.)

As Rupert advanced towards York with twenty thousand men, the allied English and Scots retired. Their councils were not unanimous. Some were for fighting, some for retreating, and at length they moved to Tadcaster. Rupert entered York with two thousand cavalry. The earl of Newcastle was in command there. He counselled a prudent delay. The impetuous Rupert said he had the orders of the king for his guidance, and he was resolved to fight. Newcastle was indignant with the prince but he left him to his own course. On the 2nd of July, having rested two days in and near York and enabled the city to be newly provisioned, the royalist army went forth to fight. They met their enemy on Marston Moor. The two armies looked upon each other for two hours, with scarcely a cannon-shot fired. Newcastle asked Rupert what office he was to take. He replied that the earl might repose, for he did not intend to begin the action till the morrow. Newcastle went to his carriage, and left the prince to his supremacy.

The sun was in the west on the July evening when the battle began.[1] The sun had scarcely set when the battle was finished; and there were four thousand one hundred and fifty bodies lying dead on that plain. The issue would have been more than doubtful, but for Cromwell, who for the first time had headed his Ironsides in a great pitched battle. The right wing of the parliamentary army was scattered. Rupert was chasing and slaying the Scottish cavalry. The centre of each army, each centre composed of infantry, were fighting with the sturdy resolution of Englishmen, whatever be the quarrel. The charges of Fairfax and Cromwell decided the day. The flight of the Scottish horse proclaimed that the victory of the cavaliers was complete; and a messenger who reached Oxford from Newark announced such news to the enraptured courtiers as made the gothic pinnacles red with bonfires. In another day or two the terrible truth was known.

The victory of the parliamentary armies was so complete,[2] that the earl of Newcastle had left York, and had embarked at Scarborough for the continent. [He said he could not bear the laughter of the court.] Rupert marched away also, with the wreck of his army, to Chester. Each had announced his determination to the other, as they gloomily entered York on the night of the battle. Fifteen hundred prisoners, all the artillery, more than a hundred banners, remained with the victors. And the men who had achieved this success were the despised Puritans; those who had been a laughing-stock for half a century. "We had all the evidence," writes Cromwell to his brother-in-law, Colonel Valentine Walton, "of an absolute victory obtained by the Lord's blessing upon the godly party principally. We never charged but we routed the enemy. The left wing, which I commanded, being our own horse, saving

[1 "Of this battle, the bloodiest of the whole war, I must leave the reader to imagine it in general the most enormous hurly-burly of fire and smoke, and steel-flashings, and death-tumult, ever seen in those regions: the end of which, about ten at night, was, 'Four thousand one hundred and fifty bodies to be buried, and total ruin to the king's affairs in those northern parts.' The armies were not completely drawn up till after five in the evening; there was a ditch between them; they stood facing one another, motionless, except the exchange of a few cannon-shots, for an hour and half. Newcastle thought there would be no fighting till the morrow, and had retired to his carriage for the night. There is some shadow of surmise that the stray cannon-shot, which proved fatal to Oliver's nephew, did also, rouse Oliver's humour to the charging point, bring on the general battle. 'The Prince of Plunderers,' invincible hitherto, here first tasted the steel of Oliver's Ironsides, and did not in the least like it. 'The Scots delivered their fire with such constancy and swiftness, it was as if the whole air had become an element of fire,' in the ancient summer gloaming there."—CARLYLE.*e*]

[2 According to Gardiner*w* Rupert and Newcastle were decidedly outnumbered by the parliamentary troops.]

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a few Scots in our rear, beat all the prince's horse. God made them as stubble to our swords."

The queen, sinking under a serious illness, unable to call back the high spirit which had made her so determined in her councils and her actions, now fled to France. Essex was approaching with his army towards Exeter. She asked a safe conduct from him to go to Bath or Bristol. He offered to wait upon her himself to London;[1] but he could not obey her desire to go to any other place without directions from the parliament. On the 9th of July she wrote a letter from Truro to bid her husband adieu. "I am hazarding my life that I may not incommode our affairs." She embarked from Falmouth on the 14th, and landed at Brest.

Soon after her departure the king's arms had a considerable success over Lord Essex at Lostwithiel, in Cornwall. The parliamentary party were in alarm. The army was indeed in a sad condition. Essex wrote in vain for assistance; in vain urged a diversion, to take off the pressure of the royalist army by which he was surrounded. By the latter end of August he was encompassed by the royalists. The greater part of his army desired to capitulate, though his cavalry had succeeded in passing the enemy's posts. Essex hastily left the camp to avoid that humiliation, leaving Skippon in command. The old campaigner proposed to his officers to follow the example of the cavalry, at all risks. But Charles offered honourable terms of capitulation, only requiring the surrender of the artillery, arms, and ammunition.

The army of Essex returned as fugitives to London, or dispersed through the country. He wrote from Plymouth an account of "the greatest blow that ever befel our party." His fidelity to the cause he had adopted not only saved him from reproach, but the parliament hastened to give him a new mark of their confidence. The king was resolved to march to London from the west. Montrose was in arms in Scotland, and had gained two battles. The time for a great blow was thought to have arrived. Three armies under Essex, Manchester, and Waller were called out for the defence of the capital.

Essex, though retaining his authority, did not join the troops which fought the second battle of Newbury on the 27th of October. Manchester was there in command. This battle was hotly contested without any decisive results. The king withdrew to Oxford, renewing his project of advancing to London. The serious differences between the Presbyterians and the Independents were brought to an issue by this second battle of Newbury. There were no rejoicings in the city that the king had been checked in his approach. There was gloom and dissatisfaction amongst the people, which was evidently encouraged by men of bolder resolves than those who had the conduct of military affairs.[g]

After the battle of Newbury, when the king retired, Waller's cavalry pursued until a twice repeated order from Manchester brought him up. Waller and Cromwell begged Manchester to bring up his infantry, but he felt the risk too great. He preferred to pause and capture Donnington Castle. The attack was repulsed and shortly after the king relieved the castle, and got away safely again. This weak conclusion due to Manchester's hesitating policy embittered Cromwell against him.[a]

[[1] The queen, who had lain-in on the 16th of June, sent about the end of the month to Essex for a safe conduct to go to Bath for her health. He replied that he could not without the direction of parliament, but that he would not only give her a safe conduct, but accompany her himself to London — where she was impeached! "It is painful," says Godwin[x] "to see the effect of civil broils as displayed in such instances as this; and we cannot but wonder at this style of reply from a commander so noted for good-breeding and a generous disposition as Essex, in which the brutality of the thought is only exceeded by the ironical language in which it was conveyed." — KEIGHTLEY.[4]]

PARLIAMENTARY RIGOUR

There was nothing in which the sufferings caused by a state of revolution were more evident than in the finances, and the parliament went, in this respect, far beyond everything that the king had formerly ventured. Clarendon *f* therefore exclaims, "Before the war, two subsidies, £150,000, were said to be an enormous sum; now £1,742,936 have been imposed." So early as November, 1642, the parliament demanded a payment of the twentieth part of the value of estates. The persons appointed to levy this tax were authorised by the law to value, to break open chests and trunks, to take away and sell, to imprison those who refused payment so long as they thought proper, and remove their families from London and vicinity. However, as notwithstanding such rigorous measures, this mode of direct taxation did not produce enough, heavy taxes on consumption were imposed in May 1643, and gradually extended and augmented on beer, wine, brandy, cider, tobacco, sugar, meat, salt, saffron, starch, alum, hops, drugs, paper, leather, glass, silks, etc.[1] At the same time interest at eight per cent. was given upon loans, the estates of many Catholics and bishops were sold, and the property of all clergymen who opposed the new laws of the church was sequestrated. Lastly, every one who had directly or indirectly assisted the royalists, carried on their business for them, received them into their houses, or gone to theirs, was branded with the name of delinquent, and by way of punishment compelled to pay the value of two years of his income.

Several pamphlets in favor of the king, did not fail to produce an effect, so that the parliament, finding that the liberty of the press was disadvantageous to it, passed laws instituting a rigid censorship, caused warehouses to be searched, presses to be broken to pieces, printers, sellers, and bookbinders to be imprisoned. In a similar manner, Montagu was expelled from the house of commons, and imprisoned because he would not take an oath to live and die with the earl of Essex; for it appeared to the house (according to the journals) to be a great crime that a member would not be guided by the declarations of others, but by his own judgment, whereby it was assumed that the conviction of everybody must agree with that of the parliament. This, however, was so far from being the case, that many secret associations against it, for instance, that of Waller, were discovered, which led to punishments and new oaths. Nay, the two Hothams, father and son, who had before so greatly insulted the king, had been induced, by repentance or ambition, to enter into negotiations with him, as we have seen, for which they had been arrested, and, in the sequel, were executed.*g*

THE SELF-DENYING ORDINANCE AND THE NEW MODEL

The late successes of the king were attributed to the want of harmony among the parliamentary generals. Waller had been from the first a rival of Essex, and Manchester and Cromwell, his second in command, had opposite views and feelings. The religious differences of Presbyterian and Independent had now extended to the army also; Cromwell was at the head of the latter party, Manchester and Waller belonged to the former, while Essex preferred the Episcopalian church. Further, both he and Manchester wished to preserve the constitution in the state, while Cromwell desired a republic. It was therefore suspected, and not without reason, that neither of these noblemen

[1] "With the fifth part of what was afterwards raised by taxation," says Clarendon, "the king and the state would have been saved."

[1644 A.D.]

was inclined to weaken the king too much. The affair of Donnington Castle brought the parties who had been for some time menacing each other to issue. Cromwell, when called on in the house of commons to state what he knew of it, accused Manchester of an averseness to ending the war by the sword, and of thinking that the king was now low enough for a peace to be made.

Next day Manchester took notice of this in the lords, and at his desire a day being fixed for the purpose, he gave his account of the Donnington affair, laying the chief blame on Cromwell. He also stated some speeches of Cromwell, proving him to be hostile to the peerage, and to the amity between England and Scotland; such as his saying that it would never be well with England till the earl of Manchester were plain Mr. Montagu, that the Scots had crossed the Tweed only to establish presbytery, and that in that cause he would as soon fight against them as the king. He added, that it was Cromwell's design to form an army of sectaries who might dictate to both king and parliament. The commons appointed a committee to inquire if this accusation of one of their members in the other house were not a breach of privilege. Meantime some of the Presbyterian party and the Scottish commissioners met at Essex House, and sending for the two lawyers Whitelocke and Maynard, took their opinion on the subject of accusing Cromwell as an incendiary between the two nations. The lawyers, however, being of opinion that the evidence was not sufficient, the plan was abandoned.

On the 9th of December the commons resolved themselves into a committee to consider the condition of the kingdom with regard to the war. After a long silence Cromwell rose and recommended that instead of an inquiry they should devise some general remedy of the evils. The next speaker said that the fault lay in the commands being divided. A third proposed that no member of either house should hold any civil or military command during the war. This was supported by Vane and opposed by Whitelocke, Holles, and others. An ordinance to this effect, however, passed the commons (21st), a vain attempt having been made to have the earl of Essex excepted. In the lords it met with much opposition; for, as they justly objected, it would exclude their entire order from all offices of trust and honour. They accordingly rejected it (Jan. 13, 1645).

Another project which was going on at the same time, was the "new model" of the army. On the 21st the names of the principal officers of it were put to the vote in the commons. Sir Thomas Fairfax was named commander-in-chief, Skippon major-general; twenty-four colonels were appointed, but nothing was said as to the post of lieutenant-general. The lords passed the ordinance[1] for the new model (Feb. 15); and an ordinance similar to the one they had rejected, but only requiring members to lay down the offices which they held, and being silent as to their reappointment, was sent up to them. This "Self-Denying Ordinance" was passed on the 3rd of April, Essex, Manchester and Denbigh having laid down their commands the day before.[a] While one party extolled this law as highly necessary and wise, as a most noble action, nay, as an unexampled and wonderful event, a second party declared that it was the most rash, dangerous, and unjust resolution that any parliament had ever passed.

RELIGIOUS BIGOTRIES AND LAUD'S EXECUTION (1645 A.D.)

As by Charles' giving up the right to dissolve it, all the power must fall into its hands, the parliament by the Self-Denying Ordinance in truth sacri-

[1 The word "ordinance" though it had been used in mediæval times of a royal edict without parliamentary assent, was now employed for a parliamentary act without royal assent.]

ficed itself, and created in the army a power which would be the greater and more independent, because Fairfax and Cromwell obtained the right of directing the levies of recruits, and of appointing all the officers, even the colonels. For the confirmation of everything done by them, which the parliament had reserved to itself, soon became a mere formality. This remarkable turn and change, with respect to the temporal power and predominance, cannot be fully comprehended till we examine the course of ecclesiastical and religious affairs. The English revolution differs from most others, and is doubly interesting and instructive, from the circumstance that it is by no means external force which excites, impels, and decides; but that thoughts everywhere manifest themselves, and all has a reference to ideas, and this not merely in the temporal matters of state and policy, but also in spiritual affairs of doctrine and church discipline. Thus, we find almost all possible gradations, from ultra royalists and ultra Catholics, to unbridled anarchists and believers in the millennium; and each of these gradations (so blind are vanity and arrogance) was considered by its advocates as absolutely true, of eternal duration, while they rejected and condemned whatever differed from it in however trifling a degree. They did not see, they did not even presage, that as the rapid revolution of things drove them from the lowest depression to the greatest elevation, from oppression to power, they must incessantly culminate and sink again.

The struggle between Catholics and Protestants in general appeared to both parties to be long since ended in theory, and the use of violence towards those who persevered in wilful blindness was not only permitted, but justified. Nay, setting aside all other reasons, toleration was impossible, because the party which granted it, while the other refused, would always have the disadvantage. The contest against the Catholics was followed by that against the Episcopal constitution. Without regard to the above mentioned equivocal expression in the treaty with the Scotch, it was rejected in October, 1643, and everything determined according to the opinions of the Puritanical majority of the house of commons. Accordingly, a law was passed that all paintings, statues, stone altars, lattice work, chandeliers, fonts, crosses, chalices, organs, ornamental floors and windows, should be removed from the churches. Naturally enough, the populace went beyond the directions of the violent legislators, and an indiscriminate destruction of images succeeded, in which, especially the tombs of bishops and kings, nay, all historical monuments placed in the sanctuaries of religion, were treated as worthy of destruction. The beards, noses, fingers, and arms of the statues were broken off, crowns torn away, organs demolished and the pipes melted into bullets, windows broken, inscriptions effaced, and ornamented pavements pulled up.

The parliament, though informed of these proceedings, confirmed, on the 9th of May, 1644, the former law, and merely added that no monument of a king, prince, or nobleman should be destroyed, unless he had passed for a saint. In order to root out every particle of foreign superstition, the pretended purifiers of religion ran into a Mohammedan hatred of art, and an ignorant incredible abhorrence of what was holy and consecrated. Besides this, all the theatres were closed, the *Book of Sports* treating of amusements permitted on Sunday was burnt by the hangman, all travelling on that day declared to be impious, and the figure of the cross no longer tolerated, even in the signs of public houses. The sermons often lasted from nine o'clock in the morning till four in the afternoon, or far longer than the human mind is capable of forming an uninterrupted series of thought, or of receiving it, so that we need not doubt the correctness of the observation that these discourses were often absurd and always tiresome; and as every extreme generally pro-

[1645 A.D.]

duces its contrary, we find, with this intolerant austerity, the most scandalous excesses committed by the image-breakers in consecrated places.

Meantime the parliament had, as we have seen, solemnly sworn to the covenant, at Westminster, on the 25th of September, 1643, and required the same oath from every person in office, and every clergyman in the kingdom. Collier[z] is perhaps right when he affirms that the Presbyterians expelled far more at this time than the Papists had done under Mary, and the bishops under Elizabeth. All this was, of course, recommended and approved from the pulpit. Thus, Stephen Marshall said in a sermon, "What soldier's heart is not appalled at the thought of piercing little children in a conquered city or of holding them up by the legs and dashing their heads against the wall. But if this work is done to avenge God's church (the Presbyterians) upon Babylon (the Church of England), happy is he that taketh the little ones and dasheth them against the stones." This increased intolerance was manifested towards no individual with more violence than Archbishop Laud, who had been imprisoned for three years, and was almost forgotten. "Poor Canterbury," so Baillie,[b b] the Scotch clergyman, writes, "is so contemptible that nobody thinks of him; he was only a ring in Strafford's ear." Yet, chiefly to please the Scotch, the proceedings against the old bishop were now resumed by the parliament, and very unjustly placed under the direction of his old adversary Prynne. His enemies now possessed the power (as he formerly had), and took care to exercise it. The main accusation, that he had attempted to overthrow the laws, religion, and the rights of parliament, was divided into numerous branches, which we have not space to detail.

Laud defended himself with boldness, acuteness, and wit; nay, he spoke rather as an accuser, than submissively and asking favour. Though everything was represented in the most unfavourable light, the judges declared, on the 17th of December, 1644, that they could not find the archbishop guilty of treason, and left the decision to the house of lords. The latter communicated the difficulty that had arisen to the lower house, which answered: That there was in the first place, treason against the king, on which the inferior tribunals decide according to the law; secondly, treason against the kingdom on which the parliament decided. However, as in the case of Strafford's trial, the form of the proceeding was changed into a bill of attainder, which was passed on the 4th of January, 1645, by the house of lords; and with much difficulty his petition was acceded to that he might not be hanged and quartered, but only beheaded. A pardon granted to the archbishop by the king, dated the 12th of April, 1643, was over-ruled and rejected.

On the 10th of January, 1645, Laud ascended the scaffold, and acknowledged that he was a great sinner, but that he had never endeavoured to subvert the laws of the realm, or change the Protestant religion, and that he had not done anything deserving death, according to the laws of the kingdom. He thanked God for suffering him to die for his honour; prayed for the happiness of the king, the restoration of the church to truth, peace, and prosperity; for the parliament according to its ancient and just power; and that the unhappy and distracted nation might penitently cease from war and bloodshed, and enjoy its hereditary rights and lawful liberties. "Now," said he, "the blind lead the blind, and all will fall into the ditch. As others would not honour the images which the king set up, I will not worship the vain phantoms which the people invent, nor will I abandon the temple and the truth of God to follow the bleating of Jeroboam's calves in Dan and Bethel. I am no enemy to parliaments, and acknowledge their utility; but *corruptio optimi est pessima*. For my part, I freely forgive everybody." Laud submitted to the fatal

stroke with courage and composure. Immediately before him, was executed Hotham, who had first accused Laud in parliament.

The trial and the condemnation of Laud are much less to be excused than that of the dangerous and powerful Lord Strafford; for the single points laid to his charge appear to be mere trifles, and the vague reproach of overthrowing the constitution, in church and state, he might have flung back with double force upon his accusers. They, besides, never attended the proceedings and examination of the witnesses, but deciding in the lower house entirely after the representations of their counsel; and of the lords, there were never more than fourteen present at the trial: and at the passing of the sentence only twelve, or, as others say, only seven. Except the speaker, not a single member had attended the trial from the beginning to the end. That an old man, seventy-two years of age, who was wholly powerless, was brought to the scaffold, after the overthrow of the Episcopal system, and four years' imprisonment, with the violation of so many legal forms, and without any motives of political necessity, was a proof of the blind passion of the pretended defenders of liberty, justice, and law. They could not, or would not see, what disgrace they prepared for their own reputation, and what honour for the archbishop, by thus raising him to the dignity of a martyr.



VISCOUNT STRAFFORD, WILLIAM HOWARD
(1612–1680)

Loud complaints of this and other despotic acts being made, the parliament, following the course which it had blamed in its opponents, again made the censorship of the press more severe; but was not able thereby to restrain its excesses, much less to repress arbitrary proceedings of another kind.

THE WARRING CREEDS AND INTOLERANCE

On the 4th of January, 1645, a few days before the execution of Laud, it had been resolved by the assembly of divines (in session since July 1, 1643) that the book of common prayer should be laid aside; the form of divine worship hitherto observed should be abolished; and a new directory, which had been framed by the assembly of divines, a creed, a catechism, and a scheme of a Presbyterian constitution of the church, were drawn up. In the creed all was on strict Calvinistic principles, and peculiar stress was laid on the doctrine of predestination. It was left to a future general assembly to decide a question which was stated to be of the highest importance, namely, whether there had been at Ephesus a classical presbytery, and in Jerusalem a simple congregation. Many of the old forms and arrangements, such as crosses, altars, and confessions of the sick, were abolished. "Nobody shall

write or preach against the new ordinances; he who shall in future use the old common prayer book either in the church or in public places, nay, even in his own house and family, shall pay for the first offence £5, for the second £10, and for the third be imprisoned for a year, and not allowed to give bail. The church having the right of the keys, may, through its priests, classes, and synods, censure, remove, depose, and excommunicate."

In this manner the Presbyterians had, in their opinion, obtained a complete victory; but, at the very moment when they were rejoicing at it and proclaimed it aloud, the real power, as usually happens in revolutions, had already passed into other hands. So long as the only question was a contest against the Papists and Episcopalians, there appeared to be scarcely any difference among the assailants, and this contributed to their victory. Now, however, that the Puritans wished to enforce their principles with the same partiality as those whom they had overcome had done before, many really liberal-minded men resisted this practical tyranny and were equally ready in adducing theoretical arguments in support of their assertions. Irritated by the unconditional claims of the Puritans, and excluded from all toleration, the Independents now opposed them, and affirmed that it was quite the same thing whether Christendom was tyrannised over by a pope, twenty bishops, or a thousand priests; and thus an external union and slavish subordination was not only necessary in spiritual Christianity, but was also contrary to Christian liberty; that every Christian congregation was in itself a complete perfect church, which was, immediately and independently of other churches, under Christ, by which, however, the idea of a universal Christian church, in a truly spiritual sense was not abolished; only it was maintained that no ecclesiastical constitution was absolutely of divine institution.

The Independents gave to every male communicant the right of voting in all ecclesiastical affairs or in determining points of doctrine, and in the appointment and removal of clergymen. The Erastians[1] rejected all church government whatever, and assigned only to the state the superintendence of all religious communities, merely however with regard to public safety and order. Lastly, appeared the Levellers, at the farthest extreme of the course we have pointed out: since they did not, like the Presbyterians, stop at the independence of a national church with a connected organisation; or, like the Independents, at that of the several congregations; but claimed for every individual an absolute right of self-government in religious matters, without denying that a similarity of sentiments might lead to a natural union.

In connection with these religious views, political actions were developed; and if the Episcopalians generally promoted unlimited monarchy, and the Puritans an essential limitation of it, the Independents for the most part recommended, and endeavoured to obtain, a republican constitution;[2] and the Levellers were in danger of rejecting civil as well as ecclesiastical authority and of running into pure anarchy.

At that time the victorious Presbyterians considered themselves as the only true divine church, the only one agreeable to God, and stigmatised all persons who entertained different sentiments as damnable heretics. The latter, however they differed in other respects, agreed that such discrepancies are natural; that liberty of conscience is an inalienable right; and that it is the indispensable duty of every one to inquire and decide for himself in matters of religion.

[1 A small party named from Thomas Erastus (Lieber), a German divine who died in 1583.]
[2 However, we are only half entitled to look on the Independents as necessarily republicans, for under other circumstances they were zealous adherents of the house of Hanover.]

It was and is of little importance what the Independents themselves taught on any particular point, but that they maintained the idea of toleration, and church government, in a new and highly important manner; nay, that they placed it at the head of their whole system. It is true that they contradicted themselves, inasmuch as they more or less excluded Romanists and Episcopalians from this toleration; this exception, however, was founded chiefly on the circumstance that these set up unlimited claims, and that political reasons had essential influence. It was only by degrees that Chillingworth, Hale, Locke, etc., freed the doctrine of the Independents from defects and exaggeration. Though the Independents were not able to get their views adopted in the assembly at Westminster, they met with much approbation among the people, and even in parliament. And thus the Presbyterians found that their apparently absolute victory availed them nothing, because the house of commons did not confirm their resolutions, and the people did not voluntarily adopt and carry them into effect. The heads of the Presbyterians, Holles, Long, Waller, etc., found themselves overpowered by the enthusiasm and worldly wisdom of their opponents, Cromwell, Vane, Whitelocke, Selden, Fiennes, St. John, Haslerig, and Martin; and the Self-Denying Ordinance was for the latter not merely a political but a theological victory, because above two-thirds of the officers and most of the soldiers in the newly-formed army were of the party of the Independents.

In this divided opposition both parties needed a mediator or an ally. Hence the king acquired new importance, and he thought that the disunion of his adversaries would enable him to become master of them all; though the events of the war had not led to any positive superiority but to misery of all kinds. Necessity and arrogance served equally as an occasion or pretext for acts of plunder and violence; whence an acute observer says, "The vexatious austerity of the Puritans was no less oppressive than the boastful licentiousness of many royalists." The one party plundered in the name of God, the other in the name of the king. On both sides the people's minds were agitated by the most powerful motives: liberty, religion, law, love of the king and of the country. No one dared to remain neutral; though, as we have said, not merely the timid and selfish would willingly have withdrawn, but even the most noble-minded men scarcely knew what party to join, or how they should lead everything to a middle and moderate course.

PEACE NEGOTIATIONS AT UXBRIDGE (1645 A.D.)

This deplorable state of things, and the position of the great religious and political parties in parliament and in the assembly at Westminster, had led, even before the passing of the Self-Denying Ordinance, to fresh attempts to negotiate a peace. On the 20th of November, 1644, four deputies from the house of commons, and two from the lords, repaired to Oxford, to submit to the king the conditions proposed by parliament. They received an answer, which they brought back to the parliament, at the end of November. Four lords, eight commoners, and four Scotchmen were commissioned to negotiate for peace, at Uxbridge, with the king's commissioners.[y]

On the 30th of January the commissioners on both sides met at Uxbridge. The royalists were sixteen in number, those of the parliament twelve, together with four Scottish commissioners; both parties were attended by their divines. After the preliminaries had been arranged, they commenced with the subject of religion. The parliament insisted on the unqualified abolition of Episcopacy and the establishment of Presbytery: the king would not abandon the former,

which he regarded as of divine institution; but he was willing to limit it, to reform abuses in it, and to grant indulgence to tender consciences in matters of ceremonies. This subject having been debated for three days to no purpose, they next passed to the militia. The parliament demanded that it should be entirely vested in them and in persons in whom they could confide. They relaxed so far as to demand it only for seven years, after which it should be settled by bill or agreement between the king and parliament. The king was willing to surrender it for three years, provided it then returned fully to the crown. With respect to Ireland, the parliament required the "Cessation" to be declared null and void, and the conduct of the war and government of that country to be committed to them; the royal commissioners justified the king in making the Cessation, and asserted that he was in honour bound to maintain it. These matters were debated over and over till the 22nd of February, when the parliament having refused to prolong the treaty, the commissioners returned to Westminster and Oxford, and preparations were made for another appeal to the sword.

This treaty, the inutility of which must have been apparent, had been entered into solely in compliance with the wishes of those on both sides who were weary of the evils of war and sincerely desirous of peace. Among these the king himself cannot be included, for he was determined to concede none of the points at issue, and his usual duplicity was displayed even in the commencement; for when he had been induced to style in his answer the two houses the parliament of England, he writes to the queen, "If there had been but two besides myself of my opinion, I had not done it; and the argument that prevailed with me was, that the calling did no ways acknowledge them to be a parliament," and he adds that it is so registered in the council book. He was besides negotiating for foreign aid, and treating for a peace and an army with the Irish rebels; and he was so much elated by exaggerated accounts of the successes of Montrose in Scotland, that he was in full expectation of being shortly able to resume the plentitude of his despotism.

In effect, when the situations and tempers of the parties are considered, it is manifest that there was no room for accommodation, that one or other must be subdued, and despotism of one kind or other be the result.

THE VICTORIES OF MONTROSE IN SCOTLAND

In the summer of the preceding year, the earls of Montrose and Antrim[1] had come to Oxford with tenders of their services to the crown. They were both inveterate enemies of Argyll, who had now the chief power in Scotland, and Montrose asserted that if Antrim could raise fifteen hundred or two thousand men in Ireland and land them in the Highlands, he himself would be able to join them with so many of the Highland clansmen, loyal to the king and enemies of Argyll, as would make such a diversion, as would, if not recover the kingdom, at least oblige the Scottish army in England to return to its defence. The king listened to the proposal, and gave them the necessary commissions. Antrim forthwith passed over to Ireland, and raising about eighteen hundred men among his clan there, sent them over under his kinsman Sir Alister M'Donnel named Colkitto.

Montrose having left Oxford with a good company, suddenly disappeared, and with only two attendants eluded the vigilance of both nations till he

[1] Randal M'Donnel, Earl of Antrim, an Irish Catholic nobleman, had married the widow of Buckingham, who was the daughter and heiress of the earl of Rutland. Her wealth gave him consideration; but Clarendon describes him as a vain, weak man.

reached the foot of the Grampians, where he remained concealed till he heard of the landing of the Irish. He directed them to join him in Athole, where at their head he unfurled the royal standard, and summoned the clans to arms. They responded to his call; he poured down on the Lowlands; at Tippermuir (Sept. 1) he defeated the lord Elcho, and then entered and plundered the town of Perth. He then moved northwards; the bridge of Dee was defended by Lord Burleigh, but his men fled at the first shock, and the ferocious followers of Montrose entered Aberdeen pell-mell with them. The town was given up to pillage and massacre for four days. The Irish, we are told, displayed a thriftiness in their barbarity such as one might rather have looked for in the Scots, for they stripped their victims naked before they murdered them, lest their clothes should be spoilt.

The approach of Argyll with a superior force obliged Montrose to quit Aberdeen on the fifth day. He moved toward the Spey, and finding its opposite bank guarded he buried his ordnance in a morass, and went up the stream till he reached the forests of Strath Spey and the mountains of Badenoch. He then descended into Athole and Angus, still followed by Argyll, and suddenly crossing the Grampians, again moved northwards in hopes of rousing the Gordons to arms. At Fyvie Castle he was nearly surrounded, but after sustaining the repeated attacks of a superior force, he retired by night, and effected his retreat to Badenoch. Argyll, wearied out, as it was now far in the winter, returned to his castle of Inverary, where he deemed himself in perfect security. But the energetic and vindictive Montrose amidst the snows of December (13th), penetrated by passes only trodden by the herdsmen in summer into Argyllshire. The savage Irish, and no less savage clansmen, let all their fury loose on the devoted district; the inhabitants were massacred, the cattle driven off or destroyed, the houses and corn burnt. Argyll himself only escaped by putting to sea in an open boat.

After seven weeks spent in the work of devastation, Montrose moved toward Inverness. Argyll, who had rallied the scattered Campbells, was now with three thousand men at Inverlochy, at the western extremity of the chain of Highland lakes. By a secret and circuitous route, Montrose returned and fell on his vanguard by night. The moon giving her light, the troops skirmished till day. In the morning (Feb. 2, 1645) the fight began: Argyll, in whose character there was little of chivalry, viewed from a boat in the lake the noble but unavailing struggles of his gallant Campbells, and the slaughter of one half of their number. Montrose, elate with his victory, wrote to the king promising soon to come to his aid with a gallant army; and this letter arriving during the treaty of Uxbridge, aided to prevent the sanguine monarch from complying with terms on which peace might have been effected. Montrose returned to the north; the Grants and Gordons joined him; he spread his ravages as before; Dundee was stormed and partly burnt (Apr. 4). But the approach of a superior force under Baillie and that soldier of fortune Hurry, now again against the king, obliged him to return to the mountains with some loss. Baillie then entered Athole, while Hurry moved northwards after Montrose, to whom he gave battle at Aldean, near Nairn, and was defeated with the loss of two thousand men. Baillie himself was soon after overthrown at Alford on the Don.

THE NEW MODEL ARMY, AND NASEBY

The English parliament had now completed their New Model. It consisted of six thousand horse divided into ten regiments, one thousand dragoons,

[1645 A.D.]

and fourteen thousand foot in twelve regiments of ten companies each. These regiments were composed of men from the old armies, chiefly those of a religious cast and inclined to the party of the Independents. A more rigorous discipline was introduced than had hitherto prevailed, and thus was formed that noble army, which, actuated by a higher principle than the mere love of pay and plunder, never encountered a defeat, and has left its memory a subject of admiration to posterity. The king had given given the nominal command of his forces to the prince of Wales, but the real power to Prince Rupert as his lieutenant. He had also sent the prince to Bristol, ostensibly to command in the west, but really because, as he himself used to express it, "he and his son were too great a prize to be ventured in one bottom."

Goring and Greenvil had separate commands in the west, and the license in which these profligate commanders indulged their men, and the atrocities committed by them, gave origin to a defensive association among the country-people in the counties of Wiltshire, Somerset, Dorset, and Devon, and a similar association appeared in Gloucester and Worcester. The object of these people, who were named, from their principal weapon, clubmen, was to preserve their property from the hands of both parties; and as the royalists were the greater plunderers, their hostility was chiefly directed against them. Many of the loyal gentry however countenanced them, in hopes of being able hereafter to render them serviceable to the royal cause. About a third of the kingdom still obeyed the king; his army was more numerous than the New Model, but it was scattered and divided; its officers were at discord, and the men demoralised. He was, however, the first to take the field, and leaving Oxford (May 7) at the head of ten thousand men, of whom more than one half were cavalry, he proceeded to raise the siege of Chester. The enemy retired at the rumour of his approach.[u]

It was apprehended that Charles intended to join his army with the triumphant forces of Montrose in Scotland; and the Scottish army in England, which was then advancing to the south-east, hastily fell back upon Westmoreland and Cumberland to guard the approaches to Carlisle and the western borders. But Charles, after his success at Chester, turned round to the south-east, and soon carried the important city of Leicester by assault. This movement revived all the apprehensions about the associated counties in the east; and Fairfax, abandoning the siege of Oxford, marched into Northamptonshire, where he arrived on the 7th of June. His friend Cromwell was then in the Isle of Ely, most actively organising the militia there. At this critical moment, Fairfax and a general council of war, which he had called, requested the house of commons to dispense again in Cromwell's case with the Self-Denying Ordinance, and appoint him lieutenant-general, that second post in the army, which in all probability had purposely been left vacant from the beginning for Master Oliver. The house, which must have known by this time that no man so entirely possessed the confidence of the cavalry and of a great part of the army, sent him down a commission as lieutenant-general for three months; and Cromwell joined Fairfax just in time to be present at that great battle which was to decide the important question, "what the liberties and laws of England, and what the king's power and prerogative, should hereafter be."

The king, whose head-quarters were at Daventry, was amusing himself with field-sports, and his troops were foraging and plundering in all directions, when, on the 11th of June, old Sir Marmaduke Langdale brought him news of the unexpected approach of Fairfax. The royalist outposts were concentrated and strengthened; but, on the morning of the 12th, Fairfax beat them up at Borough Hill, and spread the alarm into the very lodgings of the king. The

parliamentarians, however, who were then very weak in cavalry, did not think fit to venture any further attempt. On the morning of the 13th, at about six o'clock, Fairfax called a council of war, and, in the midst of their debates, to the exceeding joy of the whole army, Lieutenant-General Cromwell reached head-quarters with a choice regiment of 600 horse raised by the associated counties of the east. Then all deliberation and hesitation were at an end, the drums beat, the trumpets sounded to horse, and the whole body of parliamentarians were drawn up under arms.

On Saturday, June the 14th, by three o'clock in the morning, Fairfax put himself in march from Gilling to Naseby. At five o'clock he halted close to Naseby, and shortly after several bodies of his majesty's horse showed themselves on the top of a hill in battle array. [At the very opening of the battle, Rossiter rode up with cavalry sufficient to raise the parliamentary army to nearly 14,000, almost twice the force of Charles who had 7,500.] The field-word of the royalists was "God and Queen Mary!" that of the parliament, "God our strength!" The royalists began the battle, "marching up in good order, a swift march, with abundance of alacrity, gallantry, and resolution." As in other battles, fortune at first seemed to flatter Charles, for the left wing of the parliament was worsted by the furious onslaught of Rupert. Ireton was wounded in the thigh with a pike, in the face with a halbert, and his horse being killed under him, he was made prisoner, and kept by the royalists during the greater part of the battle. Rupert, however, with his usual rashness, spurred on too far; the scattered foot rallied in his rear round their guns; and the broken horse of the left wing formed, closed, and rode up to support the centre and the right. Cromwell's charge, though gallantly met by Sir Marmaduke Langdale, was brilliant and decisive: after firing at close range and standing to it at the sword's point, the left wing of the royalists was broken, and driven far beyond all the king's foot. [Fairfax with his own hand killed an ensign, and seized his colours. When the soldier to whose charge he committed them boasted of the deed as his own, Fairfax said, "Let him retain that honour; I have to-day acquired enough beside."]

There was terrible fighting after this: the unflinching Skippon was dangerously wounded, and Cromwell was several times in peril. But a tremendous charge, conducted by the parliamentarians from several points at once, completely broke up the last steady body of the king's infantry. According to Clarendon, *f* Rupert's cavalry thought they had acted their parts, and could never be brought to rally again in order, or to charge the enemy. They stood, with the rest, spiritless and inactive, till Cromwell and Fairfax were ready to charge them with horse and foot, and to ply them with their own artillery. Despair made Charles courageous, and, placing himself among them, he cried out, "One charge more, and we recover the day!" but he could not prevail with them to stand the shock of horse, foot, and ordnance, and they presently fled in disorder, both fronts and reserves, hotly pursued by Cromwell's horse, who took many prisoners.

Charles left behind him on the field five thousand prisoners, including an immense number of officers of all ranks, besides many of his household servants.[1] There were also taken twelve brass pieces of ordnance, two mortar

[1 The worst fate was reserved for the unhappy women who followed the camp. About a hundred being of Irish birth, were knocked on the head without mercy. The faces of the English harlots were gashed in order to render them forever hideous, and it is not improbable that some officers' and soldiers' wives shared the fate of their frailer sisters. Puritanism was intolerant of vice, and it had no pity for the sex on which its hideous burden falls most heavily."— GARDINER.[b] Later parliament gave an order at Fairfax's request that all the Irish prisoners should be put to death without mercy; this seems not to have been entirely carried out.]

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pieces, eight thousand stand of arms, forty barrels of powder, all the bag and baggage, the rich pillage which the royalist soldiers had got just before at Leicester, above one hundred colours, the king's baggage, several coaches, and his majesty's private cabinet of papers and letters, which last were a means of sealing his doom. [The slain were one hundred killed in the battle and three hundred in the retreat.] With Cromwell's horse thundering close in his rear, the king got into Leicester; but not judging it safe to remain there, he rode off to Hereford. At Hereford, Prince Rupert, before any decision was taken as to what the king should do next, left his uncle, and made haste to Bristol, that he might put that place into a condition to resist a powerful and victorious enemy, which he had reason to believe would in a short time appear before it. Meanwhile Fairfax marched with his victorious army to Leicester, which was soon surrendered to him, and, leaving a garrison there, he moved westward, that he might both pursue the king and raise the siege of Taunton. The day after the battle the lord-general sent Colonel John Fiennes and his regiment up to London with the prisoners and colours taken, and with a short letter to the speaker of the house of commons, wherein Fairfax humbly desired that the honour of this great, never-to-be-forgotten mercy might be given to God in an extraordinary day of thanksgiving.

Cromwell, on the day of the battle, wrote to the parliament, averring that this was none other but the hand of God, and that to him alone belonged the glory. "The general," continued Cromwell, "served you with all faithfulness and honour, and the best commendation I can give him is, that I dare say he attributes all to God, and would rather perish than assume to himself. . . . Honest men served you faithfully in this action. Sir, they are trusty; I beseech you in the name of God not to discourage them. . . . . He that ventures his life for the liberty of his country, I wish he trust God for the liberty of his conscience, and you for the liberty he fights for." [This sentence was expurged by the commons when they published the letter.]

THE KING'S LETTERS AND INSINCERITY

But these letters were far inferior in interest to the epistles taken in the king's cabinet, now publicly read in London at a common hall, before a great assembly of citizens and many members of both houses of parliament, where leave was given to as many as pleased or knew the king's hand-writing to peruse and examine them all, in order to refute the report of those who said that the letters were counterfeit. And shortly after, a selection from them was printed and published by command of parliament.

"From the reading of these letters," says May,[o] "many discourses of the people arose. For in them appeared his transactions with the Irish rebels, and with the queen for assistance from France and the duke of Lorraine. Many good men were sorry that the king's actions agreed no better with his words. . . . . They were vexed also that the king was so much ruled by the will of his wife as to do everything by her prescript, and that peace, war, religion, and parliament should be at her disposal. It appeared, besides, out of those letters, with what mind the king treated with the parliament at Uxbridge, and what could be hoped for by that treaty." The reading of these letters is generally considered to have been as fatal to his cause as the field of Naseby where they were taken. The royalists themselves were startled by his contemptuous ingratitude; and men who had hitherto inclined to loyalty began to lose all respect for his character. From this time nothing prospered with the king.[cc]

A frequent topic in these letters is a treaty with the duke of Lorraine for his army of ten thousand men, to aid the royal cause in England. Charles also writes to the queen (Mar. 5), "I give thee power to promise in my name, to whom thou thinkest most fit, that I will take away all the penal laws against the Roman Catholics in England as soon as God shall enable me to do it, so as by their means or in their favours I may have so powerful assistance as may deserve so great a favour, and enable me to do it." Sir Kenelm Digby was at this time going to Rome to solicit aid from the pope, and the king had written to Ormonde (February 27), commanding him "to conclude a peace with the Irish, whatever it cost; so that my Protestant subjects there may be secured, and my regal authority there be preserved"; he had even sent Glamorgan on his secret mission to Ireland.

Each day brought tidings of losses. Leicester had surrendered when Fairfax appeared. He then marched to the relief of Taunton, whence Goring retired at his approach; but Fairfax brought him to action at Lamport in Somerset (July 10), and defeated him. Bridgewater, deemed impregnable, surrendered (23rd). Bath and Sherborne submitted. In the north, Scarborough, Pontefract, and Carlisle had yielded; and the Scots, who had been engaged in the siege of this last, came and sat down before Hereford. The king, quitting Wales, hastened to Newark, and finding that the Scottish horse were in pursuit of him, he burst into and ravaged the eastern counties, and at length (August 28th) reached Oxford in safety.



Herefordshire Headquarters of Prince Rupert before Battle of Ledbury

Here he was cheered with intelligence of another victory gained by Montrose. This indefatigable chief, having again issued from the mountains with a force of five thousand men, spread devastation over the country to the Forth. Baillie was advantageously posted at Kilsyth, near Stirling, and he wished to act on the defensive, but, like Pompey at Pharsalia, he was overruled by the committee of estates, and obliged to move from his strong position and prepare for battle. Ere his men were drawn up (August 15th) his horse were driven back on the foot, and the Irish and clansmen rushed on with wild yells and savage gestures. His troops broke and fled; they were pursued for the space of fourteen miles, and five thousand men, it is said, were slain. All Scotland was now open to Montrose. Glasgow and other towns submitted; the citizens of Edinburgh sent him their royalist prisoners; the marquis of Douglas and other nobles joined him, and a parliament was summoned to meet at Glasgow.

At this news, the Scottish horse under David Leslie, who were now (August 26th) at Nottingham, hastened back to their own country; and the king leaving Oxford with five thousand men, came and raised the siege of Hereford.

[1645 A.D.]

He was then proceeding to the relief of Bristol; but at Raglan Castle he learned to his utter dismay, that it had surrendered (September 10th). The king in his anger revoked his commission, and ordered him to quit the kingdom.[aa] Prince Rupert had a garrison of only 1,500, and the town lay in a hollow. He surrendered after a furious assault had shown him that there was no hope of resistance.[a] Despising his majesty's orders, Prince Rupert came to Belvoir Castle, ten miles short of Newark. Charles, greatly incensed, commanded him to stay where he was. But Rupert proceeded instantly to Newark, and Sir Richard Willis, who was governor of that place, and Gerrard, one of the king's principal officers, heedless of the king's commands, went out with an escort of 100 horse to meet the prince. Without being announced, and followed by a numerous retinue, all in arms, Rupert presented himself before his uncle, telling him that he was come to give an account of his surrender of Bristol, and to clear himself from unjust imputations which had been cast upon him by his majesty and the lord Digby.

Charles, greatly embarrassed, scarcely answered a syllable. Violent and indecent altercations ensued, not only between the king and his nephew, but also between his majesty and Sir Richard Willis, the governor. Most of the officers present took part with Willis, holding up his majesty's chief adviser, Digby, as a traitor, and defying the fallen kingly power by an act of mutiny. Rupert and his brother, Prince Maurice, with Sir Richard Willis, and about 200 horse, insolently turned their backs upon Newark and the king, and rode to Belvoir Castle, whence they sent one of their company to ask from the parliament "leave and passports to go beyond the seas." The commons readily sent them the passes, but the two princes did not yet quit England. They were subsequently reconciled to their uncle, and shut up with him in Oxford.[cc]

King Charles now led his forces to the relief of Chester, which Colonel Jones was besieging. He was followed by the parliamentary general Poyntz, who fell on his rear while he was attacking Jones (23rd); and the king was obliged to retire in disorder with the loss of six hundred slain and one thousand prisoners. He hastened to Bridgenorth and thence to Newark (October 4th). Here he halted for the remainder of the month, when, finding that his enemies were increasing around it, and that the Scots were returning, he stole away in the night (November 3rd), with a party of five hundred horse, and contrived to reach Oxford on the second day, where he remained for the winter.

The brilliant hopes excited by Montrose were now at an end; his highland followers had, after their usual manner, quitted him to go home to secure their plunder; and having stationed himself with the remainder at Philip-haugh, near Selkirk (September 13, 1645), in Ettrick Forest, he was suddenly fallen on by Leslie, and after doing all that was in man to avert defeat, he was totally routed, and forced to fly once more to the mountains.[1] Digby and Langdale, who were coming to join him with fifteen hundred English horse, after routing a party of the enemy at Doncaster, and being themselves defeated by Colonel Copley at Sherborne, reached Dumfries; but getting no account of Montrose, they disbanded their men and passed over to the Isle of Man, whence Digby proceeded to Dublin.

[1 Then ensued a butchery more horrible than any that had followed upon any of Montrose's victories. The wild clansmen of the north had contented themselves with taking vengeance upon men. The trained and disciplined soldiers of the Convenant slaughtered with hideous barbarity not only the male camp followers, but 300 Irish women, the wives of their slain or captured enemies, together with their infant children. According to a later tradition, fourscore women and children, who had perhaps escaped from the general massacre, were thrown from a bridge near Linlithgow, to be drowned as English Protestants had been drowned at Portadown. — GARDINER.[b]]

THE MISSION OF GLAMORGAN IN IRELAND

The negotiation with the duke of Lorraine was now at an end, and the king's only hopes lay in Ireland, where he had been carrying on a mysterious treaty with the insurgents. His wish had been to convert the cessation into a permanent peace; the native Irish, headed by their clergy, would be content with nothing short of the establishment of their religion. To this Ormonde, as a Protestant, neither could nor would consent; Charles then looked out for another agent, and such he found in Lord Herbert, eldest son of the marquis of Worcester, a Catholic, his personal friend, and romantically and devotedly loyal. Herbert, now created earl of Glamorgan, received in the month of January (1645) various instructions and commissions to treat with the Irish confederates, the king pledging himself to make good whatever he should conclude. They were sealed with the private signet and blanks left for the names of the pope and other princes, which he was to insert himself, "to the end," said Glamorgan, "the king might have a starting-hole to deny having given me such commissions, if excepted against by his own subjects; leaving me, as it were, at stake, who for his majesty's sake, was willing to undergo it, trusting to his word alone."

Thus furnished, Glamorgan proceeded to Ireland (April 30th), where Rinuccini, a papal nuncio, was now expected, to whom, as well as to the pope, he had letters from the king. Having communicated his instructions to a certain extent to Ormonde, negotiations were entered into with the supreme council of the Irish at Kilkenny, to which town Glamorgan proceeded; and he there (August 25th) concluded a secret treaty, by which the Catholics were to enjoy the public exercise of their religion, and all the churches and their revenues which were not actually in the possession of the Protestant clergy; they in return, were to supply the king with a body of ten thousand armed men, and to devote two-thirds of the church revenues to his service, during the war. A public treaty was, meantime, going on with Ormonde, who scrupled on the subject of religion. But while he hesitated, the parliament got hold of the secret treaty; for the titular archbishop of Tuam, a martial prelate, happening to be killed in a skirmish between the Scots and Irish (October 17th), copies of all the documents were found in his carriage, and transmitted to London.

When Ormonde got information of this, which was not till Christmas, he called a council, and it was determined, at the suggestion of Digby, to arrest Glamorgan for high-treason; and Digby wrote in very strong and indignant terms to the king. Charles, in a message to the parliament (January 29th, 1646), solemnly disavowed Glamorgan's proceedings, averring that he had only given him a commission to raise soldiers.[1] To Ormonde, who had Glamorgan's warrant now in his hands, the king wrote evasively, asserting that he had no recollection of it, and that if he did give such a warrant, it was with an understanding that it was not to be employed without the lord-lieutenant's approbation. Glamorgan, of whose innocence there could be no doubt, was not long a prisoner. He hastened to Kilkenny to resume the treaty (January 22nd), and obtained an immediate aid of six thousand men; but while he was waiting for transports to carry them to the relief of Chester, he learned the fall of that city, and the total ruin of the royal cause in England. He therefore disbanded his army, but still remained in Ireland.

After the surrender of Bristol the whole south and west of England were

[1 Gardiner[b] thinks that Glamorgan undoubtedly did overstep his instructions, though Charles is not entirely blameless in disavowing his acts.]

[1646 A.D.]

speedly reduced. While Fairfax was employed in the western counties Cromwell took Winchester (October 5th) and Basing House, the fortified mansion of the marquis of Winchester (14th); and in the north, Lathom House, which the intrepid countess of Derby[1] had defended for two years, Lord Scroop's castle of Bolton, and other places surrendered. The new year opened with the taking of Dartmouth by Fairfax (January 18th), who then resumed the siege of Exeter. At Torrington (February 16th) he totally routed Lord Hopton and his Cornish troops. He followed him into Cornwall, where the people submitted at his approach, and by a treaty (March 14th) Hopton disbanded his army, and surrendered all his arms, stores, and ammunition. The prince of Wales had gone to Scilly, whence he soon after passed over to Jersey, and finally joined his mother at Paris. Penryn and other places surrendered, and the lord-general came back to Exeter, which at length was yielded on articles (April 13th). The whole west being now reduced, Fairfax led his army back to Newbury.

Chester had surrendered early in February. Sir Jacob Astley, with a body of three thousand men whom he was leading to Oxford, was attacked (Mar. 22) and totally defeated at Stow in the Wolds, on the borders of Gloucestershire, by Colonel Morgan and Sir William Brereton. "Now you have done your work and may go play, unless you fall out among yourselves," said Sir Jacob to those who had made him a prisoner. The king's only hopes in fact lay in the divisions among his enemies; and had he known (which he never did know) how to act with judgment, he might have recovered a sufficient portion of his regal authority. The breach between the two religious parties was widening every day; the cordiality between the English parliament and their Scottish brethren was also on the wane. Charles intrigued with all these parties. "I am not without hope," he writes to Digby, "that I shall be able to draw either the Presbyterians or Independents to side with me for extirpating one or the other that I should be really king again." He used Montreuil, the French envoy, as his agent in his dealings with the Scots. His great object was to get to London, where he had numerous adherents, and where the peace-party was now strong. For this purpose he was urgent for a personal treaty, but to this the parliament, suspecting his object, would only consent on condition of his giving a previous assent to bills which they were preparing; the three first of which were the same as those offered at Uxbridge. The commons even went so far as to pass a vote (Mar. 31, 1646), that if the king came within their lines, the militia of London should apprehend those who came with him or resorted to him, and "secure his person from danger," *i.e.* confine him. They also ordered such as had borne arms against the parliament to quit London by the 6th of April.

The king's plan of playing the parties in parliament against one another was not a bad one if he had possessed skill to execute it. This will appear by the following view of that assemby. Until the end of the year 1645 the constitutional party had the preponderance. As a proof may be cited their vote on the 1st of December, in a debate on the proposition for peace. It was as follows. That Fairfax should be made a baron and have 5000*l.* a year settled on him, and his father be made an earl: Cromwell, Waller, and Haslerig also to be barons, the two former with 2500*l.*, the last with 2000*l.* a year; Northumberland, Essex, Warwick, and Pembroke to be dukes, and Salisbury and Manchester marquesses; Say, Roberts, Wharton, Willoughby of Parham, and Howard of Escrick to be earls; Holles, a viscount, and Stapleton and Sir

[1] This heroic lady was a Frenchwoman, a daughter of the noble house of La Trémouille.

Henry Vane senior barons. As these were nearly all Presbyterians, this vote, though it speaks little for the disinterestedness of the parliament, proves the strength of that party and their attachment to the monarchic form of government. But when, in consequence of deaths and the secession or expulsion of the royalists, it was found that nearly two hundred seats were vacant, the Presbyterians were obliged to give way and issue writs for new elections, and the house in the beginning of the following year presented an altered appearance. The royalists alone being excluded and the Self-Denying Ordinance being now a dead letter, the officers of the army and others of the Independent party obtained seats; for, as Ludlow*i* candidly confesses, "honest men (*i.e.* his own party) in all parts did what they could to promote the elections of such as were most hearty for the accomplishment of our deliverance," by which he means the establishment of a commonwealth. The parties now were more evenly balanced, though the preponderance was still on the Presbyterian side, and the royal name and authority if judiciously managed would have sufficed to incline the beam.

THE KING SURRENDERS TO THE SCOTS (1646 A.D.)

To resume the narrative: the parliamentary troops began to close in on Oxford, and the king must either resolve to sustain a siege and finally surrender himself a prisoner, or to fly from the town. He chose the latter, and on the night of the 27th of April, he quitted Oxford, having cut his hair and beard, and riding with a portmanteau behind him as the servant of his faithful follower Ashburnham; one Dr. Hudson, a loyal military clergyman who knew the country well, being their guide. They took the road to London. They passed through Uxbridge and Brentford, and thence turned to Harrow-on-the-Hill, where the king finally determined to give up all thoughts of London, and to follow his original design. He proceeded by St. Albans, and finding that his escape in the disguise of a servant was known, he assumed that of a clergyman. At length (30th) he came to Downham in Norfolk, where he remained while Hudson went to Montreuil at Newark. Montreuil had been for some time negotiating on the part of the king with the leaders of the Scottish army. The affair is involved in obscurity; but it would appear that the Scots had overreached the sanguine Frenchman, and led him to give the king hopes of what they never intended to perform. It was arranged that they should receive the monarch in their camp — a measure from which they proposed to themselves many advantages; but at the same time they required it to be done in such a manner as not to implicate them with the English parliament. Their plan was to send a party of cavalry to Harborough, whither the king was to come, as it were, accidentally on his way to Scotland, and he was to command their attendance on him. This plan however had been given up, and Charles on arriving at that place had found none there to meet him. Montreuil, though he now distrusted the Scots, thought when Hudson came to him that the king's only chance was to put himself into their hands. Charles therefore came (May 5) to Montreuil's abode at Southwell, and after dinner the envoy took him to Kelham, Leven's headquarters. Leven raised his hands in real or affected surprise; he and his officers showed the monarch the most marked attention; he assigned him Kelham House for his residence; but when Charles, to try if he was free, gave the word to the guard, Leven said, "I am the older soldier, sir; your majesty had better leave that office to me." They wrote off immediately to the parliament, saying that "they were astonished at the providence of the king's coming into their army,

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which was so private that it was long ere they could find him there," etc.; and the king having ordered Bellasis to surrender Newark to them, they set out (May 9) on their march homewards, for the commons had voted that the king's person should be disposed of by both houses, and that he should be sent to Warwick castle. Poyntz, with a body of five thousand horse, was ordered to watch the Scottish army; but their march was so rapid that on the 18th the houses had intelligence of their arrival at Newcastle-on-Tyne. Next day they voted that they "had no further need of the army of their brethren the Scots in this kingdom," and voted them 100,000*l.*; half to be paid when they gave up Newcastle, Carlisle, and other places held by them; the other half when they had entered Scotland.

At Newcastle the king was treated with suitable respect, but none of his friends were given access to him. As the establishment of presbytery was a *sine qua non* with the Scots, he undertook, unaided as he was, to discuss the matter with their great champion Henderson. From the general insincerity of his character it was thought at the time that Charles was not in earnest in his maintenance of Episcopacy, but his sincerity in this matter is now beyond question. He had consented to its abolition in Scotland, but it was with a secret design of restoring it when he should have the power. He had in a similar manner, as we have seen, agreed to the abolition of Protestantism in Ireland; and as his attachment to the Protestant faith cannot be questioned we fear he meant to deceive the Catholics also. Yet at this very time he wished to throw himself into their hands. In a letter to Glamorgan (July 20) he says, "Tell the nuncio, that if once I can come into his and your hands, which ought to be extremely wished for by you both, as well for the sake of England as Ireland, since all the rest as I see despise me, I will do it." He also, while at Newcastle, meditated an escape by sea, but whether he intended to go to France or Ireland is uncertain. At this very time too, he was harassed by letters from the queen, Jermyn, Colepeper, and others, at Paris, and the foreign residents there, urging him to give up the church; the queen even threatening to go into a monastery if he refused. Yet he stood firm. In truth he saw that he should gain nothing by it, for nothing short of the militia would content the parliament, and this the queen and his other friends would not allow him to part with.

There were two points now under debate between the English and the Scots; the one the disposal of the royal person, the other the settlement of the arrears due to the Scottish army. The Scots declared (July 4) "that as they came into England out of affection, and not in a mercenary way, so they will be as willing to return home, and want of pay shall be no hindrance thereunto." In reply to this it was voted that the kingdom had no more need of them, and "is no longer able to bear them." The Scots (Aug. 12) then proposed to evacuate the kingdom, provided they were paid for their losses, etc.; it was voted (Aug. 14th) to give them 100,000*l.* and to have their accounts audited. "The houses," says Whitelocke,[v] "now saw the advantage of keeping up their army, as that which the more inclined the Scots to come to this offer." The Scots (19th) stated their demands at 500,000*l.*, but agreed (Sept. 1) to take 400,000*l.*, which sum the parliament consented to give; and so far the transaction appears to have had no reference to the king.

In the end of August the parliament sent nineteen propositions to the king; they were in substance the same with the Uxbridge articles, but the militia, with power to employ it, was to remain with the parliament for twenty years. To these the king gave a positive refusal, veiled indeed under the demand of a personal treaty. The enemies of peace and royalty exulted,

the moderate party were dejected at this event. The arrangements having been effected respecting the Scottish arrears, it was voted (Sept. 18) that the king's person should be disposed of as the two houses should think fit, but that no dispute on this subject should interfere with the treaties or the return of the Scots army. The Scottish commissioners strongly asserted the right of their nation to a share in the disposal of the king.

In November the Scottish parliament met; Hamilton, who was now at liberty, exerted himself strongly in favour of the king; all were of opinion that he should accept the propositions, but Charles was immovable on the subject of the church. A vote was notwithstanding obtained (Dec. 16) to maintain his personal freedom and right to the English throne. The general assembly, however, having declared it unlawful to support him while he refused to assent to the covenant, and the parliament, being aware of the madness of engaging in a war with England, and advised by Holles and the leading Presbyterians there that the surrender of the king was the only means of causing the Independent army to be disbanded, who were the great enemies of the king and of peace; they accordingly gave him up to commissioners sent to receive him (Feb. 1, 1647). Charles gladly left the Scots, and he was conducted to one of his mansions named Holdenby or Holmby House near Althorpe, in Northamptonshire.

CHARLES A CAPTIVE IN ENGLAND

Charles himself said that he "was bought and sold," and the charge of selling their king has been down to the present day reiterated against the Scots.[1] There are no doubt many circumstances in the affair which have a suspicious appearance. It seems certain that they would not have gotten so large a sum from the parliament as they did if the person of the king had not been in their hands, and they probably took advantage of this circumstance to insist on their demands. But there are no sufficient grounds for charging them with inviting him to their camp with this design; they did not give him up till they had no choice but that or war; they acted under the advice of the friends of monarchy in the English parliament; they stipulated in the most express terms for the safety of his person; nay, to the very last, if he would have given them satisfaction on the subject of religion, they would have declined surrendering him. Like the monarch himself, they were unhappily situated; but we do not think that they can be justly charged with the guilt of having sold their king.

The civil war, after a duration of nearly four years, was now at an end. Oxford, Worcester, and other places had surrendered; the old marquis of Worcester defended Raglan Castle against Fairfax and five thousand men, but he was obliged at last to open his gates (Aug. 19); and two days later Pendennis Castle in Cornwall also surrendered. Harlech Castle in North Wales was the last to submit (Mar. 30, 1647). Favourable terms were granted in all cases, and the articles were honourably observed. Much and justly as intestine warfare is to be deprecated, the English may look back with pride to this civil contest, unexampled in the history of the world. It does not, like the civil wars of other countries, disgust us by numerous butcheries and other

[1] "If it be not admitted they sold him," says Sir P. Warwick,[k] "it must be confessed they parted with him for a good price." [Gardiner[b] points out how gladly the Scotch would have protected Charles had he been willing to comply with what they felt to be just and due their creed. He thinks that the Scots "get less than justice" in the accounts of this transaction, as Charles' one idea in taking refuge with them was to get the two nations at war.]

savage atrocities; all was open and honourable warfare; a generous humanity for the most part was displayed on both sides; and those who were finally victorious, to their honour, sent none of the vanquished to the scaffold. While awarding praise we cannot in justice pass over the Catholic nobility and gentry of England. Urged by an impulse of generous loyalty, as appears to us, rather than by any cold calculations of interest, they ranged themselves on the side of the king, though they knew but too well that he was at all times ready to sacrifice them, and that they were the persons on whom the vengeance of the parliament would fall most heavily; in the royal cause they wasted their estates, and shed their blood; and dead must he be to generous feeling who honours not the names of the marquesses of Worcester and Winchester, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and the other Catholic nobles and knights who fought on the side of royalty in the civil contest.

Montrose on receiving orders from the king laid down his arms and retired to the continent. Ormonde had by the royal command concluded a peace with the Irish Catholics, but the nuncio and the clergy having assembled at Waterford declared it void (Aug. 6). The nuncio then assumed the supreme power, and at the head of the united armies of Preston and Owen O'Neil [1] advanced against Dublin. As Ormonde had wasted the country they were obliged to retire, but he was well aware that it must fall into their hands if not relieved from England. The king was now a captive, and powerless; the Irish Catholics were entirely ruled by their priesthood, and nothing short of the extirpation of Protestantism and the English interest would content them. To avert this Ormonde entered into treaty with the parliament, and he agreed (Feb. 22, 1647) to put Dublin and the other garrisons into their hands. The sequestration was taken off from his own estate, and he had permission given him to reside for some time in England.

The Presbyterian system was at this time established by ordinance of parliament; each parish was to have its minister and lay elders; a number of adjoining parishes were to form a classis with its presbytery of ministers and elders; several classes a province with its assembly; and finally, a national assembly over all. But the system never came into full operation except in London and Lancashire; the parliament could not be brought to allow of the divine right of presbytery; they greatly limited the power of the keys, and they allowed of appeals from ecclesiastical courts. In their zeal for uniformity, hatred of toleration, lust of power, and tyrannical exercise of it, the Presbyterian clergy fell nothing short of the prelatical party who had been their persecutors. The moderate party in parliament lost at this time a great support by the death of the earl of Essex (Sept. 14). He died in consequence of overheating himself in the chase of a stag in Windsor Forest. He was buried with great state in Westminster Abbey (Oct. 22); the members of both houses, the civil and military officers, and all the troops in London attending the funeral.[a]

Gardiner[b] ascribes the military downfall of Charles to two facts: in the first place his cause appealed to the cavalier and aristocratic elements, while the great middle class and trade elements, the farmers and yeomen either kept aloof or sided against him; in the second place, he offended the English by his incessant appeals for aid, to the Welsh (who made up a large part of his army at Naseby), to the Irish, French, Lorrainers, Dutch and Scotch. Cromwell on the other hand stood for the national spirit.[a]

[1] Preston was the general of the Catholics of the English blood, O'Neil of the Ulster Irish.



CHAPTER II

THE LAST YEARS OF CHARLES I

[1646–1649 A.D.]

> Nobody now could foretell the course of events; either extreme seemed possible, the abolition or the restoration of the crown, the exclusive predominance of one creed or the toleration of many, the continuation of parliament or its diminution, the complete sway of the army or its combination with other forces, the maintenance of existing laws or social resolution. — VON RANKE.[b]

FROM this period, the supreme authority openly acknowledged by the people of England, was no longer divided, according to local feeling or circumstances, between the king and the parliament. The condition of the sovereign became in effect that of a private person, and the two houses exercised the functions of an independent commonwealth. But these powers were too recent in their origin, and the parties who wielded them were too little agreed among themselves, to allow of their working without hindrance or disorder. The Puritan spirit, with its ardent love of freedom up to a certain point, and its lamentable intolerance with respect to everything beyond it, still animated the Presbyterian body in both kingdoms; while the Independents, as they gradually rose into importance, by the sagacity which they brought to the management of public affairs, hardly less than by their exploits in the fields, became more fixed and definite in their demands on the side of the rights of conscience, and of a more equal liberty.

The army under Fairfax, consisting of twenty-two thousand men, was made up almost entirely from the Independents, and greatly outnumbered the Presbyterians, who were in arms under Massey and Poyntz. The Independents could also boast at this juncture of a small majority on many questions even in the house of commons; but the city was still mostly Presbyterian, and found its great ally in the Scottish army, which, by possessing the king's person, had become capable of negotiating with increased authority.

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Added to which, as a further element of probable discord, the royalists, though scattered, were by no means extinct. The number of the slain in the late struggle was comparatively small, and the passions of those who survived the conflict must have been rather exasperated than allayed by what had befallen them.

The struggle between the Presbyterians and Independents in the commons, which, during the present year, had appeared, in some important instances, to be in favour of the former, had not been such uniformly. A motion which required that part of the army under Fairfax should embark for Ireland was defeated by a majority of ninety-one to ninety; and a resolution to disband the troops under Massey, consisting mostly of Presbyterians, was carried in the commons, and executed by Ludlow, with the concurrence of Fairfax, notwithstanding a remonstrance against it by the lords. But the two parties were so nearly balanced in the commons during this year, that questions affecting either were rarely carried by a majority of more than eight or ten votes; and some instances of understood compromise were necessary that the ordinary business of government might proceed.

Another matter which served to manifest the power of the Independents in public affairs at this juncture, was the settlement of the exact form in which the Presbyterian government should be established. The Independents, as we have before remarked, were opposed to any civil establishment of religion; and those who aided them in their present struggle, without being strictly of their opinion in that respect, were careful that the mode of its establishment should be such as to give a secure ascendency to the civil power. Nothing, however, could be more unacceptable to the Presbyterian clergy than such doctrines, inasmuch as their principles taught them to regard the secular establishment of religion as the first duty of a state; and, at the same time, to assert their own pure independence of the civil power, even while looking to it for protection and endowments, and for the force with which to maintain their particular species of dominion.

There was a bill against blasphemy which this party endeavoured to carry in 1646, and which they succeeded in passing two years later, the provisions of which bespeak a frightful spirit of intolerance, reminding us very forcibly of the many similar decrees which occur in the pages of ecclesiastical history, and which were made the ground of proceedings so disgraceful to Christianity. By this act, any denial of the Trinity, of the proper deity or humanity of Christ, of his death as an atonement for the guilty, of his freedom from sin, of his resurrection, of the general rising from the dead, of the day of judgment, or of the authenticity of the canonical scriptures — was declared to be a capital offence! Many less considerable heresies are named as to be punished by other penalties. The authors of this enactment had imbibed the sentiment that truth must be one; that to themselves pertained the rare felicity of having discovered it; and that the more consistent evidence of their hallowed attachment to its interests was in the adoption even of such means with a view to its support. Thus the reasoning which had descended from Bonner to Laud, passed from the latter to the men who brought him to the block!

By the influence of the Independents, which operated to delay the act concerning blasphemy, the commons were induced to pass several of the most important of the propositions that had been rejected by the king, in the shape of ordinances — a proceeding which gave them the force of acts of parliament without waiting for the royal sanction. This republican principle was acted upon with respect to those parts of the propositions which related to the abolition of episcopacy, and the sale of the bishops' lands; to a justification of the

proceedings in parliament in both kingdoms since the commencement of hostilities; to the appointment of the great officers of state by the parliament; and to its retaining the command of the forces during the next twenty years.

THE ARMY VERSUS PARLIAMENT

The surrender of the king by the Scots, which was viewed with much satisfaction by the English Presbyterians, both as it would materially reduce the expenditure of the government, and as it seemed, by placing the king in their hands, to confer on them the power of dictating the conditions of a settlement, was soon found to have placed the affairs of the kingdom, as a matter at issue, between an unarmed Presbyterian majority in the parliament and the capital, and the Independent minority of the lower house, sustained by nearly the whole strength of the army. On the departure of the Scots, the Presbyterians ceased to have a military force in which they could confide; and it accordingly became their great object to disband the army under Fairfax, which, they well knew, had been for some time governed by principles and passions most hostile to their plans. It was given out, with this view, that the war had reached its close, and that the time for returning to a peace establishment had arrived.

Nor was this considered a difficult work to perform. The Presbyterians in the city, in the fulness of their confidence, prepared a petition to be presented to the two houses, which prayed that no person disaffected to the covenant should be promoted to, or allowed to retain, any public trust; that persons not duly ordained should be no more suffered to preach, nor the meetings of separate congregations be tolerated; and that an ordinance should be passed to put down all heresies and schisms, by visiting their abettors with exemplary punishments.

It was agreed that Fairfax should retain his office as commander-in-chief. But it was also voted that every officer under his command should take the covenant, and conform to the government of the church as established by ordinance; that no commander of a garrison should remain a member of parliament; and that all offices above that of a colonel should be abolished, excepting, of course, the rank of commander-in-chief. The object of the Presbyterians in these votes was to purify the army generally from its leaven of independency, and to compel Cromwell, and other formidable opponents, such as Ludlow, Hutchinson, Ireton, and Algernon Sidney, to relinquish their connection either with the army or with the parliament. With the votes already mentioned was another, which ordered an immediate embarkation of a great part of the army under Fairfax to serve against the insurgent Catholics in Ireland. At the same time, the discussions in parliament with respect to the payment of arrears, were attended with so many difficulties and delays as to warrant suspicion of a design to elude the just demands of the army even in that respect.

The crisis between the Presbyterians and the Independents was now at hand. The latter found themselves called upon to submit to a yoke under the name of Presbyterianism, hardly less oppressive than they had fought against under the name of prelacy. They saw every practicable slight cast upon their leaders; their boasted liberty of conscience about to be wrested from them; their dismission meditated, even without a just settlement of their pecuniary claims on the power which they had protected and established at the hazard of their lives; and, above all, one division of their strength on the eve of being

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drafted to Ireland, that the remainder might not be sufficient to impede measures designed to place the whole kingdom, with its new ecclesiastical establishment, under the guardianship of an army pledged to the covenant.

It was in order to intimate a determination not to submit to such a course of affairs, that the forces under Fairfax began an advance towards London. The arrears at this time due to the army were forty-three weeks' pay to the horse, and eighteen weeks' to the foot, a sum in the whole, considerably above three hundred thousand pounds. By a deputation for the purpose, the commons apprised the army of the vote in which they had pledged themselves to raise sixty thousand pounds a month for its support, and promised two months' pay to such regiments as should be disbanded. This, it will be perceived, was not one-fifth of the sum due to the cavalry, and less than half the amount owing to the infantry. But the great object of this deputation, was to make arrangements for the embarkation of a large portion of the army to Ireland. Many difficulties were thrown in the way of this object by the council of officers in their conference with the deputation; and a petition was prepared, to express the desires both of the officers and soldiers on various matters, but particularly with respect to an act of indemnity securing them against all proceedings on account of anything in their conduct during the war — and also that measures should be adopted to satisfy them with respect to their arrears before disbanding.



ALGERNON SIDNEY
(1622–1683)

The commons became aware of this proceeding, and, in order to repress it, and to prevent any similar attempt, summoned several officers who were suspected of being its promoters to their bar. On the same day it was voted that three regiments, commanded by colonels who were known to be zealous Presbyterians, should form part of the force to be retained in England. Holles, who was not without that sort of courage which arises from an insensibility to danger, concluded this day of bold measures by proposing that all persons adhering to the said petition should be prosecuted as enemies of the state, and this motion, carried at a late hour in the commons, was approved the next day by the lords. Such proceedings, against an army consisting of such men, were unjust and singularly impolitic.

The deputation to the army from the commons on the twentieth of March, was followed by another, which appeared in its quarters on the thirteenth of April. Colonel Lambert, in behalf of the assembled officers, insisted on the terms stated in the former conference. In conclusion, it was stated that no objection would be made to the service in Ireland if the men were allowed to

embark for that kingdom under their present commanders. About ten days subsequent, the commons went into a debate on the propriety of accepting the offer thus made by the convention of officers. They voted that such of the army as did not proceed to the service in Ireland according to order should be paid arrears for six weeks and disbanded. Filled with this ill-grounded confidence they continued to summon the most popular officers to their bar, on the charge of tampering with the soldiery in opposition to the wishes of the government. Some they committed to prison, and the whole body was not only threatened with punishment should they be detected in fomenting discontents, but were commanded to abstain from taking any part with the men under them in their attempts to obtain a redress of their pretended grievances.

RISE OF THE AGITATORS

One immediate effect of the separation thus produced between the men and the officers, was the institution of a sort of representative body from among the former, consisting mostly of non-commissioned officers, which subsequently became so memorable under the name of the council of Agitators—[a designation once supposed to have originated in a corruption of the word adjutators, or helpers].

If the civilians at Westminster had found the convention of officers unmanageable, their difficulties were of necessity multiplied by the imprudence which called forth this new power. The officers were a kind of middle class between the men whom they commanded, and the parliament with which they were at issue, having interests and sympathies in common with both; but this new council promised to embody the extreme principles and passions of the great body of the military, without the benefit of those modifications which the superior intelligence of their leaders would naturally have suggested. The officers had been censured when appearing in the character of petitioners, though on matters strictly military; but a more dangerous body was now about to appear in that character, and one which was not likely to be content with an interference on military affairs alone.

The first public act of the council of Agitators was to present a letter to their generals, Fairfax, Cromwell, and Skippon, bearing date the twenty-eighth of April, in which they complained of having been denounced as enemies of their country, and that by men, who, suddenly tasting the sweets of power, had forgotten their duties and professions, and were degenerating into tyrants. They spoke of the expedition to Ireland as an affair which had been so managed as to become a manifest expedient for putting an end to the army; and they were not disposed to witness its dissolution, until those rights of the subject, for the sake of which they had become soldiers, should be conceded and secured.

When this document was presented to the commons, it was moved that the three soldiers from whom it had been received should be sent to the Tower. Cromwell considered it important to check this vindictive course for the present and by his strong assurances that the army was by no means in so unmanageable a condition as the house seemed to conclude, put an end to the debate. He also accepted a commission with Skippon, Ireton, and Fleetwood, to go to the quarters of the military, and, by promising a bill of indemnity, and a further payment of arrears, to bring about, if possible, a settlement of differences. It may be safely credited that all these commissioners except Skippon, had been chief parties in encouraging and directing the agitation which

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they were sent to allay. But, with a majority against them in the two houses, it was only by such subtle policy, or by an immediate appeal to force, that their objects could be accomplished.[d]

The "Agitators"[1] discussed in a sort of committee all measures that were to be adopted, and subjected all the resolutions of the parliament to a subsequent examination. They formed a kind of lower house, and the officers an upper house, by which the plan of resistance became more consolidated and connected than was believed in London to be the case. As soon as Cromwell, who was the soul of the whole affair, arrived there, he bitterly complained, with profound dissimulation, of the state of affairs, but affirmed, however, with his associates, that they had found in the army no distemper, but many grievances. The parliament returned thanks, on the 21st of May, to him and his associates for their exertions, and on the following days came to many resolutions respecting the time and manner of paying the troops, of disbanding them, and of sending a part to Ireland. When it was proposed about this time to place some of the most violent of the agitators in strict custody, a Mr. Werenworth could venture to say they might be put in safe custody, but in the best tavern in the city, and be well provided with wine and sugar.

Cromwell, referring to some violent debates, said still more plainly to Ludlow, "These people will never leave off till the army takes them by the ears and turns them out of parliament." And in fact they still believed, as the king had done before, in their own inviolability and omnipotence, and did not take any right measures either to resist the army or to satisfy and gain it.

On the 29th of May, the new council of war declared that till all the grievances of the army were removed it could not be dissolved, so that the parliamentary commissioners were obliged to return without effecting anything. Three days later, on the 1st of June, Fairfax willingly received a decisive proposal of the council of war, namely: In order the better to superintend the regiments, and to keep them in order, they shall be collected from their scattered quarters; then the general will not be obliged to go from place to place, and the parliament will clearly see how far it may depend on the army, and the latter what it may expect from parliament. Fairfax communicated this resolution of the council to the parliament, recommending kindness and mildness, though the most blind could not but see in it a formal declaration of war. Holles, with the most zealous of his friends, advised therefore that at a moment of such great danger Cromwell ought to be arrested, though complete proofs of his guilt were still wanting; and, in fact, this perhaps would have been the only means of averting the approaching revolution. But before it could be regularly brought forward in the slow parliamentary course, Cromwell had again left London for the army, to which he gave a new preponderance by a bold and unexpected measure.

THE ARMY ABDUCTS THE KING (1647 A.D.)

On the 3rd of June, 1647, Cornet Joyce, formerly a tailor, appeared at Holmby, at the head of a party of horse, and demanded to speak to the king. Being told that his majesty was already gone to bed, he paid the less regard to the objection, as his men had quickly come to an understanding with the garrison, and drunk to their brotherhood, and consequently neither the officers nor the commissioners of the parliament could depend upon their support.

[1 The form "Adjutator" is plainly a blunder, though it was contemporaneous with 'Agitator," which was used in the now obsolete sense of "agent."]

When the king had been waked from his sleep, Joyce went to him, armed, and declared that he was come to take him to the army. Being asked by whose authority he came, Joyce answered: "The soldiers at the door are my authority." The king: "This authority is in truth written so legibly that it may be read without spelling." When the king reached the army, Fairfax affirmed, as we believe with perfect truth, that he had known nothing whatever of the whole enterprise, to which Charles answered that he could not believe this unless he hanged Joyce. The cornet being summoned to appear, said: "I have acted by instructions from the army; let it be assembled, and if three-fourths, at least, do not approve of my conduct, I am ready to be hung at the head of my regiment."

It is absolutely impossible that Cromwell and his associates should have known nothing of this plan; on the contrary, it cannot be doubted that they had contrived and brought about the whole, in order to anticipate and outmanœuvre the Presbyterians; wherefore Milton,[e] the panegyrist of Cromwell, says: "The carrying off the king was indeed contrary to the laws; but, under such circumstances, the most worthy men have often boldly saved the state, and the laws have afterwards confirmed their proceedings." According to Huntingdon, Joyce said plainly that Cromwell had given him the commission; and the latter replied, "otherwise the parliament would have carried off the king." When news of all these proceedings was brought to London, the adversaries of the Independents were thrown into the utmost consternation. The Scotch deputies in London looked at this carrying off of the king from a very different point of view; they affirmed that it was contrary to the covenant and the express conditions stipulated for the security of Charles, when he was given up, and took it for granted that the English parliament had engaged to maintain and execute those conditions in which Scotland would readily afford every assistance.

At the instance of Cromwell, Ireton, Fleetwood, Harrison, and others, who, notwithstanding the Self-Denying Ordinance, held posts in the army, "A Solemn Engagement" had been brought about, on the 5th of June, and a document drawn up, in which the soldiers endeavoured to justify their preceding conduct, as well as the choice of agitators, and affirmed that it was by no means intended to overthrow the government of the Presbyterian constitution of the church, or to introduce general licentiousness, under the pretext of religious freedom; yet, at the same time, they speak of the injustice and tyranny of their enemies, and of the malicious and wicked designs and principles of certain persons in the parliament. They plainly declared, that till their grievances were redressed, and all their demands granted, the army would not suffer itself to be disbanded by anybody, either wholly or in part.

THE EXPULSION OF THE ELEVEN MEMBERS

Thus pressed by the disobedient refractory army, the parliament considered it as a very fortunate circumstance, when, on the 8th of June, a petition was presented from the city of London requesting all honourable means might be used to come to an understanding with the army, that bloodshed might be avoided, the covenant maintained, the king's person secured, fresh negotiations be commenced with him, Ireland assisted, and new laws made for the protection of the city and the parliament. On the same day numbers of discontented soldiers crowded round the house, and extorted a more prompt execution of what had been already granted. Thanks were, however, returned

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to the city, and it was resolved on the 11th of June, that a committee of the parliament and of the capital should, for the safety of the kingdom and of the parliament, raise and arm men, and adopt all suitable measures; everybody was bound to obey and assist it. The army being speedily informed of all these circumstances, sent to the city of London a representation and justification of its conduct, and concluded their letter in the following words: "If you, or a great part of you, should be misled, notwithstanding these arguments, to employ arms against our just demands, we should, after this brotherly exhortation, be innocent of all the mischief that might befall your great and populous city."

Conjointly with these threats, the army caused a report to be spread that it intended to restore the king and civil order, to abolish taxes, establish peace, etc. Fairfax, too, sent to the parliament many petitions that were received in favour of the army. As it had formerly, in its mistrust, employed against the king arguments, reproaches, and conjectures, the same, now it had lost all credit and popularity, was done to itself, in scorn and ridicule, and all that it now ventured to do in its pretended omnipotence was to request that Fairfax, with the army, should not come within forty miles of London. He answered, on the 12th of June, that he was sorry not to be able to comply with this request, because the army, as circumstances had required, had already advanced within twenty miles of London. On the receipt of this intelligence, as Sanderson expresses it, such fear and boundless suspicion arose in the city that it seemed as if everybody were mad. The parliament deliberated day and night, but found that its resolutions, which at this time had been chiefly for the advantage of London, did not quiet the minds of the citizens, and that its measures did not alarm the soldiers. The latter and the general, on the contrary, answered the deputies of the parliament that the nearer they were to the city the more easy it was to obtain money, to restore order, and to establish peace.

From every concession of the parliament the army proved the justice of its earlier demands and raised them, referring to the principles which had been frequently declared by the two houses themselves. Instead of giving up the king as the parliament demanded, the army now treated him with uncommon respect, so that apprehensions were conceived that he might place himself at its head and disperse the parliament. The leaders of the Presbyterians, indeed, still preserved their courage, and endeavoured to prepare everything in London for serious resistance; but the violence of their opponents increased in an equal degree. When Holles, for instance, fell into a bitter dispute with Ireton, and challenged him, the latter answered it was contrary to his conscience to fight a duel. Hereupon Holles struck him in the face, and said, "Then let it be against your conscience to insult others." After such scenes between the leaders of the Presbyterians and Independents, no reconciliation could be thought of.

On the 14th of June, the parliament received a declaration of the army and the generals, drawn up principally by Ireton, with the assistance of Cromwell and Lambert, in which, among other things, they say: "We are no hired mercenaries, who must assist in all kinds of oppression, but came forward to defend the rights and liberties of the country, which are sufficiently known to us by the declaration of parliament, and by our own common sense. In Scotland, Portugal, and the Netherlands they went much further than the army has done; and the parliament itself has declared that where the rights of nature, of justice, and of nations are, there is no undue resistance to authority. We therefore demand the expulsion and impeachment of eleven members: viz.,

Holles, Stapleton, Lewis, Clotworthy, Waller, Maynard, Massey, Glyn, Long, Harley, and Nichols, who had particularly spoken against the army; they likewise demanded a month's pay in two days, etc. Further, that the parliament should not raise any new troops, or grant the obedient soldiers and officers any advantages over those who had disobeyed; and should give a strict account of the application of the public revenue; that the rights of the king should be determined in harmony with the rights of the subjects, and an amnesty for the past must be proclaimed.

"The present parliament must not continue indefinitely, according to the will of the members, which is contrary to the constitution of the country and the rights of the people, and leads to tyranny. Triennial parliaments must be restored, the representation of inconsiderable and decayed places must be altered, and a more uniform system introduced, founded on judicious principles; for instance, with reference to the payment of taxes. No person desires to overthrow the Presbyterian church, but neither ought those who are restrained by their consciences from following certain forms and cèremonies, but otherwise live peaceably and according to the laws, to be punished on that account, or be debarred any rights and privileges. Our demands are, in short, for the general good, and are not founded on partial and selfish views. Wherefore we hope that God, in his goodness and mercy, will through us, as his blessed instruments, cause the peace and happiness of this unhappy kingdom to be established."

All these demands not only obtained the approbation of the commander-in-chief, Fairfax, in a special letter, but met with many friends in the country. The taxes, it was complained, become daily heavier, and a great portion of the revenue is employed for selfish purposes, and no account given. Unheard-of harshness is used towards the vanquished friends of the king, and to the bishops who are reduced to distress. The star chamber is, indeed, abolished; but the committees formed in the counties arrest and punish at their discretion, and exercise a greater tyranny than ever, and all this too is done under religious pretexts, and every crime is accompanied with prayers and scripture phrases. If, therefore, objections may be made in some instances to the demands of the army, and if its haughty bearing cannot be justified, as far as the form is concerned, yet there remains no other means to put down the temporal and spiritual tyranny of the parliament. In this situation, which must have been more bitter to the parliament, which was lately so revered, when it considered its own conduct towards the king, it revoked the ordinance against the army, assigned money for its pay, and put a stop to the levy of recruits and to the preparations for defence.

But it passed over other points in silence, observed that the expulsion of the eleven members could not take place without a precise statement of the complaints against them and proofs; and, lastly, it again demanded that the army should remove to the distance of forty miles, and that the king should be given up to the parliament. Fairfax did not pay the slightest attention to these demands, at first did not answer at all, then evasively, and it was not till the 23rd of June that a new "humble petition" of the army and its leaders appeared. After long and warm debates, the parliament resolved, on the 25th of June, that the accused members could not be suspended from sitting in the house till particulars were produced and proofs given. On the following day, however, news was brought that the army had advanced within fifteen English miles; but merely, as Fairfax said, for the ease of the country and the soldiers. In this situation, when arguments and representations had no effect, and means were wanting to repel force by force, the eleven accused

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members desired leave to absent themselves from the house. This was readily granted, though the Independents thereby gained the majority in parliament, and carried motions which had before been rejected.

The Independents, on their part, endeavoured more and more to gain the king; they treated him much more mildly than the Presbyterians, allowed his children, friends, and chaplain to have access to him, and held out hopes of complying with his wishes respecting the constitution of the Church. They, however, did not make him any definite proposals; whence sharp-sighted persons correctly inferred that they meant to use him as an instrument, and to keep him in suspense, rather than to determine disputed points according to his wishes. Hence Lanerick wrote to him that the army would certainly propose very hard terms to him, and at the most offer him religious liberty for the loss of all temporal power. The king asking, in a conversation, by what right he had been removed against his will from Holmby House, Fairfax replied, from necessity; on which Charles said, "I never ventured at the height of my power to do so much violence to the law, and yet those people cry out give us justice, or —— ! !"

RIOTS IN LONDON

On the 8th of July, a letter from the commander-in-chief, recommending and justifying the milder treatment of the king, was received by the parliament. The letter advised not to use greater severity towards him without necessity, which would only excite a new interest in his favor. The mixture of truth and error, of humility and arrogance, of apparent obedience and direct resistance, which we find in the addresses of the army to the parliament, calls to our minds its own proceedings against the king, only the retaliation is the more bitter because the soldiers ironically quoted an example or model for every step they took, from the journals of the legislators, who had now lost all their power. The latter, however, did not give up their cause as desperate, but endeavoured to combat the army with its own weapons, by means of petitions, and to bring over the capital, which was for the most part inclined to the Presbyterians, entirely to their own side. On the 14th of July, a representation to the following effect, said to be signed by 10,000 well-disposed young men, was presented, requesting the "restoration of the king and the parliament to their rights, the regulation of the government of the church, the abolition of the conventicles and of the undue liberty of religion, the punishment of the evil-minded, and the disbanding of the army."

This petition being neutralised by a second of an opposite tenor on the following day, the formation of the militia in London impeded, and the Presbyterian commanders removed; a number of citizens, young men, apprentices, officers, sailors, and watermen presented, on the 24th of July, a third representation, founded on a solemn league and covenant. They demanded that the army should not come any nearer, but that the king should come to London; that peace should be concluded on the conditions proposed by him, on the 12th of May, and that all things still in dispute should be speedily settled, in concert with the Scotch. These proposals and resolutions, they were resolved to defend with their lives and fortunes. The parliament, now stripped of all dignity and independence, had no alternative but to yield to the power of the army or of the city. It chose the former, rejected the last-mentioned demands, and declared all persons who had joined in that petition to be traitors. The army, being informed of all these circumstances, had declared, on the 28th, that it would not suffer such disobedience of the city to the

parliament, and would free it from all violence. On the other hand, the citizens boasted that they would treat with the same generosity that part of the parliament which acceded to their views, and accordingly, on the 25th of July, the sheriffs and some members of the common council appeared before the house of commons, with a petition that it would restore the independence of the London militia, and favor its speedy organisation.

Before any resolution could be taken, several thousand apprentices and others preferred a similar but much more violent petition; nay, they behaved in so riotous a manner that the seven lords (to which number the whole upper house was now reduced), immediately granted their petition, but then fled through a back door, and escaped by water. The house of commons, which did not wish to offend the army, most earnestly entreated the insolent petitioners to retire; but as their secret intention immediately to adjourn became known, the mob occupied all the doors; nay, the boldest entered the hall, forcibly took the speaker, who was going to retire, back to his chair, made various demands, with loud cries, but especially the confirmation of what the upper house had granted: the recall of the king to London, the return of the eleven members of parliament, the restoration of the militia to its old footing, and the abolition of all ordinances against the petitioners.*f*

THE HEADS OF THE PROPOSALS

Charles was not inobservant of these violent proceedings in the city, and secretly expressed his approval of them, everything which served to place the two parties in an equipoise, or to embroil their affairs, being regarded by him as favourable to the part which he was disposed to act as an umpire between them.

As the natural consequence of such proceedings, and of the attempts which were continually made to detach the disaffected and the wavering from its ranks, the army had become more and more united and organised with a view to the accomplishment of its objects, and much less scrupulous about an immediate proposal of those political reforms and arrangements which were deemed expedient for the public interest. While the city was the scene of the excitement and discord now described, the wisest men in the army, some of whom had been educated as lawyers, and others were naturally profound politicians, were employing themselves in framing a scheme for the settlement of affairs which was to be submitted to the approval of the king and of the two houses.[1]

This scheme provided that a new parliament should be convened every two years, upon a principle of election which required the extinction of decayed boroughs, and which regulated the number of members for boroughs and counties according to their relative extent and property. In its first session each parliament was to deliberate for one hundred and twenty days, after which space, and not before, it might be adjourned or dissolved by the king; and at the close of a second session of the same extent it dissolved of course. In all cases of impeachment, the judgment of the commons was made to be necessary to any sentence of condemnation pronounced by the lords, and the king was not to have the power to pardon when the two houses agreed in their verdict. The command of the militia was to be vested in the two houses for the next ten years, and to be resumed by the king at the close of that interval with the consent of parliament.

[1 This scheme called "The Heads of the Proposals" was drawn up by Ireton.]

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The persons who should constitute the council of state now to be appointed were to be chosen with the concurrence of all the negotiating parties, and to hold their offices during good behaviour, but not for a longer period than seven years. The parliament, which was to retain the power of war and peace, was also to nominate the officers of state for the next ten years, and after that time was to be empowered to present three candidates for each of such offices, from which the king might make his selection. The prelates might be restored, but without the power to inflict any civil penalty upon any man on account of religion; nor were any means to be employed to compel the use of the common prayer, or the adoption of the covenant. With these more important provisions, were some enlightened proposals with respect to the choosing of grand jurymen, the appointment of sheriffs, the right of petitioning, and the reform of various evils connected with tithes, law-suits, and imprisonment for debt.

Some of the men who had been most occupied in the preparation of this scheme — a scheme which, all circumstances considered, was singularly wise and moderate — were determined republicans; but they felt that they had to negotiate for a nation in which an attachment to monarchy was still the prevailing sentiment, and not for the comparatively small sect which shared with them in their greater admiration of the commonwealths of the ancient world. The conduct of the monarch, however, made this effort in the way of compromise wholly unavailing. His language, when these overtures were made to him, was so haughty and irritating as to destroy all hope of conciliation in those who proposed them, and excited regret and astonishment among his friends who listened to it.

The mobs of the capital extorted the required votes from the parliament on Monday the 26th of June, and on the following Thursday the speakers of both houses, with about fourteen lords, and one hundred commoners, left the city, and two days later placed themselves under the protection of the army on Hounslow Heath. Little authority attached to the fragments of the two houses which remained at Westminster, and though the force at the command of the city was more numerous than the army advancing against it, the want of that discipline, and deep interest in the matters at issue which characterised the army under Fairfax, rendered all the hostile preparations made by his opponents rather ridiculous than formidable. On the seventh of August the army marched through London without the slightest appearance of opposition or disorder; the two houses assembled; the speakers resumed their seats; Fairfax received their thanks, and accepted from the hands of the lords and commons the office of constable of the Tower.

The parliament, being reassembled after the interval of disorder from the 26th of July to the 6th of August, was prevailed upon by the officers to make one more effort for the restoration of peace, which was done by recommending the old propositions submitted to the king at Newcastle to his further consideration. But those propositions were based upon the league and covenant, and the military leaders heard with much pleasure that the king professed to look upon the recent propositions of the army as more tolerant and equitable, and as being in consequence more adapted to become the groundwork of an adjustment. It was hoped that not more than three weeks would be required to complete a settlement upon that basis. But nearly two months passed, and Cromwell and his colleagues were still, notwithstanding all their labour, at some distance from their object — so difficult was it to bring the council of officers and the agitators, and the lords and commons, to such an agreement as might be expected to obtain the approval of the king.

In the mean time it was ascertained that the monarch had no sincere intentions toward peace upon such terms. He still indulged the hope of obtaining military aid from Ireland and Scotland, and flattered himself that, by bringing an army of covenanters from the north against the army of the Independents, he should soon be placed in a position to summon the scattered royalists in both kingdoms to his standard, and so to recover what he had lost. His intrigues with all these parties had led to the adoption of some extended and definite plans of action, when they were detected by Cromwell and Ireton, who, at their next meeting with Ashburnham, expressed high indignation on account of the perfidy which they had discovered in his master. Charles soon experienced the evil effects of this conduct. The spirit of the army became daily more violent; and those who had been accustomed to exercise the greatest control over it, began to look upon their power with apprehension. The agitators were heard to change their discourse, and to complain openly in council, both of the king, and of the malignants about him.

Much of the dangerous efficiency which these men possessed as speakers was the effect of their having taken upon them the office of preaching. The clergy who were at first connected with the several regiments as chaplains, soon retired from a mode of life so little congenial with their habits. They first saw war at the battle of Edgehill, and few of them exposed themselves to the sight a second time. But the consequence was, that the services of religion were left to fall almost into disuse, or to be conducted by military men. It is not to be doubted, however, that the republicanism of the private soldiers had been connected from the first with not a little fanatical extravagance; and as this feeling increased in that quarter, and as more moderate men sometimes deemed it prudent to make use of it in the struggle of parties, it is not surprising that the more sober commonwealthmen and the levellers should have been confounded by their enemies, and that the same obnoxious appellation should often have been given to both. The individuals who placed themselves at the head of the malcontents in the army at this moment were Major Scott, and the colonels Ewer and Rainsborough; and their jealousy was particularly directed against Cromwell, Ireton, and Vane.

On the 1st of November the agents of no less than sixteen regiments concurred in the adoption of a paper bearing the title of An Agreement of the People, and containing the leading principles of this sect. According to this avowal of their opinions, they were concerned to vest the sovereign power in the representatives of the nation, independent of the consent or concurrence of any other person or persons — their constituents being their only superior. They claimed equal protection from the laws; exemption from all forced service either in the army or navy; and full liberty of religious worship. That parliaments might be a more adequate representation and exercise of the popular sovereignty, it was urged that the right of suffrage should be much extended, and that all such assemblies should be convened anew at the close of every two years, and the session of each year be a sitting of six months.

These proceedings were opposed with some spirit by the two houses, and were discountenanced in every practicable way by Cromwell and Ireton, who, whatever may have been their private speculations, were satisfied that the country was in no state to be governed by such principles, and still less by such men.[1] That something might be conceded to the temper of this faction, the

[1] Ludlow with his usual prejudice against Cromwell, ascribes his conduct in this particular to a desire of making the army more subservient to his plans of personal ambition. But of this there is no proof. His plans, so far as they can be known, no doubt promised more advantage to himself than those which obtained the suffrage of the agitators and their adher-

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parliament agreed to deprive the crown of its negative voice on bills, after passing the lords and commons; and Cromwell so far yielded to the stream as to vote with the council of officers upon the resolution that no further attempt should be made toward negotiating with the king. But these concessions did little to check the present spirit of insubordination, and it was manifest to sagacious men that, without prompt and decisive measures to curb this arrogance, all would be lost.

RENDEZVOUS AT WARE—MUTINY SUPPRESSED

Fairfax, who had always looked on the proceedings of the agitators with suspicion and displeasure, assembled a council of officers to deliberate on the best means of counteracting these projects, and of removing the distempered feeling in which they originated. It was resolved that the officers and agitators should repair from the head-quarters at Putney to their different regiments, in order that their influence might be employed in restoring discipline — the "agents" having been the parties just now most employed in producing this spirit of discontent, on which both the country and the parliament began to look with alarm. Several places of rendezvous were accordingly appointed, in the hope of finally adjusting all differences. In the mean time, the general urged on the parliament the importance of making some speedy arrangement for the payment of arrears, and on similar matters, as a course of proceeding that could not fail of rendering it manifest that the army was still intent on the good of the kingdom.

This was on the 9th of November, the day after the meeting of the council of officers at Putney. On the same day a petition was presented to the house from certain agents of the army — the same who had drawn up "the case" of that body — praying the house to take the latter document into consideration. The "petition" and the "case" were both condemned, as opposed to the privileges of parliament, and to the fundamental government of the kingdom; but some steps were taken with a view to the payment of arrears, and toward making a better provision for the wants of the soldiers.

On the 13th, the appointed rendezvous took place at Ware, the headquarters having been removed two days previously to Hertford. One brigade only had received orders to be present on that day; but besides the six regiments which it included, two others made their appearance. The general began by reading to each regiment a remonstrance agreed upon by the council of officers, and addressed the men in such terms as called forth loud applause, and all seemed to join in the pledge "to adhere to the general," notwithstanding the efforts made by Scott, Eyre, and others to induce them to declare for "the Agreement of the People."

But the two regiments present without orders were those commanded by Harrison and Lilburne, long known, particularly the latter, as the most mutinous in the army. Harrison's regiment appeared with a motto in their hat — "England's freedom and soldiers' rights;" but were prevailed on by the gen-

ents, but they were such as may have originated in a more enlightened regard to the claims of his country. Mr. Godwin[h] also, has represented Cromwell as insincere in his transactions with the king, but founds his views on a tissue of surmisings which are much more amusing than satisfactory. Berkeley[i] states that the king distrusted the officers, particularly Cromwell and Ireton, because they would not accept of favours from him. Such conduct seems to bespeak the sincerity of their dealing with the king, and to refute the slanders which were circulated as to their intended promotion in the king's government. Mrs. Hutchinson[j] expresses herself fully satisfied as to Cromwell's sincerity in these proceedings. According to a rumour sent abroad by that notorious court gossip the countess of Carlisle, Charles was pledged to create Cromwell earl of Essex, and to make him commander of the guard.

eral to destroy the mottoes, and to promise obedience. Cromwell now rode up to Lilburne's regiment, and called upon them to follow so proper an example. But he called in vain. The moment required decision. A council of war was called on the field, some fourteen of the more mutinous were seized, three were condemned, and one of this number, chosen by lot, was instantly shot at the head of his regiment. Eleven were placed in the hands of the marshal as a security for the obedience of the rest. By this decided method of proceeding the boldest were intimidated, and discipline was restored.

THE KING ESCAPES FROM HAMPTON COURT

Five days before this occurrence, Charles had made his escape from Hampton Court. He had been led to regard the changing temper of the army with apprehension. The officers who endeavoured to serve him had become on that account exceedingly unpopular. Ireton was excluded from the council of his colleagues, and Cromwell was threatened with impeachment; and the monarch saw, that, should the effort about to be made to restore subordination prove unsuccessful, not only his throne, but his life might be in imminent danger. But in what quarter should he seek an asylum? It was the advice of some that he should go to London and present himself at once in the house of lords. But it was objected that such a proceeding would probably lead to a collision between the city and the army, and subject the king to the charge of encouraging a second war.

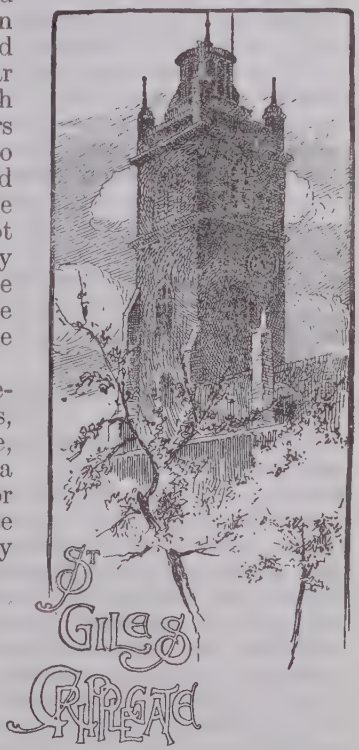
In the mean time, the Scottish commissioners pressed him to deliver himself at once from his perplexities by accepting their propositions. His final resolution, and one formed probably under the direction of the parties who had connived at his escape, was to go to the Isle of Wight. Charles withdrew from Hampton Court on the evening of the 11th of November, and after riding with his attendants the whole of the night, which was dark and stormy, reached Sutton in Hampshire the next morning at daybreak. Charles at length determined that Ashburnham and Berkeley should proceed at once to the Isle of Wight, and that, having apprised the governor, Colonel Hammond, of the assurance the king had received from Cromwell and others concerning the dangers which threatened him at Hampton Court, they should express to him the confidence of the monarch in his readiness to serve him at such a crisis, either by affording him protection or favouring his escape.

Hammond listened to the communication of his visitors with distrust and alarm. He at length professed his readiness to receive the monarch, but it was in terms so cautious as to justify suspicion. The governor accompanied his guests on their return to Tichfield, where Ashburnham, leaving him with Berkeley and another military officer below, ascended to the king's apartment, and, stating what had passed, added that the governor was in the house, prepared to fulfil the pledges he had given. Charles, with that wavering judgment which he so often manifested during these vicissitudes, immediately laid his hand upon his breast, and exclaimed, "What! have you brought Hammond with you? then I am undone, for I can now stir no more!" Ashburnham was much affected on hearing this expression, and others to the same effect; but the king added, that things must now take the course they had assumed, and he so far suppressed his feelings, as to receive the governor with an air of cheerfulness and apparent cordiality. The monarch, on his landing on the island, was lodged with much courtesy in Carisbrooke castle; and the two houses were immediately apprised of his being there.

Four days subsequent to his landing in the Isle of Wight, Charles sent a

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message to the parliament, stating the reasons which prevented his consenting to the abolition of Episcopacy, and to some other things proposed. About the same time Berkeley was sent to the head-quarters of the army at Windsor, to ascertain from the officers whether, as they had succeeded in their attempt to subdue the spirit of the mutineers, they were now prepared to forward a settlement on the basis of their late propositions. His communication was made to a council of officers, but was received in a manner which gave no promise of success. It was added, that these communications, which had been made by one regiment after another, had so far intimidated the more moderate men in the council of officers, that even Cromwell had confessed himself in fault, in having gone so far in his endeavours to promote an agreement with the king. It was also stated, that the leaders in this disaffection had formed a resolution to bring the king to trial, and that many trembled to think of what might in that case ensue. The king, in the language of Cromwell, "could not be trusted." The army was more thoroughly persuaded of that fact than himself; and these two circumstances at once determined the conduct of Cromwell and the fate of the monarch.



OLIVER CROMWELL WAS MARRIED IN THIS CHURCH

The parliament, in answer to the letter received from the king, determined that four bills, relating to the most material points at issue, should be submitted for his assent, and that a treaty should be commenced to settle the minor questions which remained. The first of these bills provided that the command of the military should be vested in the parliament during the next twenty years, together with a power of resuming that command even after that period, whenever the two houses should deem such a proceeding necessary to the safety of the kingdom; the second required a proclamation to be issued, justifying the acts of the parliament in the late war, and making void all declarations to the contrary; the third called upon the king to annul all patents of peerage of a date subsequent to the removal of the great seal from London in 1642, and declared that peers created in future should not have the power of sitting and voting in parliament without the consent of the lords and commons; and the fourth gave the two houses the power of adjournment from place to place, and from time to time, at their own pleasure.[1]

[1] The following is the account given by Clarendon[k] of the import of these bills:— "By one of them he was to confess the war to have been raised by him, and that he was guilty of all the blood that had been spilt. By another, he was totally to dissolve the government of the church by bishops, and to grant all the lands belonging to the church to such uses as they proposed, leaving the settling a future government in the place thereof to further time and councils. By a third, he was to grant and settle the militia in the manner and in the persons proposed, reserving not so much power in himself as any subject was capable of. In the last place, he was to sacrifice all those who had served or adhered to him to the mercy of the parliament." How are we to account for such misrepresentation?

The answer of the king was, that nothing which he had hitherto suffered, or could at present apprehend, would induce him to give his assent to these preliminaries so long as the matters which were to follow remained undetermined. Charles appears to have been disposed to this course, partly by his fear that the parliament might not be able to make good its overtures against the less friendly temper of the army; and still more by the interference of the Scotch commissioners, who assured him that Scotland was willing to forego her absolute demands on the matter of the covenant, for the sake of a peace with him, and in order to prevent the affairs of the country from passing into the hands of the Independents. In fact, a treaty to this effect was signed at Carisbrooke, before the king returned his answer to the two houses.

When Charles despatched that message, it was in the hope of being able to make his escape, and, by placing himself at the head of an army of covenanters and royalists on the borders of the two kingdoms, to accomplish by a second war what he failed to achieve in the first. But every attempt so far to elude the vigilance of Hammond was without effect, though the monarch found means of frequent correspondence with his family and adherents. Parliament, on receiving his message, decided that no further address should be made to him, and the army pledged itself to support the two houses in that resolution; and, with a reference to the conduct of the Scots, it was declared that all persons making an overture to the monarch without consent of parliament should be liable to the penalties of high treason.[d]

THE VOTE OF NON-ADDRESSES AND THE "SECOND CIVIL WAR"

Cromwell exultingly communicated the result of the proceedings at Carisbrooke to Col. Hammond. "The house of commons has this day voted as follows:—1st. They will make no more addresses to the king; 2nd. None shall apply to him without leave of the two houses, upon pain of being guilty of high treason; 3rd. They will receive nothing from the king, nor shall any other bring anything to them from him, nor receive anything from the king." The lords adopted the resolution, after some debate. Unless there be some speedy change, the end will be accomplished that the majority in parliament contended for, "to settle the commonwealth without the king." That majority in the commons was a very formidable one — 141 to 91; and their resolution is justly described by Hallam[m] as "a virtual renunciation of allegiance." But, however the notion of a sovereign representative assembly as the government suited for England might please the political enthusiasts and the military fanatics, the great body of quiet people, who desired the protection of the law under a limited monarchy, were not prepared to endure that a democracy should be thrust upon them at the point of the sword. Discontent was very generally spread. Murmurings would shortly grow into revolts. Cromwell, who saw better than most men the inevitable result of political and religious discords, whilst the supreme authority was so unsettled, tried to effect some reconciliation between Presbyterians and Independents. The dinner at which Cromwell assembled them was given in vain. "One would endure no superior, the other no equal."

Ludlow,[g] who thus describes the result of this attempt, relates more minutely the proceedings of another meeting at which he was present. The grandees of the house and army, of whom he terms Cromwell the head, "would not declare their judgments either for a monarchical, aristocratical, or democratical government; maintaining that any of them might be good in themselves, or for us, according as Providence should direct us." The common-

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wealth's men boldly declared against monarchy; that the king had broken his oath, and dissolved their allegiance; maintained that he had appealed to the sword, and should be called to account for the effusion of blood; after which an equal commonwealth, founded upon the consent of the people. The discussion, solemn as it was, had a ludicrous termination. "Cromwell," says Ludlow, "professed himself unresolved; and having learned what he could of the principles and inclinations of those present at the conference, took up a cushion and flung it at my head, and then ran down the stairs; but I overtook him with another, which made him hasten down faster than he desired." Cromwell told Ludlow the next day that "he was convinced of the desirableness of what was proposed, but not of the feasibleness of it."

There was a meeting some time after, conducted in a very different mood by Cromwell — a meeting of officers of the army at Windsor Castle, as reported by Adjutant-General Allen. These zealous men spent one whole day in prayer. They were exhorted by Cromwell to a thorough consideration of their actions as an army, and of their ways as private Christians. They became convinced that the Lord had departed from them, through "those carnal conferences which they held in the preceding year with the king and his party." They, with bitter weeping, took sense and shame of their iniquities. They came to a clear agreement that it was their duty to go forth and fight the enemies that had appeared against them. They finally came to a resolution, "That it was our duty, that, if ever the Lord brought us back again in peace, to call Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to an account for that blood he had shed, and mischief he had done to his utmost, against the Lord's cause and people in these poor nations." These men, not hypocrites, not wholly fanatics, are very terrible in their stern resolves. They will go forth to fight "the enemies that had appeared against them" — and then! There is a reaction in many quarters in England. The Scots are preparing to invade. A second civil war is fast approaching.

When the parliament passed their resolution to receive no more communications from the king, and to forbid all correspondence with him, they published a declaration imputing all the misfortunes of his reign to himself personally, and not to evil counsellors, as had been the custom before monarchy had lost its respect even in the eyes of those who were opposed to its evil government. But the nation was tired of its distractions. It wearied for some permanent settlement that might end the hoarse disputes and subtle intrigues of parliament and army, of Presbyterian and Independent; that might free the possessors of rank and property from the dread of wild men with notions of social equality; that might restore industry to its healthful functions, and put an end not only to the cost of a standing military force, but to its fearful resistance to civil power. The desire of the peaceful portion of the nation was feebly heard amidst the surrounding clamour.

The attempt to express their impatience of existing evils by riot and revolt was necessarily a vain attempt. This spirit was displayed in the city of London, at the beginning of April. Cromwell and some of the other leaders attend a common-council; but they find the Presbyterians indisposed to listen to what they call "their subtleties." The next day there is a formidable riot. It is Sunday. The Puritan strictness in religious observances, and in minor matters, has come to be less respected than before the close of the war. Royalists, amidst their contempt for what they deem fanaticism, are now mixing again in the ordinary intercourse with the despised roundheads. The theatre is now not wholly proscribed. On that Sunday, the 9th of April, there are apprentices playing at bowls in Moorfields during church-time. They are

ordered to disperse by the militia guard; but they fight with the guard, and hold their ground. Soon routed by cavalry, they raise the old cry of "Clubs"; are joined by the watermen, a numerous and formidable body; fight on through the night; and in the morning have possession of Ludgate and Newgate, and have stretched chains across all the great thoroughfares.

There are forty hours of this tumult, in which the prevailing cry is "God and King Charles." At last a body of cavalry arrive from Westminster; there is an irresistible charge of the men who had ridden down far more terrible assailants; and that movement is at an end. But in many towns there are similar riots.

In Wales some Presbyterian officers of the parliamentary army, with Colonel Poyer at their head, have raised a far more formidable insurrection. Pembroke Castle is in their hands. They soon have possession of Chepstow Castle. The gentry have proclaimed the king. It is a Presbyterian-royalist insurrection, allied in principle with the purposes of the moderate Presbyterians of Scotland, who are organising their army for the march into England. The Welsh outbreak is somewhat premature; but nevertheless it is very formidable. It is alarming enough to demand the personal care of Lieutenant-General Cromwell. He leaves London on the 3rd of May, with five regiments. The Londoners are glad to be freed from his presence; for a rumour has been spread that the army at Whitehall are about to attack and plunder the city. Petitions were addressed to the commons that the army should remove further; and that the militia should be placed under the command of Skippon.

The reaction gave the Presbyterians again the command in parliament; and it was voted on the 28th of April, that the fundamental government of the kingdom by king, lords, and commons, should not be changed; and that the resolutions forbidding all communication with the king should be rescinded. Popular demonstrations immediately followed the departure of Cromwell. Surrey gentlemen, freeholders, and yeomen, came to Westminster with a petition that the king should be restored with all the splendour of his ancestors. A broil ensued between the parliamentary guard and these petitioners, who asked the soldiers, "Why do you stand here to guard a company of rogues?" Several of the Surrey men, and one of the guard, were killed. The royalists of Kent organised themselves in a far more formidable shape. They secured Sandwich and Dover; appointed as general, Goring, Earl of Norwich; and assembled at Rochester to the number of seven thousand. Troops were raised for the royal service in the eastern and midland counties.

More dangerous to the ruling powers than all these demonstrations, was the defection of the fleet. The unsteadiness and the inconstancy, the jealousy of the government under which the sailors served, belonged to a period when the government had long been indifferent to the national honour. These characteristics altogether passed away when the first thought of the English fleet was how "not to be fooled by the foreigner."

The sailors of 1648 put their admiral on shore, and carried their ships to Holland, to place them under the command of the prince of Wales, who appeared in the Channel — and did nothing. The royalists were in the highest exultation. They expected the king soon to be again at their head. The earl of Holland had turned once more to what he thought would be the winning side; and his mansion at Kensington was again the resort of cavaliers. But the king does not appear amongst them. An attempt at escape from Carisbrooke has a second time failed. On the 31st of May, Hammond wrote to the parliament that the king had again nearly effected his escape.

Another dread now came over the Presbyterian party. They would

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negotiate with the king; but they would take strong measures against the royalists. All papists and malignants were banished from London under more severe penalties than before. Fairfax was directed to proceed with all his forces against the insurgents in Kent and Essex and the other counties around London. They issued new ordinances against heresy, which affected the Independents; and against swearing, which touched the cavaliers very nearly. The general and the army marched into Kent; dispersed the insurgents after an obstinate fight at Maidstone: and by rapid successes, wherever else there was resistance, put down the rising spirit. Lord Goring, after having led several thousand men to Blackheath, expecting assistance in London, was compelled to see the desertion of his followers, and he crossed the Thames into Essex. There the contest was more prolonged. Lord Capel and Sir Charles Lucas had collected a large force, with which they intended to march from Colchester upon London. Fairfax invested the town; and for two months there was a renewal of the former work of blockade and siege, until the place was surrendered on the 27th of August.

The triumph of Fairfax was tarnished by an exception to his usual humanity. Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle were tried by court-martial, and were shot. The earl of Holland and the young duke of Buckingham broke out in revolt at Kingston-on-Thames, when the main army of the parliament was investing Colchester. There was an action near Kingston, in which they were defeated; and passing into Hertfordshire, the remnant was cut up at St. Neot's by a detachment from the army of Fairfax, and Holland was taken prisoner. In all these movements, we see the absence of any supreme organising power. They were isolated efforts, which were quickly suppressed. Whatever miseries England had still to endure, it was freed from the misery of a long partisan warfare.

THE SCOTCH INVASION AND THE BATTLE OF PRESTON (1648 A.D.)

In Wales, where the resistance to the parliament was more concentrated, the presence even of Cromwell was not at first successful. He is before Pembroke, but he has no artillery to make short work of the siege. It was not till the 10th of July that the town and castle of Pembroke were surrendered to him. Six days before the capitulation the Scottish army entered England, under the duke of Hamilton. He was joined by five thousand English under Sir Marmaduke Langdale. The English general, Lambert, was retreating before them, having been directed by Cromwell to avoid an engagement, and to fall back. Two days after the surrender of Pembroke, Cromwell was on his march from the west. He waited not for orders. He knew where he was wanted. At this juncture a charge of treason had been preferred against him by Major Huntington, an officer of the army, which had been countenanced by some members of both houses. He was accused of endeavouring, by betraying the king, parliament, and army, to advance himself. The occasion was not opportune for such an attempt. When he left London he was equally distasteful to the Presbyterians and the commonwealth's men — who, with some, went by the general name of levellers.

The Scottish army that entered England could not be regarded as the army of the Scottish nation. The treaty which had been concluded with the king at Carisbrooke gave satisfaction only to a portion of the Presbyterians. The Scottish parliament, influenced by the duke of Hamilton and others, who professed moderate principles of ecclesiastical government, gave the engagements of that treaty their zealous support, especially that clause which pro-

vided that a military force should be sent to England to reinstate the king in his authority. They were in consequence called the "engagers." But the clergy generally proclaimed that Charles had not conceded enough for the establishment of their form of worship in England to warrant a war for his assistance. The marquis of Argyll, and other powerful chiefs who had fought against Montrose, were burning with resentment against the royalists of their own country, and were strenuously opposed to what was meant as an aid to the royalists of England. An army was however raised; and the engagers, with a raw and ill-disciplined force, crossed the Border.

The march of Cromwell, from the extremity of South Wales to the heart of Lancashire, was accomplished with a rapidity which belongs only to the movements of great commanders. He had to gather scattered forces on his way, and to unite himself with Lambert in Yorkshire. He was determined to engage with an enemy whose numbers were held to double his own. Through the whole breadth of South Wales, then a pastoral country, but now presenting all the unpicturesque combinations of mining industry, he advanced to Gloucester. This forced march of some hundred and fifty miles through Wales was an exhausting commencement. "Send me some shoes for my poor tired soldiers," wrote Cromwell to the executive committee in London. At Leicester he received three thousand pairs of shoes. At Nottingham he confers with Colonel Hutchinson, and leaves his prisoners with him. His cavalry have pushed on, and have joined Lambert at Barnard Castle. All Cromwell's forces have joined the northern troops by the 12th of August. The Scots, who, having passed Kendal, had debated whether they would march direct into Yorkshire, and so on towards London, have decided for the western road. The duke of Hamilton thinks he is sure of Manchester. Sir Marmaduke Langdale is their guide through the unknown ways into Lancashire, and leads the vanguard. There is very imperfect communication between the van and the rear of this army.

On the 16th of August the duke is at Preston. The same night Cromwell is at Stonyhurst. Langdale, to the left of Hamilton's main body, has ascertained that the dangerous enemy is close at hand and sends notice to the duke. "Impossible," exclaims Hamilton; "he has not had time to be here." The next morning Cromwell has fallen upon Sir Marmaduke, and utterly routed him, "after a very sharp dispute." Hamilton's army is a disjointed one. His cavalry in considerable numbers are at Wigan, under the command of Middleton. When the affair was settled with Langdale, there was a skirmish close by Preston between Hamilton himself and some of Cromwell's troopers. The duke was separated from his main force of infantry, under Baillie, but rejoined them only to see the bridge of the Ribble won by the enemy in a general battle. Cromwell describes the first four hours' fighting in a country all enclosure and miry ground, as "a hedge dispute." This being ended, the Scots were charged through Preston; and then not only was the bridge of the Ribble won, but the bridge of Over Darwen. Night was approaching, which put an end to any further fighting on the 17th.

The Scottish generals in a council of war determined to march off, as soon as it was dark, without waiting for Middleton and his cavalry. The weather was rainy; the roads heavy; their men were wet, weary, and hungry. They left their ammunition behind; and the next morning were at Wigan Moor, with half their number. No general engagement took place that day; and the Scots held Wigan.

Cromwell writes, "We lay that night in the field close by the enemy; being very dirty and weary, and having marched twelve miles of such ground as I

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never rode in all my life, the day being very wet." The next day the Scots moved towards Warrington; and after some hard fighting, General Baillie surrendered himself, officers, and soldiers, as prisoners of war. The duke, with three thousand horse, was gone towards Nantwich. His course was undetermined. The country people were hostile. His own men were mutinous. He surrenders to Lambert, and is sent prisoner to Nottingham.

The Scottish army was now utterly broken and dispersed. The news of Hamilton's complete failure in the invasion of England was the signal for the great Presbyterian party that had opposed the policy of the engagers to rise in arms. Argyll assembled his highland clans. In the western lowlands large bodies of peasantry, headed by their preachers, marched to Edinburgh. The memory of this insurrection has endured to this hour in the name of Whig. It was called "the whiggamore raid," from the word used in the west of Scotland when the carter urges forward his horses with Whig! whig! (get on); as the English carter says, Gee! gee! (go). Argyll was restored to power. The most zealous covenanters were again at the head of the executive authority. Cromwell entered Scotland on the 20th of September, and was received at Edinburgh, not as the man to whose might their brave countrymen had been compelled to yield; but as the deliverer from a royalist faction that might again have put the national religion in peril.[n]

At the commencement of this second war, a resolution had passed in the parliament, May 11th, which declared that no quarter should be given to the persons found in arms on the pretence of serving the king. Two years had passed since a war waged against the king had ended in making him prisoner; and as the parliament was now in fact the great authority of the nation, all men taken in arms against it were to be treated as rebels, and became liable to the penalties of treason. A council of war was accordingly convened at Colchester, on the fate of the leading delinquents who had now become prisoners; and it was determined that, in consequence of the innocent blood which they had caused to be shed, three of their number should suffer death, two of the condemned persons being Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle. Capel, and several others, generously declared that they were themselves as guilty as the men doomed to die, and requested to share in their fate. But the council adhered to its decision.

Lucas, making bare his chest, shouted in defiance, "Fire, rebels!" His body fell lifeless; Lisle embraced it affectionately, and, turning to the soldiers, bid them approach nearer. One of them said, "Fear not, sir, we shall hit you." He replied, "I have been nearer to you, my friends, and you have missed me." This sanguinary deed, whoever may have been its great mover, attaches indelible disgrace to all who were parties to it. The royalists had descended to many acts of cruelty; but this proceeding was without parallel in the history of the civil war. After the ordinance of the 11th of May, these sufferers might have been dealt with by the civil power as traitors, with as much appearance of justice as was usually attendant on state prosecutions; but their death, inflicted under such circumstances, could not fail to exhibit them, in the view of dispassionate men, as the victims of revenge, and the martyrs of loyalty.

It was with great difficulty that Hamilton had prevailed on the estates in Scotland to concur in the proposed invasion of England; and the news of his defeat at once turned the scale against him in that country. Argyll, his great opponent, took possession of the government. Cromwell himself soon made his appearance in Edinburgh, and, having done what was considered expedient to secure the ascendancy of the party of Argyll, contented himself

with procuring that no person who had taken arms against the English parliament should be deemed eligible to any place of trust or emolument. From the extent and the determination of the efforts which were made during this summer in favour of the king, it is manifest that the Presbyterians, in proposing so considerable a reduction of the army, must have been insincere, or have been almost entirely ignorant of the feeling of the country which they aspired to govern. The army in which, according to their policy, it would have been necessary to confide at this juncture, must have been one having its discipline and valour in a great degree to acquire, and one, in consequence, that would, in all probability, have been speedily subdued by the English royalists alone.

But by a series of actions, which the bravest and the most disciplined army in Europe could alone have achieved, the risings in the south were suppressed, and the invasion from the north was made to end in the subjection of the invaders. The Presbyterians, however, continued to flatter themselves with having acted prudently, inasmuch as this double overthrow of the royalists must serve to destroy all hope in the king of assistance from his more immediate adherents, while the avowed hostility of the soldiery must show that from them he had everything to fear — leaving him no prospect of regaining his throne, except by such a concurrence with the overtures of the Presbyterians as should unite them entirely in his favour, and enable them to resist the machinations and the power of his more relentless opponents.

TREATY OF NEWPORT AND ANTI-ROYALIST FEELING

Such was the condition and temper of parties, when, the vote of non-addresses being repealed, further negotiation was entered upon between the parliament and the king. This treaty, known by the name of the treaty of Newport, was based upon the propositions which had been submitted to the monarch at Hampton Court; and Charles, after many attempts to evade or modify the proposals of the parliamentary commissioners, assented to the whole, with the following exceptions only:— that the office of the bishops should be suspended for three years, but not abolished; that the Episcopal lands which had been sold should be reclaimed, at the farthest after ninety-nine years; that an act of indemnity should be passed in favour of his followers, without exception — so far as to admit the most obnoxious of the excepted persons to compound for their offences; and that the adoption of the covenant should not be enforced either in his own case, or in that of any other person.

But it soon became evident that the army and the party which adhered to it in the city were not disposed to an agreement with the king even upon his full acceptance of the propositions now submitted to him. A petition was presented to the commons from "thousands of well-affected persons in and near London," which, while it recognised the monarchy and the peerage, deprived them of nearly all their privileges, and prayed that the parliament "would lay to heart the blood spilt, and the infinite spoil and havoc that had been made of peaceable, harmless people, by express commission from the king, and to consider whether an act of oblivion was likely to satisfy the justice of God, and to appease His remaining wrath."

The course of proceeding thus suggested from the city was dwelt upon, with the greatest confidence in its rectitude, by one to another in the army. It was commonly said that the land had been defiled with blood, and could not be cleansed but by the blood of him who had shed it; and petitions were presented to Fairfax from the regiments under Ireton and Ingoldsby, which

urged that "impartial and steady justice should be done upon all criminal persons, that the same course should be taken in the case of king or lord, as in that of the poorest commoner; and that all persons who should speak or act in behalf of the king, until acquitted of the charge of shedding innocent blood, might be proceeded against as traitors." This petition was presented on the 18th of October. On the 20th of November, a remonstrance, adopted unanimously by the council of officers, was presented by a deputation from that body, and recommended to the attention of the house by Fairfax, in which it was urged that the present treaty with the king should be abandoned, and that judicial proceedings should be instituted against him, on account of the evils done by him; that the monarchy should be elective; that future parliaments should be annual or biennial, with a sure provision for their being regularly convened; that the elective franchises should be rendered more general and equal; and that no monarch should be allowed a negative voice on bills.

The Presbyterians, when these demands came before them, opposed them with courage and perseverance, and on a division exhibited a large majority. They knew the feeling of the country to be against such extreme measures; and they hoped, by a speedy agreement with the king, to overwhelm the abettors of them with confusion. But the military leaders were not ignorant that such was the policy of their opponents, and they adopted means for the greater security of the king's person. Nor could Charles avoid seeing the danger which threatened him. He accordingly, as in the eleventh hour, consented, with still smaller modifications, to the most obnoxious of the propositions from the two houses. He did not agree, even at this time, to abolish Episcopacy, or to alienate its wealth for ever, but he allowed the restoration of them to be matters dependent on the pleasure of parliament.

Charles, in parting from the parliamentary commissioners, expressed his fears that what he had now done would prove to have been done too late. On the following morning news was privately conveyed to him that an armed force was on its way to make him prisoner. His attendants entreated him to consult his safety by an immediate escape; but he spoke of his promise to wait twenty days for the answer of parliament; of his pledge not to break the parole which had been granted to him; and clung to so many sources of hesitation, that night came, and, instead of flying for his life, he retired to his chamber. About midnight the expected force arrived; early in the morning the king was summoned to leave his present lodgings; and in the course of that day was committed a prisoner to Hurst Castle, an edifice standing on a low projecting piece of land, joined by a narrow causeway to the coast of Hampshire. The removal of the king from Carisbrooke was on the 30th of November. On the day preceding, a declaration was issued by the officers, which described the majority of the parliament as consisting of men who, in the possession of power, had ceased to value their principles, and set forth, in obscure, but significant terms, the high trust which at this extraordinary crisis had been committed by the manifest will of Providence to the army.[d]

PRIDE'S PURGE

On the Monday the commons are debating all day — they are debating till five o'clock on Tuesday morning the 5th of December, 1648 — whether the king's concessions in the treaty of Newport are a ground of settlement. The practised orators have been heard again and again on this great question.

There is an old man amongst them — one who has only been a member three weeks — who boldly stands up for the cause of fallen majesty. He is no royal favourite, he says. The favours he has received from the king and his party were, the loss of his two ears — his pillorings, his imprisonments, his fines. It was Prynne, who spoke for hours; with honest energy, but with no great prudence when he described the army at their very doors as "inconstant, mutinous, and unreasonable servants." Yet, whatever might have been the effect of this learned man's courageous effort for reconciliation, the very recital of his ancient sufferings must have revived in some a bitter recollection of past tyrannies, and a corresponding dread of their return. The house decided, by one hundred and twenty-nine to eighty-three, that the king's concessions are a ground of settlement.

There was another assembly on the same day whose resolutions at that moment were of more importance even than a vote of the commons. Ludlow says, "Some of the principal officers of the army came to London with expectation that things would be brought to this issue, and consulting with some members of parliament and others, it was concluded, after a full and free debate, that the measures taken by the parliament were contrary to the trust reposed in them, and tending to contract the guilt of the blood that had been shed, upon themselves and the nation: that it was therefore the duty of the army to endeavour to put a stop to such proceedings." They went about this work in a very business-like manner. "Three of the members of the house, and three of the officers of the army, withdrew into a private room to attain the ends of our said resolution; when we agreed that the army should be drawn up the next morning, and guards placed in Westminster hall, the Court of Requests, and the Lobby; that none might be permitted to pass into the house but such as continued faithful to the public interests. To this end we went over the names of all the members, one by one. Commissary-General Ireton went to Sir Thomas Fairfax, and acquainted him with the necessity of this extraordinary way of proceeding." Lieutenant-General Cromwell was still in the north.

What was thus deliberately resolved on the 6th of December was as promptly effected on the 7th. An order is given that the trained bands of the city shall withdraw from their accustomed duty of guard at Westminster. Colonel Rich's regiment of horse take up a position on that morning in Palace Yard. Colonel Pride's regiment of foot throng Westminster Hall, and block up every entrance to the house of commons. Colonel Pride has a written list of names in his hand — the names of those against whom the sentence of exclusion has been passed. As the members of the house approach, Lord Grey of Groby, who stands at the elbow of Colonel Pride, gives a sign or word that such a one is to pass, or to be turned back. Forty-one were ordered that day to retire to "the queen's court."

It is easier to imagine than to describe the indignation expressed by the ejected. They are kept under restraint all the day; and in the evening are conducted to a tavern. There were two taverns abutting upon and partly under the hall, known as "Heaven" and "Hell" — very ancient places of refreshment much used by the lawyers in term-time; mentioned by Ben Jonson; and which, with a third house called "Purgatory," are recited in a grant of the time of Henry VII. To "Hell," perhaps without the intention of a bad joke, these forty-one of the parliamentary majority were led, and lodged for the night. The process went on for several days; till some hundred members are disposed of. Before the minority have obtained an entire ascendancy Colonel Pride is questioned for his conduct; but no satisfaction is given. The

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house makes a show of disapprobation; but the serjeant-at-arms has brought a message that the excluded members are detained by the army; and business proceeds as if the event were of small consequence.

Cromwell has arrived on the night after the sharp medicine known as "Pride's purge" has been administered; and, says Ludlow, "lay at Whitehall, where, and at other places, he declared that he had not been acquainted with this design; yet since it was done he was glad of it, and would endeavour to maintain it." Vane, who had spoken vehemently in the great debate of the 4th, against accepting the king's concessions as a ground of settlement, even boldly proclaiming himself for a republic, appears to have taken no part in the illegal proceedings which laid the parliament at the feet of the army. He retired to his estate, and did not come again to parliament till a month after the final blow against monarchy had been struck. The parliamentary minority, being now almost unanimous in their resolve to overthrow the existing government, though perhaps not yet agreed as to the mode of accomplishing this as far as regarded the person of the king, voted to rescind all the votes which had recently passed as to the grounds of a settlement. Another act of military power soon marshalled the way to a resolution of such doubts.

THE KING TAKEN TO WINDSOR

The drawbridge of Hurst Castle is lowered during the night of the 17th of December, and the tramp of a troop of horse is heard by the wakeful prisoner. He calls for his attendant Herbert, who is sent to ascertain the cause of this midnight commotion. He is informed that the troop are to conduct him to Windsor. Two days after, the king sets out. At Winchester he is received in state by the mayor and aldermen; but they retire alarmed on being told that the house has voted all to be traitors who should address the king. The king urged his desire to stop at Bagshot, and dine in the forest at the house of Lord Newburg. He had been apprised that his friend would have ready for him a horse of extraordinary fleetness, with which he might make one more effort to escape. The horse had been kicked by another horse the day before, and was useless. That last faint hope was gone. On the night of the 23rd of December the king slept, a prisoner surrounded with hostile guards, in the noble castle which in the days of his youth had rung with Jonson's lyrics and ribaldry; and the gypsy of the masque had prophesied that his "name in peace or wars, nought should bound." But he had an undoubting confidence that he should be righted, by aid from Ireland, from Denmark, from other kingdoms: "I have three more cards to play, the worst of which will give me back everything." After three weeks of comparative comfort, the etiquette observed towards him was laid aside; and with a fearful sense of approaching calamity in the absence of "respect and honour, according to the ancient practice," he exclaimed, "is there anything more contemptible than a despised prince?"

During the month in which Charles had remained at Windsor, there had been proceedings in parliament of which he was imperfectly informed. On the day he arrived there, it was resolved by the commons that he should be brought to trial. On the 2nd of January, 1649, it was voted that, in making war against the parliament, he had been guilty of treason; and a high court was appointed to try him. One hundred and fifty commissioners were to compose the court — peers, members of the commons, aldermen of London. The ordinance was sent to the upper house, and was rejected. On the 6th, a fresh ordinance, declaring that the people being, after God, the source of all

just power, the representatives of the people are the supreme power in the nation; and that whatsoever is enacted or declared for law by the commons in parliament hath the force of a law, and the people are concluded thereby, though the consent of king or peers be not had thereto. Asserting this power, so utterly opposed either to the ancient constitution of the monarchy, or to the possible working of a republic, there was no hesitation in constituting the high court of justice in the name of the commons alone. The number of members of the court was now reduced to one hundred and thirty-five. They had seven preparatory meetings, at which only fifty-eight members attended.



A Cavalier of the 17th Century

Algernon Sidney, although bent upon a republic, opposed the trial, apprehending that the project of a commonwealth would fail, if the king's life were touched. It is related that Cromwell, irritated by these scruples, exclaimed, "No one will stir. I tell you, we will cut his head off with the crown upon it." Such daring may appear the result of ambition, of fear, or revenge, or innate cruelty, in a few men who had obtained a temporary ascendency. These men were, on the contrary, the organs of a wide-spread determination amongst thousands throughout the country, who had long preached and argued and prophesied about vengeance on "the great delinquent"; and who had ever in their mouths the text that "blood defileth the land, and the land cannot be cleansed of the blood that is shed therein, but by the blood of him that shed it." They had visions of a theocracy, and were impatient of an earthly king.

Do we believe, as some, not without reasonable grounds, may believe, that the members of the high court of justice expressed such convictions upon a simulated religious confidence? Do we think that, in the clear line of action which Cromwell especially had laid down for his guidance, he cloaked his worldly ambition under the guise of being moved by some higher impulse than that of taking the lead in a political revolution? Certainly we do not. The infinite mischiefs of assuming that the finger of God directly points out the way to believers, when they are walking in dangerous and devious paths, may be perfectly clear to us, who calmly look back upon the instant events which followed upon Cromwell's confidence in his solemn call to a fearful duty. But we are not the more to believe, because the events have a character of guilt in the views of most persons, that such a declared conviction was altogether, or in any degree, a lie. Those were times in which men believed in the immediate direction of a special Providence in great undertakings. The words, "God hath given us the victory," were not with them a mere form. If we trace amidst these solemn impulses the workings of a deep sagacity — the union of the fierce resolves of a terrible enthusiasm with the foresight and energy of an ever-present common-sense — we are not the more to conclude that their spiritualism, or fanaticism, or whatever we please to call their ruling principle, was less sincere by being mixed up with the ordinary motives through which the affairs of the world are carried on.

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THE KING BEFORE THE HIGH COURT

On the 19th of January, Major Harrison appeared again at Windsor with his troop. There was a coach with six horses in the court-yard, in which the king took his seat; and, once more, he entered London, and was lodged at St. James's Palace. The next day, the high court of justice was opened in Westminster Hall. The king came from St. James's in a sedan; and after the names of the members of the court had been called, sixty-nine being present, Bradshaw, the president, ordered the serjeant to bring in the prisoner. Silently the king sat down in the chair prepared for him. He moved not his hat, as he looked sternly and contemptuously around. The sixty-nine rose not from their seats, and remained covered.

It was scarcely eight years since he was a spectator of the last solemn trial in this hall — that of Strafford. What mighty events have happened since that time! There are memorials hanging from the roof which tell such a history as his saddest fears in the hour of Strafford's death could scarcely have shaped out. The tattered banners taken from his cavaliers at Marston Moor and Naseby are floating above his head. There, too, are the same memorials of Preston. But still he looks around him proudly and severely. Who are the men that are to judge him, the king, who, says Blackstone,[o] "united in his person every possible claim by hereditary right to the English as well as the Scottish throne, being the heir both of Egbert and William the Conqueror?" These men are, in his view, traitors and rebels, from Bradshaw, the lawyer, who sits in the foremost chair calling himself lord-president, to Cromwell and Marten in the back seat, over whose heads are the red-cross of England and the harp of Ireland, painted on an escutcheon, whilst the proud bearings of a line of kings are nowhere visible. Under what law does this insolent president address him as "Charles Stuart, king of England," and say, "The commons of England being deeply sensible of the calamities that have been brought upon this nation, which are fixed upon you as the principal author of them, have resolved to make inquisition for blood"? He will defy their authority.

The clerk reads the charge, and when he is accused therein of being tyrant and traitor, he laughs in the face of the court. "Though his tongue usually hesitated, yet it was very free at this time, for he was never discomposed in mind," writes Warwick.[p] "And yet," it is added, "as he confessed himself to the bishop of London that attended him, one action shocked him very much: for whilst he was leaning in the court upon his staff, which had a head of gold, the head broke off on a sudden. He took it up, but seemed unconcerned, yet told the bishop it really made a great impression upon him." It was the symbol of the treacherous hopes upon which he had rested — golden dreams that vanished in this solemn hour. Again and again contending against the authority of the court, the king was removed, and the sitting was adjourned to the 22nd. On that day the same scene was renewed; and again on the 23rd. A growing sympathy for the monarch became apparent. The cries of "Justice, justice," which were heard at first, were now mingled with "God save the king."

He had refused to plead; but the court nevertheless employed the 24th and 25th of January in collecting evidence to prove the charge of his levying war against the parliament. Coke, the solicitor-general, then demanded whether the court would proceed to pronouncing sentence; and the members adjourned to the painted chamber. On the 27th the public sitting was resumed. When the name of Fairfax was called, a voice was heard from the

gallery, "He has too much wit to be here." The king was brought in; and, when the president addressed the commissioners, and said that the prisoner was before the court to answer a charge of high treason, and other crimes brought against him in the name of the people of England, the voice from the gallery was again heard, "It's a lie — not one half of them." The voice came from Lady Fairfax. The court, Bradshaw then stated, had agreed upon the sentence. Ludlow[g] records that the king "desired to make one proposition before they proceeded to sentence; which he earnestly pressing, as that which he thought would lead to the reconciling of all parties, and to the peace of the three kingdoms, they permitted him to offer it: the effect of which was, that he might meet the two houses in the painted chamber, to whom he doubted not to offer that which should satisfy and secure all interests." Ludlow goes on to say, "Designing, as I have been since informed, to propose his own resignation, and the admission of his son to the throne upon such terms as should have been agreed upon."

The commissioners retired to deliberate, "and being satisfied, upon debate, that nothing but loss of time would be the consequence of it, they returned into the court with a negative to his demand." Bradshaw then delivered a solemn speech to the king, declaring how he had through his reign endeavoured to subvert the laws and introduce arbitrary government; how he had attempted, from the beginning, either to destroy parliaments, or to render them subservient to his own designs; how he had levied war against the parliament, by the terror of his power to discourage for ever such assemblies from doing their duty, and that in this war many thousands of the good people of England had lost their lives. The clerk was commanded to read the sentence, that his head should be severed from his body; "and the commissioners," says Ludlow, "testified their unanimous assent by standing up." The king attempted to speak; "but being accounted dead in law, was not permitted."

On the 29th of January, the court met to sign the sentence of execution; addressed to "Colonel Francis Hacker, Colonel Huncks, and Lieutenant-Colonel Phayr, and to every one of them." This is the memorable document:—

"Whereas Charles Stuart, king of England, is and standeth convicted, attainted and condemned of High Treason and other high Crimes: and Sentence upon Saturday last was pronounced against him by this Court, to be put to death by the severing of his head from his body; of which Sentence execution remaineth to be done:

"These are therefore to will and require you to see the said Sentence executed, in the open street before Whitehall, upon the morrow, being the thirtieth day of this instant month of January, between the hours of ten in the morning and five in the afternoon with full effect. And for so doing, this shall be your warrant.

"And these are to require all Officers and Soldiers, and others the good People of this Nation of England, to be assisting unto you in this service.

"Given under our hands and seals,

"JOHN BRADSHAW.
"THOMAS GREY.
"OLIVER CROMWELL."
And fifty-six others.

The statements of the heartless buffoonery, and the daring violence of Cromwell, at the time of signing the warrant, must be received with some suspicion. He smeared Henry Marten's face with the ink of his pen, and Marten in return smeared his, say the narratives. Probably so. With reference to this anecdote it has been wisely observed by Foster,[q] "Such 'toys of desperation' commonly bubble up from a deep flowing stream below." Another anecdote is told by Clarendon[k]; that Colonel Ingoldsby, one who signed the warrant, was forced to do so with great violence, by Cromwell and

Warrant to Execute King Charles the First. A. D. 1648.

At the high Cort of Justice for the tryinge and judginge of Charles Steuart Kinge of England January xxix^th Anno Dm 1648.

Whereas Charles Steuart Kinge of England is and standeth convicted attaynted and condemned of high treason and other high crymes And sentence vppon Saturday Last was pronounced against him by this Cort to be putt to death by the Severinge of his head from his body Of w^ch sentence execution yet remaynith to be done These are therefore to will and require yow to see the said sentence executed In the open Streete before Whitehall vppon the morrow being the Thirtieth day of this instant month of January Betweene the houres of Tenn in the morninge and five in the afternoone of the same day w^th full effect And for soe doinge this shall be yo^r Sufficient warrant And these are to require All Officers and Soulidiers and other the good people of this Nation of England to be assistinge vnto you in this Service Given vnder o^r hands and Seales.

To Collonell Ffrancis Hacker Colonell Huncks and Lieutenant Colonell Phayre and to every of them.

Jo. Bradshawe
Tho Grey
O Cromwell
Edw. Whalley
Jo. Bourchier
Jo. Jones
John Okey
Wanvey
Jo. Bourchier
H Greton
The Mauleverer
Har Waller
John Blakiston
Jo Hutchinson
Willigoss
Thos Pride
P. Temple
Ffarrison
Hewson
Hen Smyth
Per Pelham
R. Deane
Robert Tichborne
Daniel Blagrave
Owen Rowe
Wilm Purefoy
H. Sowope
James Temple
Harland
Dom: Lidlowe
Henry Marten
Wm Constable
Rich Ingoldesby
Wilt Cawley
Jo Barkstead
Waa Ewer
John Dixwell
Valentine Wauton
Symon Mayne
Tho: Horton
Jones
John Moore
Gilbt Millington
Cl Fleetwood
J Allured
Rob Lilburne
Will Say
Anth Stapley
Ge Morton
Tho. Challoner
Tho. Wogan
John Venne
Gregory Clement
Jo Downes
Thos Wayte
The Scot
Jo Carew
Miles Corbet

FROM THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENT IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

[1649 A.D.]

others; "and Cromwell, with a loud laughter, taking his hand in his, and putting the pen between his fingers, with his own hand writ 'Richard Ingoldsby,' he making all the resistance he could." Ingoldsby gave this relation, in the desire to obtain a pardon after the Restoration; and to confirm his story he said, "if his name there were compared with what he had ever writ himself, it could never be looked upon as his own hand." Warburton in a note upon this passage, says, "The original warrant is still extant, and Ingoldsby's name has no such mark of its being wrote in that manner." The king knew his fate. He resigned himself to it with calmness and dignity.*n*

GUIZOT'S ACCOUNT OF CHARLES' EXECUTION

Before reading his last sentence Bradshaw addressed to the king a long discourse — a solemn apology for the parliament's conduct: he recounted all the faults of which the king had been guilty, and referred all the evils of the civil war to him alone, since his tyranny had rendered resistance a duty as well as a necessity. The language of the speaker was severe and bitter, but grave, pious, free from insult, and expressive of an evidently profound conviction, although mingled with something of a vindictive character. The king listened to him without interruption, and with equal gravity. Still, as the discourse drew towards its close, visible agitation took possession of him; and as soon as Bradshaw had finished speaking, he attempted himself to speak. Bradshaw would not permit this, but ordered the clerk to read the sentence. When it was finished, Bradshaw said, "The sentence now read and published is the act, sentence, judgment, and resolution of the whole court;" and the whole court rose in token of assent.

"Sir," said the king, suddenly, "will you hear me a word?"

Bradshaw.—"Sir, you are not to be heard after sentence."

The king.—"No, sir?"

Bradshaw.—"No, sir; by your favour, sir. Guards, withdraw your prisoner!"

The king.—"I may speak after sentence; by your favour, sir, I may speak after my sentence, ever. By your favour—"

"Hold!" said Bradshaw.

"The sentence, sir — I say, sir, I do — I am not suffered to speak. Expect what justice other people will have!"

At this moment, the soldiers surrounded him, removed him from the bar, and conveyed him with violence as far as the place where his sedan-chair was waiting for him. He had, while descending the staircase, to endure the grossest insults: some threw their lighted pipes before him as he passed; others blew the smoke of their tobacco into his face; all shouted in his ears, "Justice! Execution!" Amid these cries, however, others were still to be heard occasionally from the people, "God save your majesty! God deliver your majesty out of such enemies' hands!" And until he was seated in the chair, the bearers of it remained with their heads uncovered, notwithstanding the commands of Axtell, who even went so far as to strike them for their disobedience. They set out for Whitehall: on both sides, the way was lined with troops; before all the shops, doors, and windows, there were crowds of people, most of them silent, some weeping, some praying aloud for the king. The soldiers incessantly renewed their cries of "Justice! justice! Execution! execution!" in order to celebrate their triumph. But Charles had recovered his wonted serenity, and, too haughty to believe in the sincerity of their hatred, he said

as he came out of his chair, "Poor souls! for a piece of money they would do so for their commanders!"

As soon as he reached Whitehall, he said to Herbert, "Hark ye! my nephew the prince elector will endeavour to see me, and some other lords that love me: which I should take in good part; but my time is short and precious, and I am desirous to improve it as best I may in preparation. I hope they will not take it ill that none have access now to me but my children. The best office they can do me is to pray for me." He then sent a request that his young children, the princess Elizabeth and the duke of Gloucester, who remained under the care of the parliament, might come to him; he also sent for Juxon, the bishop of London. Both requests were granted. The next day, the 28th, the bishop came to St. James's, whither the king had just been transferred. When he first met the king again, he burst into uncontrollable lamentations. "Leave off this, my lord," said Charles, "we have not time for it; let us think of our great work, and prepare to meet that great God, to whom, ere long, I am to give an account of myself; and I hope I shall do it with peace, and that you will assist me therein. We will not talk of these rogues, in whose hands I am; they thirst after my blood, and they will have it; and God's will be done! I thank God I heartily forgive them, and I will talk of them no more." He passed the rest of the day in pious conference with the bishop.

On the next day, the 29th, almost at daybreak, the bishop returned to St. James's. When morning prayers were over, the king brought out a box containing broken crosses of St. George and the order of the Garter: "You see," said he to Juxon and Herbert, 'all the wealth now in my power to give to my two children." They were brought to him. The princess Elizabeth, who was twelve years old, on seeing her father burst into tears; the duke of Gloucester, who was only eight, wept when he saw the tears of his sister. Charles took them on his knee, shared his jewels among them, comforted his daughter, gave her counsels as to the books she should read in order to fortify her mind against the papacy, charged them to tell their brothers that he had forgiven his enemies, and their mother that his thoughts never wandered from her, and that he would love her up to the last moment as he had loved her on their marriage-day. Then turning to the little duke, "Sweetheart," he said, "they will soon cut off thy father's head." The child looked steadfastly at him, with a very serious air. "Mark, child, what I say: they will cut off my head and perhaps make thee king; but mark what I say, thou must not be king so long as thy brothers Charles and James live; but they will cut off thy brothers' heads if they can catch them; and thine, too, they will cut off at last! Therefore, I charge thee, do not be made a king by them." "I will be torn in pieces first," replied the child, with great fervour. Charles kissed him passionately; placed him on the ground, kissed his daughter, blessed them both, and prayed God to bless them; then suddenly rising, "Have them taken away," he said to Juxon. The children sobbed. The king, standing upright, resting his head against the window, repressed his tears; the door was opened, and the children were about to leave him. Charles hastily left the window, took them again in his arms, blessed them once more, and, tearing himself at length from their caresses, fell on his knees and prayed with the bishop and Herbert, the sole witnesses of this affecting farewell.

On his last morning, after four hours' profound sleep, Charles rose from his bed. "I have a great work to do this day," said he to Herbert, "I must get up immediately;" and he commenced his toilet. Herbert, in his agitation, combed his hair with less care than usual. "I pray you," said the king, "though my head be not long to stand on my shoulders, take the same pains

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with it as you were wont to do. This is my second marriage-day. I would be as trim to-day as may be; for before night I hope to be espoused to my blessed Jesus." As he was dressing, he asked to have an extra shirt: "The season is so sharp," he said, "as probably may make me shake, which some observers will imagine proceeds from fear. I would have no such imputation; I fear not death; death is not terrible to me. I bless my God that I am prepared." Shortly after daybreak Bishop Juxon arrived, and commenced the religious exercises of the day. Several companies of infantry were drawn up in the park, and formed a double line on his passage; a detachment of halberdiers marched in front, with flying banners; drums were beating — their noise drowned all other sounds. At the king's right hand was the bishop; on his left was Colonel Tomlinson, the commander of the guard. His head was uncovered, and Charles was so moved with the marks of respect which he showed that he requested him not to move from his side till the last moment. Charles conversed with him on the way, spoke of his funeral, and of the persons to whom he desired the care of it should be entrusted: his whole air was indicative of calmness and serenity; his look was steady and penetrating; his step was firm, and he walked even more quickly than the soldiers, expressing surprise at their slow pace.

On arriving at Whitehall, he mounted the stairs with a light step, passed along the great gallery, and entered his bedroom, where he was left alone with the bishop, who had prepared to administer the sacrament. Some Independent ministers, Nye and Goodwin, among others, knocked at his door, saying that they desired to offer their services to the king. The bishop replied by telling them that the king was at his own private devotions. They still pressed their services. "Then thank them from me," said Charles to the bishop, "for the tender of themselves; but tell them plainly that they, that have so often and causelessly prayed against me, shall never pray with me in this agony. They may, if they please, pray for me, and I'll thank them for it." They retired. The king kneeled, received the holy communion from the bishop's hands, and rising from his knees, with a cheerful and steady countenance, "Now," said he, "let the rogues come; I have heartily forgiven them, and am prepared for all I am to undergo." His dinner had been prepared, but he had resolved to touch nothing after the sacrament; the bishop expostulated with him, reminded him how long he had fasted, how severe the weather was, and how some fit of fainting might seize him upon the scaffold, which he knew he would regret, on account of the interpretation his murderers would put upon it. The king yielded to these representations, and took a piece of bread and a glass of claret. At one o'clock Hacker knocked at the door.

The king walked to the scaffold, with his head erect, looking about him on all sides for the people, intending to speak to them; but the space all round was filled with troops, so that no one could approach. He turned towards Juxon and Tomlinson, and said, "I shall be very little heard of anybody else; I shall, therefore, speak a word to you here," and accordingly he addressed to them a short speech that he had prepared; it was grave and calm, even to frigidity, its sole object being to maintain that he was in the right — that contempt for the rights of the sovereign had been the true cause of the miseries of the people — that the people ought to have no share in the government — and that on this condition only would the kingdom recover its liberties and tranquillity. While he was speaking, some one touched the axe. He turned round hastily, saying, "Do not hurt the axe that may hurt me." And after his address was finished, some one again approached it. "Take heed of the

axe! pray, take heed of the axe!" he repeated in a tone of alarm. The profoundest silence prevailed; he put a silk cap on his head, and, addressing the executioner, said, "Does my hair trouble you?" The man begged his majesty to put it under his cap. The king so arranged it, with the help of the bishop. "I have a good cause and a gracious God on my side," said he, while doing this.

"There is but one stage more," said Juxon; "the stage is turbulent and troublesome; it is a short one; but you may consider it will soon carry you a very great way; it will carry you from earth to heaven." "I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can be," answered the king; and, turning towards the executioner, he said, "Is my hair well?" He took off his cloak and gave it to the bishop, saying at the same time "Remember!" It was never known to what this injunction referred. He then took off his coat, put on his cloak again, and looking at the block, said to the executioner, "You must set it fast." "It is fast, sir," was the reply. The king told him to wait while he offered up a short prayer; "When I put out my hands this way," said he, stretching them out, "then—— " He passed a few minutes in meditation, uttering a few words in a low tone of voice, raised his eyes to heaven, kneeled, placed his head on the block: the executioner touched his hair in order to put it more completely under his cap; the king thought he intended to strike. "Stay for the sign," he said. "Yes, I will, an't please your majesty," said the man.

After an instant, the king stretched out his hands; the axe fell, and his head was severed from his body at a single blow. "Behold the head of a traitor!" cried the executioner, holding it up to the view of the people; a long, deep groan rose from the multitude; many rushed to the foot of the scaffold in order to dip their handkerchiefs in the king's blood. Two bodies of cavalry, advancing in different directions, slowly dispersed the crowd. The scaffold was cleared, and the body was taken away. It was already enclosed in the coffin, when Cromwell desired to see it: he looked at it attentively, raised the head with his own hands as if to assure himself that it was really severed from the trunk, and remarked upon the sound and vigorous appearance of the body, which he said, promised a long life.

The coffin remained at Whitehall for seven days, exposed to public view: an immense concourse of people pressed to the door, but few obtained permission to enter. On the 6th of February, by the order of the commons, it was delivered to Herbert and Mildmay, who were authorised to bury it in St. George's Chapel, in Windsor Castle, in a vault which also contains the remains of Henry VIII. The funeral procession was decent but not pompous. Six horses, covered with black cloth, drew the hearse; four carriages followed, two of which, also covered with black cloth, carried those faithful servants who had attended upon the king in his last hours, and those who had accompanied him to the Isle of Wight. On the next day, the 8th of February, the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the earls of Southampton and Lindsay, and Bishop Juxon, arrived at Windsor, having come with the consent of the commons to attend the funeral. These words only were engraved on the coffin: Charles, Rex. 1648.[1]

As they were removing the body from the interior of the castle to the chapel, the weather, which until then had been clear and serene, suddenly changed; snow fell abundantly; the black velvet pall was entirely covered

[1 Old Style. The year in England began at that time on the 24th of March, as it had not yet been arranged according to the Gregorian calendar. Therefore the 30th of January, 1648, the day of Charles' death, corresponds to the 9th of February, 1649, in our year.]

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with it, and the servants of the king were pleased to see, in the sudden whiteness that covered their unfortunate master's coffin, a symbol of his innocence. The procession arrived at the spot selected for sepulture, and Bishop Juxon was preparing to officiate according to the rites of the Anglican church, when Whichcott, the governor of the castle, objected "that it was improbable the parliament would permit the use of what they had so totally abolished, and therein destroy their own act," and he would not permit the service to be so performed. They submitted; no religious ceremony took place, the coffin was lowered into the vault, all left the chapel, and the governor closed the doors. The house of commons had an account of the expenses of the funeral laid before them, and allowed five hundred pounds to pay them. On the very day of the king's death, before any messenger had left London, they published an ordinance declaring any one to be a traitor who should proclaim in his place, and as his successor, "Charles Stuart, his son, commonly called prince of Wales, or any other person whatever." On the 6th of February, after a long debate, and in spite of the opposition of twenty-nine voices against forty-four members, the house of lords was formally abolished.[r]

VARIOUS ESTIMATES OF THE EVENT

Clarendon: Milton: Guizot: Knight

It is scarcely necessary that we should offer any opinion upon this tremendous event. The world had never before seen an act so daring conducted with such a calm determination; and the few moderate men of that time balanced the illegality, and also the impolicy of the execution of Charles, by the fact that "it was not done in a corner," and that those who directed or sanctioned the act offered no apology, but maintained its absolute necessity and justice. "That horrible sentence upon the most innocent person in the world; the execution of that sentence by the most execrable murder that was ever committed since that of our blessed Saviour"; forms the text which Clarendon[k] gave for the rhapsodies of party during two centuries. On the other hand, the eloquent address of Milton[s] to the people of England has been in the hearts and mouths of many who have known that the establishment of the liberties of their country, duly subordinated by the laws of a free monarchy, may be dated from this event: "God has endued you with greatness of mind to be the first of mankind, who, after having conquered their own king, and having had him delivered into their hands, have not scrupled to condemn him judicially, and, pursuant to that sentence of condemnation, to put him to death."

In these times we can afford to refuse our assent to the blasphemous comparison of Clarendon (blasphemy more offensively repeated in the church service for the 30th of January), and at the same time affirm that the judicial condemnation which Milton so admires was illegal, unconstitutional, and in its immediate results dangerous to liberty. But feeling that far greater dangers would have been incurred if "the caged tiger had been let loose," and knowing that out of the errors and anomalies of those times a wiser revolution grew, for which the first more terrible revolution was a preparation, we may cease to examine this great historical question in any bitterness of spirit, and even acknowledge that the death of Charles, a bad king, though in some respects a good man, was necessary for the life of England, and for her "teaching other nations how to live."

We must accept as just and true Milton's admonition to his countrymen

in reference to this event, which he terms "so glorious an action," with many reasonable qualifications as to its glory; and yet apply even to ourselves his majestic words: — "After the performing so glorious an action as this, you ought to do nothing that is mean and little, not so much as to think of, much less to do anything but what is great and sublime. Which to attain to, this is your only way: as you have subdued your enemies in the field, so to make appear, that unarmed, and in the highest outward peace and tranquillity, you of all mankind are best able to subdue ambition, avarice, the love of riches, and can best avoid the corruptions that prosperity is apt to introduce (which generally subdue and triumph over other nations), to show as great justice, temperance, and moderation in the maintaining of your liberty, as you have shown courage in freeing yourselves from slavery."

There was, at the time of the king's execution, a book being printed which was to surround his life with the attributes of a saint, and to invest him in death with the glory of a martyr. The "Eikon Basilike, or Portraiture of his Sacred Majesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings," purported to be written by Charles the First himself. Milton, who was directed by the parliament to answer this Eikon, or Image, treats it in his Eikonoklastes, or Image-breaker, as if the king had "left behind him this book as the best advocate and interpreter of his own actions"; but at the same time Milton is careful to add, "as to the author of these soliloquies, whether it were the late king, as is vulgarly believed, or any secret coadjutor (and some stick not to name him), it can add nothing, nor shall take from the weight, if any be, of reason which he brings." The question of the authorship of this book has now passed out of the region of party violence; the controversy on that matter has almost merged, as a literary problem, into the belief that it was written by Gauden, afterwards bishop of Exeter. This divine probably submitted it to Charles during his long sojourn in the Isle of Wight; he published it as the work of the king; but he claimed the authorship after the restoration.

Hallam[m] remarks upon the internal evidence of its authenticity that "it has all the air of a fictitious composition. Cold, stiff, elaborate, without a single allusion that bespeaks the superior knowledge of facts which the king must have possessed, it contains little but those rhetorical commonplaces which would suggest themselves to any forger." But these "rhetorical commonplaces" are the best evidence, not of the genuineness of the book, but of the skill of the author. They were precisely what was required to make "attachment to the memory of the king become passion, and respect, worship"; — so Guizot[r] describes the effect of the Eikon. It was an universal appeal to the feelings, in a style moving along with a monotonous dignity, befitting royalty, though occasionally mingled with cold metaphors. It set forth the old blind claims to implicit obedience — or, as Milton has it, maintained "the common grounds of tyranny and popery, sugared a little over,"— amidst the manifestations of a sincere piety and a resigned sadness. In one year there were fifty editions of this book sold. "Had it appeared a week sooner it might have preserved the king," thinks one writer. That may be doubted. But it produced the effect which those so-called histories produce which endeavour to fix the imagination solely upon the personal attributes and sorrows of kings and queens, instead of presenting a sober view of their relations to their subjects. Sentiment with the majority is always more powerful than reason; and thus Milton's "Eikonoklastes," being a partisan's view of Charles' public actions — a cold though severe view, in the formal style of a state-paper — produced little or no effect upon the national opinions, and is now read only for the great name of the author.[n]

John Lingard.

Such was the end of the unfortunate Charles Stuart; an awful lesson to the possessors of royalty, to watch the growth of public opinion, and to moderate their pretensions in conformity with the reasonable desires of their subjects. Had he lived at a more early period, when the sense of wrong was quickly subdued by the habit of submission, his reign would probably have been marked with fewer violations of the national liberties. It was resistance that made him a tyrant. The spirit of the people refused to yield to the encroachments of authority; and one act of oppression placed him under the necessity of committing another, till he had revived and enforced all those odious prerogatives, which, though usually claimed, were but sparingly exercised, by his predecessors. For some years his efforts seemed successful; but the Scottish insurrection revealed the delusion; he had parted with the real authority of a king, when he forfeited the confidence and affection of his subjects.

But while we blame the illegal measures of Charles, we ought not to screen from censure the subsequent conduct of his principal opponents. From the moment that war seemed inevitable, they acted as if they thought themselves absolved from all obligations of honour and honesty. They never ceased to inflame the passions of the people by misrepresentation and calumny; they exercised a power far more arbitrary and formidable than had ever been claimed by the king; they punished summarily, on mere suspicion, and without attention to the forms of law; and by their committees they established in every county a knot of petty tyrants, who disposed at will of the liberty and property of the inhabitants. Such anomalies may, perhaps, be inseparable from the jealousies, the resentments, and the heart-burnings, which are engendered in civil commotions; but certain it is that right and justice had seldom been more wantonly outraged, than they were by those who professed to have drawn the sword in the defence of right and justice.

Neither should the death of Charles be attributed to the vengeance of the people. They, for the most part, declared themselves satisfied with their victory; they sought not the blood of the captive monarch; they were even willing to replace him on the throne, under those limitations which they deemed necessary for the preservation of their rights. The men who hurried him to the scaffold were a small faction of bold and ambitious spirits, who had the address to guide the passions and fanaticism of their followers, and were enabled through them to control the real sentiments of the nation. Even of the commissioners appointed to sit in judgment on the king, scarcely one-half could be induced to attend at his trial; and many of those who concurred in his condemnation subscribed the sentence with feelings of shame and remorse. But so it always happens in revolutions: the most violent put themselves forward; their vigilance and activity seem to multiply their number; and the daring of the few wins the ascendancy over the indolence or the pusillanimity of the many.[v]

S. R. Gardiner

Only after long years does a nation make clear its definite resolve, and for this reason wise statesmen — whether monarchical or republican — watch the currents of opinion, and submit to compromises which will enable the national sentiment to make its way without a succession of violent shocks.

Charles' fault lay not so much in his claim to retain the negative voice as in his absolute disregard of the condition of the time, and of the feelings and opinions of every class of his subjects with which he happened to disagree. Even if those who opposed Charles in the later stages of his career failed to rally the majority of the people to their side, they were undoubtedly acting in accordance with a permanent national demand for that government of compromise which slowly but irresistibly developed itself in the course of the century. Nor can it be doubted that, if Charles had, under any conditions, been permitted to reseat himself on the throne, he would quickly have provoked a new resistance. As long as he remained a factor in English politics, government by compromise was impossible. Even on the scaffold he reminded his subjects that a share in government was nothing appertaining to the people. All can perceive that with Charles' death the main obstacle to the establishment of a constitutional system was removed. The scaffold at Whitehall accomplished that which neither the eloquence of Eliot and Pym nor the statutes and ordinances of the Long Parliament had been capable of effecting.[u]

Lord Macaulay

The king could not be trusted. The vices of Charles had grown upon him. They were, indeed, vices which difficulties and perplexities generally bring out in the strongest light. Cunning is the natural defence of the weak. A prince, therefore, who is habitually a deceiver when at the height of power, is not likely to learn frankness in the midst of embarrassments and distresses. Charles was not only a most unscrupulous but a most unlucky dissembler. There never was a politician to whom so many frauds and falsehoods were brought home by undeniable evidence. He publicly recognised the houses at Westminster as a legal parliament, and, at the same time, made a private minute in council, declaring the recognition null. He publicly disclaimed all thought of calling in foreign aid against his people: he privately solicited aid from France, from Denmark, and from Lorraine. He publicly denied that he employed papists: at the same time he privately sent to his generals directions to employ every papist that would serve. He publicly took the sacrament at Oxford, as a pledge that he never would even connive at Roman Catholicism: he privately assured his wife, that he intended to tolerate Roman Catholicism in England; and he authorised Lord Glamorgan to promise that Roman Catholicism should be established in Ireland. Then he attempted to clear himself at his agent's expense. Glamorgan received, in the royal handwriting, reprimands intended to be read by others, and eulogies which were to be seen only by himself.

To such an extent, indeed, had insincerity now tainted the king's whole nature, that his most devoted friends could not refrain from complaining to each other, with bitter grief and shame, of his crooked politics. His defeats, they said, gave them less pain than his intrigues. Since he had been a prisoner, there was no section of the victorious party which had not been the object both of his flatteries and of his machinations: but never was he more unfortunate than when he attempted at once to cajole and to undermine Cromwell. Cromwell had to determine whether he would put to hazard the attachment of his party, the attachment of his army, his own greatness, nay his own life, in an attempt, which would probably have been vain, to save a prince whom no engagement could bind. With many struggles and misgivings, and probably not without many prayers, the decision was made.

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Charles was left to his fate. The military saints resolved that, in defiance of the old laws of the realm, and of the almost universal sentiment of the nation, the king should expiate his crimes with his blood. He for a time expected a death like that of his unhappy predecessors, Edward II and Richard II. But he was in no danger of such treason. Those who had him in their gripe were not midnight stabbers. What they did they did in order that it might be a spectacle to heaven and earth, and that it might be held in everlasting remembrance.

They enjoyed keenly the very scandal which they gave. That the ancient constitution and the public opinion of England were directly opposed to regicide made regicide seem strangely fascinating to a party bent on effecting a complete political and social revolution. In order to accomplish their purpose, it was necessary that they should first break in pieces every part of the machinery of the government; and this necessity was rather agreeable than painful to them. The commons passed a vote tending to accommodation with the king. The soldiers excluded the majority by force. The lords unanimously rejected the proposition that the king should be brought to trial. Their house was instantly closed. No court, known to the law, would take on itself the office of judging the fountain of justice. A revolutionary tribunal was created. That tribunal pronounced Charles a tyrant, a traitor, a murderer, and a public enemy; and his head was severed from his shoulders before thousands of spectators, in front of the banqueting hall of his own palace.

In no long time it became manifest that those political and religious zealots, to whom this deed is to be ascribed, had committed, not only a crime, but an error. They had given to a prince, hitherto known to his people chiefly by his faults, an opportunity of displaying, on a great theatre, before the eyes of all nations and all ages, some qualities which irresistibly call forth the admiration and love of mankind, the high spirit of a gallant gentleman, the patience and meekness of a penitent Christian. Nay, they had so contrived their revenge that the very man whose whole life had been a series of attacks on the liberties of England now seemed to die a martyr in the cause of those liberties. No demagogue ever produced such an impression on the public mind as the captive king, who, retaining in that extremity all his regal dignity, and confronting death with dauntless courage, gave utterance to the feelings of his oppressed people, manfully refused to plead before a court unknown to the law, appealed from military violence to the principles of the constitution, asked by what right the house of commons had been purged of its most respectable members and the house of lords deprived of its legislative functions, and told his weeping hearers that he was defending not only his own cause, but theirs. His long misgovernment, his innumerable perfidies, were forgotten. His memory was, in the minds of the great majority of his subjects, associated with those free institutions which he had, during many years, laboured to destroy: for those free institutions had perished with him, and, amidst the mournful silence of a community kept down by arms, had been defended by his voice alone. From that day began a reaction in favour of monarchy and of the exiled house, a reaction which never ceased till the throne had again been set up in all its old dignity.[1]



CHAPTER III

THE VICTORIOUS COMMONWEALTH

[1649–1651 A.D.]

The execution of Charles I — the work of military violence cloaked in the merest tatters of legality — had displayed to the eyes of the world the forgotten truth that kings, as well as subjects, must bear the consequences of their errors and misdeeds. More than this the actors in the great tragedy failed to accomplish, and, it may fairly be added, must necessarily have failed to accomplish. It is never possible for men of the sword to rear the temple of recovered freedom, and the small minority in parliament which had given the semblance of constitutional procedure to the trial in Westminster Hall were no more than instruments in the hands of the men of the sword. Honestly as both military and political leaders desired to establish popular government, they found themselves in a vicious circle from which there was no escape. — S. R. GARDINER.[b]

GUIZOT'S COMPARISON OF THE ENGLISH AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTIONS

UNTIL the occurrence of the French Revolution, the English Revolution was the greatest event in the annals of modern Europe. The French Revolution exceeded it in magnitude, but did not lessen its intrinsic greatness; both victories were won in the same war, and tended to the furtherance of the same cause; and instead of eclipsing each other, they became magnified by comparison. If we are to put faith in an opinion which is very prevalent, it would seem that these two revolutions were extraordinary events, which emanated from unheard-of principles, and aimed at unprecedented designs; which forced society out of its ancient and natural course; which, like whirlwinds or earthquakes, were mysterious phenomena guided by laws unknown to men, and bursting forth suddenly, like providential *coups d'état*, possibly to destroy, and possibly to revivify the earth. Both friends and enemies, panegyrists and detractors, employ the same language on this point: according to the former, these glorious crises brought truth, liberty, and justice to light, for the first time; before their occurrence, absurdity, iniquity, and tyranny prevailed, and the human race is indebted to them alone for its deliverance from

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those evils; according to the latter, these deplorable catastrophes interrupted a long era of wisdom, virtue, and happiness; their authors proclaimed principles, set up pretensions, and committed crimes previously unparalleled; the two nations, in a fit of madness, deviated from their accustomed path, and an abyss opened immediately beneath their feet.

Thus, whether they are extolled or deplored, blessed or execrated, all agree in forgetting every other consideration in presence of these revolutions, in isolating them completely from the past, in rendering them responsible for the destiny of the world, and in loading them alone with curses or with glory. It is time to have done with such puerile and false declamations. Far from having broken off the natural course of events in Europe, neither the English nor the French revolution asserted, attempted, or effected anything which had not been already asserted, attempted, or effected a hundred times before their occurrence. They proclaimed the illegitimacy of absolute power: but free consent to laws and taxes, and the right of armed resistance, were among the constituent principles of the feudal system; and the church had often repeated these words of St. Isidore, to be found in the canons of the fourth council of Toledo: "He is king who rules his people justly; if he does otherwise, he shall be no longer king." They attacked privilege, and laboured to introduce more equality into the social system: but, throughout all Europe, kings have done the same. They demanded that public employments should be thrown open to all citizens, and be bestowed on merit alone, and that the government should consent to this competition; but this is the fundamental principle of the internal constitution of the church; and the church has not only carried it into effect, but has openly professed it. Whether we consider the general doctrines of the two revolutions, or the applications which they made of them — whether we contemplate the government of the state or civil legislation, property or persons, liberty or power — we shall find nothing of their own invention, nothing which is not to be met with, and which did not at least originate, in more regular times.

Nor is this all: the principles, designs, and efforts which are exclusively attributed to the French and English revolutions, not only preceded them by several centuries, but are the same principles and efforts to which society in Europe is indebted for all its progress. Was it by its disorders and privileges, by its brute force, and its subjugation of other men beneath its yoke, that the feudal aristocracy contributed to the development of nations? No: but it struggled against royal tyranny; it availed itself of the right of resistance, and maintained the maxims of liberty. And why have nations blessed their kings? For their pretensions to divine right, their assumptions of absolute power, their lavish expenditure, or their luxurious courts? No: but kings attacked the feudal system and aristocratic privilege; they introduced unity into legislation and into the administration of affairs; they promoted the development of equality. And whence have the clergy derived their strength? In what way have they helped forward civilisation? By separating themselves from the people, by affecting to dread human reason, and by sanctioning tyranny in the name of heaven? No: but by assembling the great and the little, the rich and the poor, the strong and the weak, beneath the roof of the same church, and under the same law of God; by honouring and cultivating learning, instituting schools, favouring the diffusion of knowledge, and rewarding activity of mind. Consult the history of the masters of the world; analyse the influence of the various classes that have determined its fate; wherever any good is manifest, whenever the continued gratitude of mankind bears witness to a service rendered to humanity — a step has been taken towards

the object aimed at by the French and English revolutions; we are in presence of one of the principles which they endeavoured to render victorious.

Let us then cease to portray these revolutions as monstrous apparitions in the history of Europe; let us hear no more of their unprecedented pretensions and infernal inventions; they helped civilisation to advance along the road which it has been pursuing for centuries; they professed the maxims, and pushed forward the labours to which man has, in all ages, been indebted for the development of his nature and the improvement of his condition; they did that which has in turn constituted the chief merit and glory of clergy, nobles, and kings. If it be asked in what respect these two revolutions are distinguished from every other epoch: what is the reason that, while they merely continued the common work of all ages, they deserved their name, and positively changed the face of the world? This is the answer — Various powers have successively held sway in European society, and marched in turn at the head of civilisation. After the fall of the Roman Empire and the invasion of the barbarians, amidst the dissolution of all social ties and the destruction of all recognised powers, the predominance everywhere fell to daring and brutal force; the conquering aristocracy took possession of everything, persons and lands, people and country. In vain did a few great men Charlemagne in France, and Alfred in England, endeavour to reduce this chaos to the unity of a monarchical system. All unity was impossible. The feudal hierarchy was the only form which society would consent to accept. This hierarchy prevailed universally, in the church as well as in the state; the bishops and abbots became barons; the king was the chief seigneur. In spite of the rude and unstable character of this organisation, Europe was indebted to it for its first steps out of barbarism. It was among the proprietors of fiefs — in their mutual relations, laws, customs, feelings, and ideas — that European civilisation commenced.

The fief-holders were a great burden on the people. The clergy alone endeavoured to claim for all a little reason, justice, and humanity. Those who had no place in the feudal hierarchy could find no asylum but the churches, and no protectors but the priests. This protection, though insufficient, was nevertheless an immense boon, for it was the only one. The priests, moreover, alone offered any sustenance for the moral nature of man, for that unconquerable necessity of thinking, knowing, hoping, and believing, which overcomes all obstacles, and survives all misfortunes. The church soon acquired prodigious power throughout all Europe. Royalty, then in its infancy, lent it fresh strength by borrowing its assistance. The predominance passed from the hands of the conquering aristocracy into those of the clergy. With the assistance of the church, and by its own inherent strength, the royal power increased, and raised itself above its rivals; but the clergy had no sooner assisted it, than they attempted to subjugate it. In this new emergency, the royal power invoked the help, sometimes of the now less formidable barons, but more frequently of the people: the townsmen, who were already strong enough to be valuable allies, though not sufficiently powerful to require a high price for their services. By their aid, the royal power triumphed in its second conflict, and became in its turn the dominant power, invested with the confidence of the nations. Such is the history of old Europe: the feudal aristocracy, the clergy, and the royal power, alternately possessed it, and successively presided over its destiny and progress. To their co-existence and conflict it was long indebted for all the liberty, prosperity, and enlightenment it had obtained; in a word, for the development of its civilisation.

In England in the seventeenth century, and in France in the eighteenth,

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all conflict between these three powers had ceased; they were living together in peace and tranquillity. We might almost say that they had lost their historical character, and even their recollection of the labours which had formerly given them strength and renown. Their aristocracy no longer defended public liberties, it did not even defend its own; the royal power no longer laboured to abolish aristocratic privilege, it seemed even to have become favourable to the possessors of that privilege in return for their servility; and the clergy, the spiritual power, was afraid of the human mind, and, being unable to lead it, endeavoured to arrest its progress by menaces. Meanwhile, civilisation pursued its course, and daily became more general and active. Abandoned by their old leaders, surprised at their apathy and ill temper, and indignant at finding that less was done for them as their desires and strength grew greater, the people began to think that it was their duty to attend to their own interests; and assuming the entire responsibility of their affairs, about which no one seemed any longer to care, they simultaneously demanded liberty from the crown, equality from the aristocracy, and intellectual freedom from the clergy. Then revolutions broke forth.

They effected, for the benefit of a new power, a change which Europe had already witnessed on several occasions: they gave to society, leaders who were willing and able to guide it in its progress. On this ground alone, the aristocracy, the church, and the king, had in turn possessed the preponderance. The people now seized it in virtue of the same right, by the same means, and in the name of the same necessities. Such is the real work, the true character, of both the English and French revolutions. After having considered them as absolutely alike, it has been said that they were similar only in appearance. The English Revolution, we are told, was political rather than social; the French Revolution attempted to change both society and the government together — the one sought to establish liberty, the other equality — the one was rather religious than political, and merely substituted one set of dogmas for another, and one church for another church; the other was pre-eminently philosophical, and asserted the complete independence of reason. The comparison is ingenious, and not altogether void of truth; but it is almost as superficial and frivolous as the opinion which it assumes to supersede. Just as great differences are visible beneath the external resemblance of the two revolutions, so an even deeper resemblance is concealed beneath their differences.

From the very causes which produced its ebullition more than a century before the revolution in France, the English Revolution, it is true, retained a deeper impress of the old social condition of the country; there, free institutions, born amid barbarism, had survived even the despotism which they had been unable to prevent; the feudal aristocracy, in part, at least, had made common cause with the people. The royal power, even in the days of its predominance, had never been fully or undisturbedly absolute; the national church had itself commenced the work of religious reform, and stimulated the minds of the people to boldness of inquiry and speculation. Everywhere, in the laws, manners, and creed of the nation, the revolution found its work half effected; and from the government which it aspired to change, it derived, at the same time, both succour and obstruction, useful allies and powerful adversaries. Thus it presented a singular combination of elements apparently the most diverse; it was at once aristocratic and popular, religious and philosophical, invoking laws and theories by turns; sometimes announcing a new yoke for consciences, sometimes proclaiming their entire liberty; now narrowly confined within the limits of fact, and now indulging in the most daring

speculations — it was, in a word, placed between the old and new state of society, rather as a bridge to connect than as an abyss to separate them.

In the French Revolution, on the other hand, the most terrible unity prevailed; the spirit of innovation held undivided sway over its proceedings; the *ancien régime*, far from taking its proper place and part in the movement, sought only to defend itself against it, and succeeded scarcely for a moment in the attempt, for it was equally destitute of strength and virtue. On the day on which the revolution broke out, one fact alone remained positive and influential, and that was the general civilisation of the country. In this great but solitary result were concentrated all the old institutions, all the old manners, beliefs, and recollections — indeed, the whole life of the nation. The many active and glorious centuries which had elapsed had produced nothing but France. Hence arose the immensity of the results of the revolution, and the portentous magnitude of its errors — it possessed absolute power.

The difference is certainly great, and well worthy of consideration; it is particularly striking when we consider the two revolutions in themselves as isolated events, when we detach them from general history, and endeavour to distinguish their peculiar physiognomy and individual character. But, if they resume their place in the course of time — if we examine what they have done for the development of European civilisation — we shall see the resemblance reappear, and rise above all diversities. Originating in the same causes, by the decay of the feudal aristocracy, the church, and the royal power, they laboured to effect the same work — to secure the domination of the people in public affairs. They struggled for liberty against absolute power, for equality against privilege, for progressive and general interests against stationary and individual interests. Their positions were different, and their strength unequal; what the one clearly perceived, the other saw only imperfectly; in the career which the one followed to the end, the other soon stopped short; on the same field of battle, the one found victory and the other defeat; the one erred from cynicism, the other from hypocrisy; the one was marked by great prudence, the other by great power; but they varied only in the means they employed, and the success they achieved; they were the same in tendency and in origin; their desires, efforts, and progress aimed at the same object; all that the one attempted or accomplished, the other also effected or attempted. Although guilty of religious persecution, the English Revolution unfurled the banner of liberty of conscience; in spite of its aristocratic alliances, it established the predominance of the commons; as its chief occupation was with civil order, it demanded a simpler legislative system, parliamentary reform, the abolition of entails and of the right of primogeniture; and although deceived in many premature expectations, it liberated English society, to an immense extent, from the monstrous inequality of the feudal régime — in a word, such is the analogy between the two revolutions, that the first would never have been properly understood unless the second had occurred.[c]

THE ORGANISATION OF THE ENGLISH REPUBLIC

We have already related the downfall of an ancient monarchy, and the violent death of a king who was worthy of respect, although he governed his people badly and unjustly. We have now to relate the vain efforts of a revolutionary assembly to found a republic; and to describe the ever-tottering, but strong and glorious government of a revolutionary despot, whose bold and prudent genius commands our admiration, although he attacked

and destroyed, first legal order, and then liberty, in his native land. Such men are full of contradiction and of mystery: in them are mingled and combined, in undiscoverable proportions, capabilities and failings, virtues and vices, enlightenment and error, grandeur and weakness; and after having filled the age in which they lived with the splendour of their actions and the magnitude of their destiny, they remain personally obscure in the midst of their glory, alternately cursed and worshipped by the world which does not know them.

At the opening of the Long Parliament, on the 3rd of November, 1640, the house of commons consisted of five hundred and six members. In 1649, after the execution of the king, when it abolished kingship and proclaimed the commonwealth, there scarcely remained a hundred who took part in its sittings and acts. During the month of February, the house divided ten times; and at the most numerous division, only seventy-seven members were present to record their votes. Thus mutilated and reduced to the condition of a victorious coterie, this assembly set to work, with an ardour full at once of strong faith and deep anxiety, to organize the republican government.[d] Some had wished the royal authority to be transferred to Charles II, under the conditions which had been proposed to his father; for all that had been alleged against him was inapplicable to his son. Others proposed to pass him over, because he had borne arms against the parliament, and to give the English crown by election to his younger brother. Others disapproved of elections and deviations from the strict line of succession. But the republicans were more powerful than the several classes and gradations of the royalists.

The final discussion, however, was with the parliament, or rather with the army. Already, on the 20th of January, that is before the execution of Charles, the army had proposed an agreement upon the future constitution and government, in which it demanded the speedy dissolution of the parliament; a new regulation of the representation; elections every two years, mostly according to the population; the exclusion of all the adversaries of the parliament; the election by it of the administrative council of state; religious liberty (but without the re-establishment of the papacy and the bishops), the abolition of the excise, and a change in many laws. The parliament returned hearty thanks to his excellency the general and the army, for their indefatigable, great, and excellent services; and resolved that this document should be immediately printed, to show the affection and unanimity that prevailed between the army and the parliament.

On the very day of Charles's death it was declared to be high treason to acknowledge any person whatever as king of England; and immediately afterwards every member was excluded from parliament who had voted for a treaty with the king, or who had latterly not approved of everything that was done, or had withdrawn himself. The number of members was reduced to about seventy, of whom it often happened that not one half appeared in the house. On the 26th of February, 1649, the conquerors decided, by a majority of forty-four to twenty-nine, "The house of lords is useless and dangerous, and is therefore abolished"; and on the 7th of March, it was further decided, "Royalty is useless, burdensome, and dangerous for England, and contrary to the freedom as well as to the safety and interests of the people. A council of state, consisting of forty-nine members, undertakes the administration of public affairs."

In a declaration of the 21st of March, the reasons for the introduction of a republic were set forth. "The office of the king," says this declaration, "was established by an agreement of the people, and filled by election. It was

very seldom that any one performed his duties, whereas the greater number have been the cause of much misery and bloodshed. Charles I, in particular, was justly condemned and executed for treachery, murder, and other odious crimes; his sons, as nothing better can be expected from them, and the eldest has already borne arms against the parliament, are declared unworthy of the throne, and all the inhabitants of the kingdom are released from their oaths and duties to them. Rome, Venice, Switzerland, the Netherlands, have proved to what a height of prosperity republics rise, and that wealth, liberty, and justice there go hand in hand. The great are there no longer able to oppress the poor; ambition vanishes; disputes about succession, and civil wars, are prevented; and liberty of conscience, persons, and property is untouched. The pure form of a republic, and the public safety, made it necessary to abolish the upper house, with its objections, which only caused delay: but the lords may be chosen members of the house of commons. He who will not take an oath to a constitution without a king and upper house is incapable of holding any office in the church and state. The new great seal has on one side the map of England and Ireland, and on the reverse, bears the inscription, 'In the first year of freedom, by God's blessing restored.'"

It was then declared that God had wonderfully revealed himself, and destroyed in England tyranny, superstition, and popery; for which all owed him gratitude and obedience. But, instead of that, they were guilty of the most crying sins and blasphemy. That such a state of things might have an end, and the great enterprise further prosper, that all dissensions might be reconciled in brotherly love, and all conspiracies of wicked people might cease, a day of fasting and prayer was ordered. This external means, however, did not produce the intended result; on the contrary, the discontent in England increased, and open war ensued with Scotland and Ireland.[e] On the 7th of February the parliament had voted the creation of a council of state, "to be henceforth the executive power"; and five members, Scott, Ludlow, Lisle, Holland, and Robinson, chosen from among the staunchest republicans, were ordered "to present to the house instructions to be given to the council of estates; and likewise the names of such persons as they conceive fit to be of that council."[1] Six days after, on the 13th of February, Scott presented his report to the house. All the practical functions of the government were vested in the council of state under the control and in obedience to the instructions of parliament — the sole depositary of the national sovereignty.

On the two following days, the house proceeded to appoint the forty-one councillors of state, voting specially on each name. Five ex-peers of the realm, the three chief judges, the three leaders of the army, Fairfax, Cromwell, and Skippon, and thirty country gentlemen and citizens, nearly all of whom were members of the house, were elected. The nomination of the five peers met with objections; the democrats wished to exclude them, as well as the house of lords itself, from all participation in the government of the commonwealth; but the more prudent politicians, on the contrary, gave an eager welcome to these noblemen, who were still powerful by their wealth and name. The entire list proposed by the commissioners of the parliament was adopted, with the exception of two names, Ireton and Harrison, who were

[1] We may here mention that, at this period, England had not yet adopted the reformed Gregorian Calendar, and that her chronology was ten days behind that of the Continent. The 7th of February in England, in the seventeenth century, would therefore correspond with the 17th of February on the Continent. We have adopted the English date in speaking of English events.

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probably thought too devotedly attached to Cromwell, and for whom two republicans were substituted, conspicuous for their uncompromising distrust of the army and its leaders. They were all appointed for a year.

When they met for the first time, on the 17th of February, 1649, they were required to sign an engagement, expressing approbation of all that had been done in the king's trial, in the overthrow of kingship, and in the abolition of the house of lords. Nineteen in all, signed the engagement; but twenty-two persisted in refusing it. They stated that they were resolved, in future, faithfully to serve the government of the house of commons, as it was the supreme power, the only one which remained in existence, and therefore necessary to the liberties and safety of the people; but, from various motives, and in terms more or less distinct, they refused to give their sanction to all the past. The house, in great excitement, proceeded at once to deliberate on this report, forbidding all the members present to leave the hall without express permission; but political good sense acted as a check upon passion: to originate dissensions among the republicans, in the first days of the commonwealth, would, it was felt, be madness; the regicides knew that, if left alone, they would not be strong enough to maintain their position. The matter was arranged without further difficulty; the pledge of fidelity which the dissidents offered for the future was accepted, and they took their seats besides the regicides in the republican council of state.

This compromise was to a very great extent the work, on the one hand, of Cromwell, and on the other, of Sir Harry Vane, the most eminent, the most sincere, the most able, and the most chimerical of the non-military republicans. He was an ardent revolutionist, and he detested revolutionary violence. When, on the 6th of November, 1648, the army had expelled the entire Presbyterian party from the house of commons, Vane had boldly denounced that act, and ceased to take part in the sittings of the mutilated house. He had protested still more strongly against the trial of the king, and ever since that period he had resided at his country-seat at Raby, completely unconnected with public affairs. But the commonwealth was the object at once of his faith and of his aspirations; as soon as it appeared, he belonged to it, heart and soul. He it was, who, setting aside the past, suggested the oath of fidelity for the future, and Cromwell, quite sure that this would be enough to secure Vane to the service of the council of state and to the parliament, was one of the most eager to express his entire approval of the suggestion. Cromwell was right, for no sooner had they taken their seats than this same Vane, and that same majority of the council of state who had refused to take any share in the responsibility of the regicides, elected as their president, John Bradshaw, the president of the high court which had condemned Charles I; and three days after, Vane, with several of his colleagues, proceeded to "a small house in Holborn, which opens backwards into Lincoln's Inn Fields," to offer the post of Latin secretary to the council to a kinsman of Bradshaw's, who had recently maintained, in an eloquent pamphlet, "that it is lawful to call to account a tyrant, or wicked king, and after due conviction, to depose and put him to death!" That man was Milton.

At the same time that it was engaged in the constitution of the council of state, the house turned its attention also to the courts of law. Of the twelve principal judges, ten had been appointed by the parliament itself since the outbreak of the civil war; and yet, on the 8th of February, 1649, six of them refused to give any oath of fidelity to the commonwealth, and the other six would only consent to continue the discharge of their functions on

condition that, by a formal declaration of the house, the ancient laws of the country should be maintained, and that the judges should continue to take them as the rule of their decisions. These demands were complied with, and the six judges who had tendered their resignation were not replaced until the following summer. The earl of Warwick, the lord high admiral, lived on intimate terms with Cromwell; but he was a decided Presbyterian, who inspired the republicans with no confidence, and who himself preferred his own ease to their service. His office was taken from him on the 20th of February, 1649; the powers of the admiralty were vested in the council of state, which delegated them to a committee of three members, of whom Vane was the chief; and the command of the fleet passed into the hands of three officers, Edward Popham, Richard Deane, and Robert Blake — the last a literate and warlike Puritan, who had already given proof of his great qualities as a soldier, and who was destined to augment at sea the power and glory of the commonwealth, which he served with austere and unflinching devotedness.[d]

EXECUTIONS AND MUTINIES.

While the commons were thus converting the ancient monarchy of England into a republic, a high court of justice was sitting in judgment on the royalists of rank who were prisoners in their hands. On the night after the death of the king, the duke of Hamilton had made his escape from Windsor, but he was recognised and arrested by some troopers next day as he was knocking in disguise at an inn gate in Southwark. Lord Capel also escaped out of the Tower, but he was discovered and seized by two watermen at a house in Lambeth. These two noblemen, with Lord Norwich and Sir John Owen, were some days after (10th) brought before a high court of justice presided over by Bradshaw, and arraigned for treason. They were all sentenced to lose their heads (March 6).

The house proceeded to vote on their several cases; it was determined that the duke and Lord Capel should not be reprieved; the votes for and against were equal in the cases of Holland and Norwich, and the speaker, by his casting vote, condemned the former and saved the latter. Colonel Hutchinson seeing Sir John Owen without any one to make an exertion in his favour, took pity on him and prevailed on Ireton to give him his interest, and by their joint influence he was saved by a majority of five. Hamilton, Holland and Capel were beheaded the next day (9th) in Palace Yard: they met their fate with courage and constancy, especially the last, who behaved, we are told, "like a stout Roman."

The new government was in fact that species of tyranny denominated oligarchy, and depending, like all other tyrannies, for its existence on the power of the sword. But it was here that its chief source of danger lay; the fanatic principles of the levellers were widely spread among the Prætorian guards of the new commonwealth, and it was not long ere they broke out into action. The fearless John Lilburne, the sworn foe to despotism of every kind, led the way by a petition against the "Agreement of the People"; petitions from officers and soldiers, and from the well-affected in various parts, poured in, calling for annual parliaments with entirely new members; the enforcement of the Self-Denying Ordinance; the abolition of the council of state and the high court of justice; requiring legal proceedings to be in English, and the fees of lawyers to be reduced; the excise and customs to be abolished, and the estates of delinquents to be sold; liberty of conscience.



THE PROSCRIBED ROYALIST

(After the painting by Sir John Everett Millais, in the Pender Collection)

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abolition of tithes, and fixed salaries of 100*l.* a year for the ministers of the Gospel.

To quell the spirit of the army vigorous means were employed. Five troopers, the bearers of a remonstrance from several regiments were sentenced by a court-martial to ride the wooden horse, have their swords broken over their heads, and be cashiered. Lilburne, who was keeping up a constant fire of pamphlets, ("England's New Chains Discovered"; "A Second Part" of the same; and "The Hunting of the Foxes from Newmarket and Triploe-heath to Westminster, by five small Beagles," alluding to the five troopers, etc.) was, with his associates Walwyn, Prince and Overton, committed to the Tower (March 29). Numerous petitions, especially from the women, were presented in their favour, but without effect. "They were bid," says Walker *i* to go home and wash their dishes, to which some of them replied, they had neither dishes nor meat left." A very different answer, he says, from what they used to receive "when they had money, plate, rings, bodkins and thimbles to sacrifice to these legislative idols." Mutinies broke out in the regiments destined for Ireland; the first was at Bishopsgate, in the city, where a troop of horse seized the colours and refused to march. For this five of them were sentenced to be shot, but with the exception of one named Lockier they were pardoned by the general. At the funeral of Lockier (April 30) the corpse, adorned with bundles of rosemary dipped in blood, was preceded by one hundred men in files; six trumpeters sounding a soldier's knell went on each side of it; his horse covered with mourning was led after it; then came thousands of people with sea-green and black ribbons at their breasts. The women brought up the rear; thousands more of the better sort met them at the grave.

This funeral convinced the government of the necessity of acting with energy, for the mutiny was spreading fast. A captain Thompson, at the head of two hundred men, set forth at Banbury a manifesto named "England's Standard Advanced." They were, however, surprised by Colonel Reynolds (May 13); Thompson fled, and his men surrendered. A body of more than one thousand men moved from Salisbury to Burford, where Fairfax came up with them. At midnight Cromwell forced his way into the town and made four hundred of them prisoners, several of whom were shot by sentence of a court-martial (19th); the rest were pardoned. Thompson was slain shortly after at Wellingborough (21st), and the mutiny was finally suppressed. On Cromwell's making a report to that effect to the house (26th) a general day of thanksgiving for that great mercy was ordered. There was another kind of levellers at this time, named the "diggers," whose principle it was that the barren earth was to be made fruitful. They accordingly repaired to St. George's Hill, near Walton, in Surrey, and began to dig a common there, and to sow beans and other plants in it. Fairfax sent two troops of horse and easily dispersed them, as their number was only thirty.

SCOTLAND AND CHARLES II; THE FATE OF MONTROSE

It is now time that we should take a view of the state of affairs in Scotland at this conjuncture. The parliament there, now under the control of Argyll, had sent instructions to their commissioners to protest against the trial and execution of the king. No notice had been taken of the Scottish protest. When tidings of the execution of the king reached Edinburgh the parliament had forthwith (Feb. 5) proclaimed Charles II, provided he

would take the covenant and adhere to the solemn league between the two kingdoms. Afterwards, when they found themselves treated with contempt by the English parliament, and their commissioners actually sent under a guard to the frontiers, they appointed commissioners to proceed to the Hague to treat with the king. These on arriving (March 26) found Lanark (later duke of Hamilton), Lauderdale and Callendar, the chiefs of the engagers, and the royalists Montrose, Kinnoull and Seaforth already there. The antipathies and disputes of these parties caused distraction and confusion; and Charles, whose real design was to repair to Ormonde and the Catholics in Ireland, was little inclined to give them satisfaction.

The murder of Dorislaus, which occurred soon after, made it expedient for Charles to quit the Hague. This civilian had been sent as envoy from the parliament to the states. On the very evening of his arrival (May 3), as he was at supper in an inn, six gentlemen entered the room with drawn swords, and dragging him from his chair, murdered him on the ground. Ascham, the republican envoy to the court of Madrid, was also assassinated by the royalists. Clarendon[9] does not, by any means, condemn the deed. The assassins of Dorislaus escaped, but it was known that they were Scotchmen and followers of Montrose. Charles immediately left the Hague and proceeded to Paris, whence, after a delay of three months, he went to Jersey in order to take shipping for Ireland. But the intelligence which he received from that country showing that his cause there was hopeless, he renewed his negotiations with the Scots.

Many months passed without anything being done; but early in the following year (March 15, 1650) he met the commissioners, who were the earls of Cassilis and Lothian, two barons, two burgesses, and three ministers, at the prince of Orange's town of Breda. But though urged by his mother, the prince of Orange and several of his other friends, to take the covenant and comply with the other demands, he still protracted the treaty.

The truth is, Charles, who had all the insincerity distinctive of his family, had in view another mode of recovering his throne. The restless and enterprising Montrose having obtained some supplies of arms and money from the northern courts, had embarked at Hamburg with about six hundred men, Germans and Scottish exiles. He sailed to the Orkney Isles, where by a forced levy he raised his troops to about fourteen hundred, with whom he passed over to the opposite coast; but as he marched through Caithness and Sutherland the people, instead of joining him as he expected, fled at his approach. At Corbinsdale, in Fifeshire, he was encountered (April 17) by a party of three hundred horse, under Strachhan; the main army of four thousand men under David Leslie not being yet come up. The unwarlike islanders, when charged by cavalry, threw down their arms and fled; the Germans retreated to a wood, where they surrendered.

Montrose, in the disguise of a peasant, escaped by swimming across a river, but he was betrayed (May 8) by a person with whom he had taken refuge, and was conducted a prisoner to Edinburgh. Every insult that could be devised was heaped on him by his ungenerous captors. The magistrates of Edinburgh met him at the gates, and by their directions he was placed, bareheaded and pinioned, on a high seat in a cart, and thus led by the executioner to the common gaol, his officers walking two and two before the cart. Within two days he was brought before the parliament to receive his sentence. The chancellor in a bitter tone enumerated all his offences. He replied that he had always acted by the royal command.

He was then sentenced to be hung on a gallows thirty feet high, his head

to be fixed on a spike in Edinburgh, his arms on the gates of Perth and Stirling, his legs on those of Glasgow and Aberdeen, his body to be buried by the hangman on the Burrow moor. He heard this sentence with an unchanged countenance. The clergy then came to torture him; they told him that his punishment here was but a shadow of what awaited him in the next world. He repelled them with disdain: he was prouder, he said, to have his head placed on the prison walls than his picture in the king's bed-chamber, and he wished he had flesh enough to be dispersed through Christendom to attest his loyalty. He appeared on the scaffold (May 20th) in a splendid dress, and addressed the people in explanation of his dying unabsolved by the church; the executioner then hung the book containing the history of his exploits about his neck; he smiled at their malice, and said he wore it with more pride than the Garter. His behaviour at his last moments gained many proselytes to the cause for which he suffered.



Cottage in Merton

Montrose was only thirty-eight years of age. His mind was irregularly great, always aiming at what was beyond his power to achieve. He never displayed the talents of a great commander, but as a partisan or guerilla he was not to be excelled. Personal aggrandisement or the gratification of personal enmity was the impelling cause of most of his actions. His barbarous death has in some measure effaced the memory of the cruelties which he had committed. Sir Francis Hay Spotswood, grandson of the archbishop, Colonel Sibbald and Colonel Hurry, his companions, were all executed a few days after Montrose. His friend Lord Frendaught balked the public vengeance by a voluntary death.

When the news of Montrose's defeat reached Charles, he lost no time in declaring that he had forbidden him to proceed in his design, and that he was not sorry for what had befallen him. He then submitted without reserve to the demands of the commissioners. Beside taking the covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant, he bound himself not to tolerate Roman Catholicism in any part of his dominions, and to govern by the advice of the parliament and the kirk. He then embarked (June 2) on board of a Dutch fleet employed to protect the herring fisheries, and after a tedious voyage of three weeks reached the mouth of the Spey (23rd). [The treaty was actually signed while the fleet was anchored in the roads of Helgoland, June 11th; hence it is called the Treaty of Helgoland.] A court was arranged for him

with all the proper officers, but none of the engagers were permitted to approach it; and none of his English followers, but the duke of Buckingham, Lord Wilmot and a few servants, were suffered to remain with him.

He soon found that he was to be a mere pageant of royalty, and the insolence of the despotic fanatic clergy made his life wearisome. Evermore he was compelled to listen to their invectives against the iniquity of his father's house, the idolatry of his mother, and his own connection with malignants. Long prayers, tedious sermons, rigid fasts, and Judaical sabbaths were inflicted on him, and the slightest levity in look or conduct was severely reprehended. How long a licentious youth (for such was Charles) and these sour religionists could have agreed is uncertain; but the time for the experiment was brief; for Charles had been but one short month in Scotland when (July 22) Cromwell, flushed with victory in Ireland, crossed the Tweed at the head of an English army.

CROMWELL IN IRELAND

In Ireland, when the nuncio Rinuccini and the clergy had got the supreme power into their hands, they had exercised it weakly, passionately and injudiciously; but the marquis of Clanricarde and some other peers rallied against them, and finally obliged the nuncio to fly to the camp of his friend Owen O'Neil. Lord Inchiquin, who had been hitherto on the side of the parliament, having declared for the royal cause, the council invited Ormonde to return and resume the lieutenancy; and on his arrival, the insolent, turbulent Italian found it necessary to quit the kingdom in which his presence had been productive only of evil. The account of the execution of Charles I had caused the Scottish army in Ulster to declare for the royal cause. Owen O'Neil, who was closely connected with the party of the nuncio, refused to be included in it, and formed an alliance with the parliamentary commanders. Ormonde being joined by Inchiquin from Munster, was enabled to appear at the head of a combined army of eleven thousand men, Protestants and Catholics, before the walls of Dublin (June 19), while Inchiquin reduced Drogheda. Monk, who commanded at Dundalk, had concerted with O'Neil a plan for drawing the lord-lieutenant away from Dublin; but Inchiquin fell on and routed a body of O'Neil's troops who were convoying the ammunition sent him by Monk for this purpose, and then compelled Monk himself to surrender. He also reduced Newry, Carlingford, Trim, and other towns, and then rejoined Ormonde before Dublin. Owen O'Neil meantime advanced toward Londonderry, which was hard pressed by the royalists, and he obliged them to raise the siege.

The parliament had appointed Cromwell to the command in Ireland (March 15), but he hesitated to accept it; the council of officers then directed two from each regiment to meet and seek God as to what advice to offer him, and at length he declared himself willing to undertake that service. He was appointed lord-lieutenant, with supreme authority both civil and military, for three years. He demanded a force of twelve thousand men with all needful supplies, and 100,000*l.* in money.[1] These preparations caused so much delay, that Cromwell did not leave London till the 10th of July; on which day, when three ministers had offered up prayers for his success, and he himself, Goffe and Harrison "did" says Whitelock,[i] "expound some places of Scripture excellently well and pertinent to the occasion," he left

[1] Cromwell received £3,000 for his outfit, £10 per day as general while he remained in England, and £2,000 per quarter in Ireland, besides his salary as lord-lieutenant. — LINGARD.[h]

[1649 A.D.]

Whitehall with a train of carriages, each drawn by six horses, with his life-guard of eighty gentlemen, all of whom had been officers, and a numerous suite of attendants. Ere their departure, his officers presented a petition to parliament, praying that drunkenness, profane swearing, etc., might be restrained; legal proceedings be in English, cheap and certain; lands and houses with their encumbrances be registered in each parish; tithes be abolished, and two shillings in the pound be levied on the land for the support of the clergy and the poor.*i*

It had been fixed that the expedition should sail from Milford Haven; but the impatience of the general was checked by the reluctance and desertion of his men. The recent transaction between Monk and O'Neil had diffused a spirit of distrust through the army. It was pronounced an apostasy from the principles on which they had fought. The exaggerated horrors of the massacre in 1641 were recalled to mind; the repeated resolutions of parliament to extirpate the native Irish, and the solemn engagement of the army to revenge the blood which had been shed, were warmly discussed; and the invectives of the leaders against the late king, when he concluded a peace with the confederate Catholics, were contrasted with their present backsliding, when they had taken the men of Ulster for their associates and for their brethren in arms. To appease the growing discontent, parliament annulled the agreement. Monk, who had returned to England, was publicly assured that, if he escaped the punishment of his indiscretion, it was on account of his past services and good intentions. Peters from the pulpit employed his eloquence to remove the blame from the grandees; and, if we may judge from the sequel, promises were made, not only that the good cause should be supported, but that the duty of revenge should be amply discharged.

While the army was thus detained in the neighbourhood of Milford Haven, Jones, in Dublin, reaped the laurels which Cromwell had destined for himself. The royal army had advanced on both banks of the Liffy to the siege of that capital. Jones, sallying from the walls (Aug. 2), overpowered the guard, and raised an alarm in the camp. It was in vain that Ormonde, aroused from his sleep, flew from post to post; a general panic ensued, and the whole army on the right bank fled in every direction. The artillery, tents, baggage, and ammunition fell into the hands of the conquerors, with two thousand prisoners, three hundred of whom were massacred in cold blood at the gate of the city. This was called the battle of Rathmines, a battle which destroyed the hopes of the Irish royalists and taught men to doubt the abilities of Ormonde. At court, his enemies ventured to hint suspicions of treason; but Charles, to silence their murmurs and assure him of the royal favour, sent him the order of the Garter.

CROMWELL MASSACRES THE PRISONERS

The news of this important victory hastened the departure of Cromwell. He sailed from Milford with a single division (Aug. 18, 1649 [1]); his son-in-law, Ireton, followed with the remainder of the army, and a fortnight was allowed to the soldiers to refresh themselves after their voyage. The campaign was opened with the siege of Drogheda (Sept. 3). Ormonde had thrown into the town a garrison of two thousand five hundred chosen men, under the command of Sir Arthur Ashton, an officer who had earned a brilliant reputation by his services to the royal cause in England during the civil war (Sept. 11).*h*

[1 On the occasion of the crossing, which was rough, a spectator noted that Cromwell "was as sea sick as ever I saw a man in my life."]

Cromwell's Own Account of His Irish Massacres[1]

Your army came before the town upon Monday following. Where having pitched, as speedy course was taken as could be to frame our batteries; which took up the more time because divers of the battering guns were on ship-board. Upon Monday, the batteries began to play. Whereupon I sent Sir Arthur Ashton, the then governor, a summons, to deliver the town to the use of the parliament of England. To the which receiving no satisfactory answer, I proceeded that day to beat down the steeple of the church on the south side of the town, and to beat down a tower not far from the same place. Our guns not being able to do much that day, it was resolved to endeavour to do our utmost the next day to make breaches assaultable, and by the help of God to storm them. The place pitched upon was that part of the town wall next a church called St. Mary's; which was the rather chosen because we did hope that if we did enter and possess that church, we should be the better able to keep it against their horse and foot until we could make way for the entrance of our horse. The batteries planted were two: one was for that part of the wall against the east end of the said church; the other against the wall on the south side. Being somewhat long in battering, the enemy made six retrenchments: three of them from the said church to Duleek Gate; and three of them from the east end of the church to the town wall and so backward. The guns, after some two or three hundred shot, beat down the corner tower, and opened two reasonable good breaches in the east and south wall.

Upon Tuesday, about five o'clock in the evening we began to storm: and after some hot dispute we entered, about seven or eight hundred men; the enemy disputing it very stiffly with us. And indeed, through the advantages of the place, and the courage God was pleased to give the defenders, our men were forced to retreat quite out of the breach, not without some considerable loss. Although our men that stormed the breaches were forced to recoil, as is before expressed; yet, being encouraged to recover their loss, they made a second attempt: wherein God was pleased so to animate them that they got ground of the enemy, and by the goodness of God, forced him to quit his intrenchments. And after a very hot dispute, the enemy having both horse and foot, and we only foot, within the wall — they gave ground, and our men became masters both of their retrenchments and of the church; which indeed, although they made our entrance the more difficult yet they proved of excellent use to us; so that the enemy could not annoy us with their horse, but thereby we had advantage to make good the ground, that so we might let in our own horse; which accordingly was done, though with much difficulty.

Divers of the enemy retreated into the Mill-Mount: a place very strong and of difficult access; being exceedingly high, having a good graft, and strongly palisadoed. The governor, Sir Arthur Ashton, and divers considerable officers being there, our men getting up to them, were ordered by me to put them all to the sword. And indeed, being in the heat of action, I forbade them to spare any that were in arms in the town: and, I think, that night they put to the sword about 2,000 men; divers of the officers and soldiers being fled over the bridge into the other part of the town, where about 100 of them possessed St. Peter's church-steeple, some the west gate, and others a strong round tower next the gate called St. Sunday's. These being summoned to yield to mercy, refused. Whereupon I ordered the steeple of St.

[1] In a letter to William Lenthall, speaker of the Long Parliament, dated Dublin, September 17th, 1649.]

Peter's church to be fired, when one of them was heard to say in the midst of the flames: "God damn me, God confound me; I burn, I burn."

The next day, the other two towers were summoned; in one of which was about six or seven score; but they refused to yield themselves; and we knowing that hunger must compel them, set only good guards to secure them from running away until their stomachs were come down. From one of the said towers, notwithstanding their condition, they killed and wounded some of our men. When they submitted, their officers were knocked on the head; and every tenth man of the soldiers killed and the rest shipped for the Barbadoes. The soldiers in the other tower were all spared, as to their lives only; and shipped likewise for the Barbadoes. I am persuaded that this is a righteous judgment of God upon these barbarous wretches, who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood; and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future. Which are the satisfactory grounds to such actions, which otherwise cannot but work remorse and regret. Since this great mercy vouchsafed to us, I sent a party of horse and dragoons to Dundalk; which the enemy quitted, and we are possessed of — as also of another castle they deserted, between Trim, and Tredah [Drogheda], upon the Boyne.

And now give me leave to say how it comes to pass that this work is wrought. It was set upon some of our hearts, that a great thing should be done, not by power or might, but by the spirit of God. And is it not so, clearly? That which caused your men to storm so courageously, it was the spirit of God, who gave your men courage, and took it away again; and gave the enemy courage, and took it away again; and gave your men courage again, and therewith this happy success. And therefore it is good that God alone have all the glory. It is remarkable that these people, at the first, set up the mass in some places of the town that had been monasteries; but afterwards grew so insolent that, the last Lord's day before the storm, the Protestants were thrust out of the great church called St. Peter's and they had public mass there: and in this very place near one thousand of them were put to the sword, fleeing thither for safety. I believe all their friars were knocked on the head promiscuously but two; the one of which was father Peter Taaff, brother to the lord Taaff, whom the soldiers took, the next day, and made an end of. The other was taken in the Round Tower, under the repute of a lieutenant, and when he understood that the officers in that tower had no quarter he confessed he was a friar; but that did not save him. I do not think we lost one hundred men upon the place, though many be wounded.[k]

FURTHER ATROCITIES IN IRELAND

According to other reports, by royalist and even parliamentary writers, not only did the carnage last two days, but officers who were discovered after the lapse of five or six days, during which they had been concealed by the humanity of some of the soldiers, were put to death in cold blood; and at the moment of the massacre, women and children met with the same fate as armed men. "It was," says a contemporary panegyrist of Cromwell, "a sacrifice of three thousand Irish to the ghosts of ten thousand English, whom they had massacred some years before." The sacrifice did not produce the effect which Cromwell had anticipated would justify it; it did not suffice to prevent the further effusion of blood; another such example had to be made. Wexford, a month afterwards, defended itself with the same obstinacy as Drogheda, and witnessed a similar massacre.[d]

According to a story which Gardiner[b] doubts but Lingard[h] accepts, three hundred women who gathered round the cross in the market place, were put to the sword without mercy. The Irish commanders disdained to imitate the cruelty of their enemies. "I took," says Lord Castlehaven,[l] "Athy by storm, with all the garrison (seven hundred men) prisoners. I made a present of them to Cromwell, desiring him by letter that he would do the like with me, as any of mine should fall in his power. But he little valued my civility. For, in a few days after, he besieged Gowran; and the soldiers mutinying, and giving up the place with their officers, he caused the governor, Hammond, and some other officers, to be put to death." Ormonde[m] also says, in one of his letters, "the next day Rathfarnham was taken by storm, and all that were in it made prisoners; and though five hundred soldiers entered the castle before any officer of note, yet not one creature was killed; which I tell you by the way, to observe the difference betwixt our and the rebels making use of a victory."[a]

Other places, it is true, from intimidation or treachery, surrendered: Cork, Ross, Youghal, and Kilkenny, submitted without resistance; but other places again, Callan, Gowran, and Clonmel, made a bold defence; and some, Waterford for instance, resisted so vigorously that Cromwell was obliged to raise the siege. And, even where success seemed won most easily, it was sullied by acts of wanton cruelty: at Gowran the soldiers obtained their lives on surrendering the place, but on the condition of giving up their officers, who were all put to death. The bishop of Ross was hanged in his Episcopal robes, under the walls of a fortress defended by his troops. Clonmel made an heroic resistance, and when at length it surrendered, Cromwell found not a single man belonging to the garrison in it; whilst he was signing the articles of capitulation with the inhabitants, they had left the town by night with their arms and baggage, to recommence the war elsewhere.

It is the ordinary artifice of bad passions to impute the cruel satisfaction with which they glut themselves, either to some great idea whose accomplishment they are earnestly pursuing, or to the absolute necessity of success. History would be dishonoured by admitting these lying excuses: it is her duty to refer evil to its source, and to render to the vices of mankind that which is their due. Human fanaticism also lies, or allows itself to be deluded by pride, when it pretends to be the executor of the high decrees of divine justice: it is not the office of man to pronounce upon nations the sentences of God. Cromwell was not bloodthirsty; but he was determined to succeed rapidly and at any cost, from the necessities of his fortune, far more than for the advancement of his cause: and he denied no outlet to the passions of those who served him. He was an ambitious and selfish, though really great, man, who had narrow-minded and hard-hearted fanatics for his instruments.

His great and true means of success did not consist in his massacres, but in his genius, and in the exalted idea which the people had already conceived of him. Sometimes by instinct, sometimes from reflection, he conducted himself in Ireland towards both his friends and his enemies with an ability as pliant as it was profound; for he excelled in the art of treating with men, and of persuading, or seducing, or appeasing those even who naturally regarded him with the greatest distrust and aversion. At the same time that he gave up to murder and pillage the towns which fell into his hands, he maintained in other respects the severest discipline in his army, not suffering it to do the inhabitants any wrong, and taking care that it paid for all it consumed. That very man who boasted that at Drogheda "all the friars were knocked on the head promiscuously," and who always pompously excepted the Catholics

[1650 A.D.]

from his promises of Christian toleration, that very man maintained, by means of Irish monks, a most active police among his enemies, who kept him always well informed of their designs and movements, and were sometimes influential enough to procure their failure by promoting dissensions among them. He laboured incessantly to detach all men of importance from the royal cause.[d]

Gardiner's opinion of Cromwell's massacre is as follows: "The deed of horror was all Cromwell's own. Till he spoke the words of fate, the soldiers were offering quarter to its defenders. Those modern critics who argue that Cromwell merely put in force the law of war as exercised by Tilly and others, forget that the question is whether he did more than he had himself done in England. There, except at Basing House, he had been uniformly merciful. His allowing prisoners to be put to death was contrary to the military practice of his own day."[b]

Morley, in his estimate of the atrocity, says: "The general question, how far in such a case the end warrants the means, is a question of military and Christian ethics which it is not for us to discuss here, but we may remind the reader that not a few of the most barbarous enormities in human annals have been excused on the same ground, that in the long run the gibbet, stake, torch, sword, and bullet are the truest mercy, sometimes to men's life here, sometimes to their souls hereafter. No less equivocal was Cromwell's second plea. The massacre, he says, was a righteous vengeance upon the wretches who had imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood in Ulster eight years before. Yet he must have known that of the three thousand men who were butchered at Drogheda, of the friars who were knocked on the head promiscuously, and of the officers who were killed in cold blood, not a single victim was likely to have had part or lot in the Ulster atrocities of 1641. Again, that the butchery at Drogheda did actually prevent in any marked degree further effusion of blood, is not at all clear. Cromwell remained in Ireland nine months longer, and the war was not extinguished for two years after his departure. In passing, we may ask in face of this hanging of chaplains and promiscuous knocking of friars on the head, what is the significance of Cromwell's challenge to produce 'an instance of one man since my coming to Ireland, not in arms, massacred, destroyed, or banished.' "[n]

THE BATTLE OF DUNBAR (1650 A.D.)

It was the negotiation between the Scots and their nominal king that arrested Cromwell in the career of victory, and called him away from the completion of his Irish conquest. The rulers of the commonwealth were aware of the intimate connection which the Solemn League and Covenant had produced between the English Presbyterians and the kirk of Scotland, whence they naturally inferred that, if the pretender to the English were once seated on the Scottish throne, their own power would be placed on a very precarious footing. From the first they had watched with jealousy the unfriendly proceedings of the Scottish parliament. Advice and persuasion had been tried, and had failed. There remained the resource of war; and war, it was hoped would either compel the Scots to abandon the claims of Charles, or reduce Scotland to a province of the commonwealth. Fairfax, indeed (he was supposed to be under the influence of a Presbyterian wife and of the Presbyterian ministers), disapproved of the design; but his disapprobation, though lamented in public, was privately hailed as a benefit by those who were acquainted with the aspiring designs of Cromwell, and built on his elevation the flattering hope of their own greatness. By their means, as soon as the lord-lieutenant had

put his troops into winter quarters, an order was obtained from parliament for him to attend his duty in the house; but he resumed his military operations, and two months were suffered to elapse before he noticed the command of the supreme authority, and condescended to make an unmeaning apology for his disobedience.

On the renewal of the order, he left the command in Ireland to Ireton, and, returning to England, appeared in his seat (June 4). He was received with acclamations; the palace of St. James's was allotted for his residence, and a valuable grant of lands was voted as a reward for his eminent services. In a few days followed the appointment of Fairfax to the office of commander-in-chief, and of Cromwell to that of lieutenant-general of the army designed to be employed in Scotland. Each signified his "readiness to observe the orders of the house"; but Fairfax at the same time revealed his secret and conscientious objections to the council of state. A deputation of five members, Cromwell, Lambert, Harrison, Whitelocke, and St. John waited on him at his house; the conference was opened by a solemn invocation of the Holy Spirit, and the three officers prayed in succession with the most edifying fervour. Then Fairfax said that, to his mind, the invasion of Scotland appeared a violation of the Solemn League and Covenant which he had sworn to observe. The next day another attempt ended with as little success, the lord-general alleging the plea of infirm health and misboding conscience, and the chief command of all the forces raised, or to be raised by order of parliament, was conferred on Oliver Cromwell. Thus he obtained at the same time the praise of moderation and the object of his ambition. Immediately he left the capital for Scotland (June 29); and Fairfax retired to his estate in Yorkshire, where he lived with the privacy of a country gentleman, till he once more drew the sword, not in support of the commonwealth, but in favour of the king. To a spectator who considered the preparations of the two kingdoms, there could be little doubt of the result. Cromwell passed the Tweed (July 22), at the head of sixteen thousand men, most of them veterans, all habituated to military discipline, before the raw levies of the Scots had quitted their respective shires.

By order of the Scottish parliament, the army had been fixed at thirty thousand men; the nominal command had been given to the earl of Leven, the real, on account of the age and infirmities of that officer, to his relative, David Leslie, and instructions had been issued that the country between Berwick and the capital should be laid waste, that the cattle and provisions should be removed or destroyed, and that the inhabitants should abandon their homes under the penalties of infamy, confiscation, and death. In aid of this measure, reports were industriously circulated of the cruelties exercised by Cromwell in Ireland; that, wherever he came, he gave orders to put all the males between sixteen and sixty to death, to deprive all the boys between six and sixteen of their right hands, and to bore the breasts of the females with red-hot irons. The English were surprised at the silence and desolation which reigned around them; for the only human beings whom they met on their march through this wilderness, were a few old women and children who on their knees solicited mercy. But Cromwell conducted them by the sea-coast; the fleet daily supplied them with provisions, and their good conduct gradually dispelled the apprehensions of the natives (July 28). Cromwell employed all his art to provoke, Leslie to avoid, an engagement. It was in vain that for more than a month the former marched and countermarched; that he threatened general, and made partial, attacks. Leslie remained fixed within his lines; or, if he occasionally moved, watched the motions of the

enemy from the nearest mountains, or interposed a river or morass between the two armies. The English began to be exhausted with fatigue; sickness thinned their ranks; the arrival of provisions depended on the winds and waves; and Cromwell was taught to fear, not the valour of the enemy, but the prudence of their general.

The reader will already have observed how much at this period the exercises of religion were mixed up with the concerns of state and even the operations of war. Both parties equally believed that the result of the expedition depended on the will of the Almighty, and that it was, therefore, their duty to propitiate his anger by fasting and humiliation. In the English army the officers prayed and preached: they "sanctified the camp," and exhorted the men to unity of mind and godliness of life. Among the Scots this duty was discharged by the ministers; and so fervent was their piety, so merciless their zeal, that, in addition to their prayers, they occasionally compelled the young king to listen to six long sermons on the same day, during which he assumed an air of gravity, and displayed feelings of devotion, which ill-accorded with his real disposition. But the English had no national crime to deplore; by punishing the late king, they had atoned for the evils of the civil war; the Scots, on the contrary, had adopted his son without any real proof of his conversion, and therefore feared that they might draw down on the country the punishment due to his sins and those of his family. It happened that Charles, by the advice of the earl of Eglinton, presumed to visit the army on the links of Leith.

He was received with shouts of enthusiasm by the soldiers, who, on their knees, pledged the health of their young sovereign; but the committee of the kirk complained that his presence led to inebriety and profaneness, and he received a request, equivalent to a command, to quit the camp. The next day a declaration was made, that the company of malignants, engagers, and enemies to the covenant, could not fail of multiplying the judgments of God upon the land; an inquiry was instituted into the characters of numerous individuals; and eighty officers, with many of their men, were sashiered, that they might not contaminate by their presence the army of the saints. Still it was for Charles Stuart, the chief of the malignants, that they were to fight, and therefore from him, to appease the anger of the Almighty, an expiatory declaration was required in the name of the parliament and the kirk. In this instrument he was called upon to lament, in the language of penitence and self-abasement, his father's opposition to the work of God and to the Solemn League and Covenant, which had caused the blood of the Lord's people to be shed, and the idolatry of his mother, the toleration of which in the king's house could not fail to be a high provocation against him who is a jealous God, visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children; to declare that he had subscribed the covenant with sincerity of heart, and would have no friends or enemies but those who were friends or enemies to it; to acknowledge the sinfulness of the treaty with the bloody rebels in Ireland, which he was made to pronounce null and void; to detest popery and prelacy, idolatry and heresy, schism and profaneness; and to promise that he would accord to a free parliament in England the propositions of the two kingdoms, and reform the Church of England according to the plan devised by the assembly of divines at Westminster.

When first this declaration, so humbling to his pride, so offensive to his feelings, was presented to Charles for his signature, he returned an indignant refusal (August 13). The two committees of the kirk and kingdom protested that they would never prosecute his interest without his acknowledgment of

the sins of his family and of his former ways. This protestation was printed and furtively sent to the English camp; the officers of the army presented to the committee of estates a remonstrance and supplication expressive of their adhesion; and the ministers maintained from their pulpits that the king was the root of malignancy, and a hypocrite, who had taken the covenant without an intention of keeping it. Charles, yielding to his own fears and the advice of his friends, on August 16th, subscribed, with tears, the obnoxious instrument. If it were folly in the Scots to propose to the young prince a declaration so repugnant to his feelings and opinions, it was greater folly still to believe that professions of repentance extorted with so much violence could be sincere or satisfactory; yet his subscription was received with expressions of joy and gratitude; both the army and the city observed a solemn fast for the sins of the two kings, the father and the son; and the ministers, now that the anger of heaven had been appeased, assured their hearers of an easy victory over a "blaspheming general and a sectarian army."

If their predictions were not verified, the fault was undoubtedly their own. The caution and vigilance of Leslie had triumphed over the skill and activity of "the blasphemer." Cromwell saw no alternative but victory or retreat: of the first he had no doubt, if he could come in contact with the enemy; the second was a perilous attempt, when the passes before him were pre-occupied, and a more numerous force was hanging on his rear. At Musselburgh (August 30th), having sent the sick on board the fleet (they suffered both from the "disease of the country," and from fevers caused by exposure on the Pentland hills), he ordered the army to march the next morning to Haddington, and thence to Dunbar; and the same night a meteor, which the imagination of the beholders likened to a sword of fire, was seen to pass over Edinburgh in a southeasterly direction, an evident presage, in the opinion of the Scots, that the flames of war would be transferred to the remotest extremity of England. At Dunbar, Cromwell posted his men in the vicinity of Broxmouth House; Leslie with the Scots moving along the heights of Lammermuir, occupied a position on Doon Hill, about two miles to the south of the invaders; and the advanced posts of the armies were separated only by a ravine of the depth and breadth of about thirty feet. Cromwell was not ignorant of the danger of his situation; he had even thought of putting the infantry on board the fleet, and of attempting to escape with the cavalry by the only outlet, the high road to Berwick; but the next moment he condemned the thought as "a weakness of the flesh, a distrust in the power of the Almighty; and ordered the army to seek the Lord, who would assuredly find a way of deliverance for his faithful servants." On the other side the committees of the kirk and estates exulted in the prospect of executing the vengeance of God upon "the sectaries"; and afraid that the enemy should escape, compelled their general to depart from his usual caution, and to make preparation for battle.

Cromwell, with his officers, had spent part of the day in calling upon the Lord; while he prayed, the enthusiast felt an enlargement of the heart, a buoyancy of spirit, which he took for an infallible presage of victory; and, beholding through his glass the motion in the Scottish camp, he exclaimed, "They are coming down; the Lord hath delivered them into our hands." During the night, he advanced the army to the edge of the ravine; and at an early hour in the morning of September 3rd, the Scots attempted to seize the pass on the road from Dunbar to Berwick. After a sharp contest, the Scottish lancers, aided by their artillery, charged down the hill, drove the brigade of English cavalry from its position, and broke through the infantry, which had advanced to the support of the horse. At that moment the sun made its



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CROMWELL AT DUNBAR

(From the painting by Andrew C. Gow, R.A., in the Tate Gallery, London)

appearance above the horizon; and Cromwell, turning to his own regiment of foot, exclaimed, "Let the Lord arise, and scatter his enemies." They instantly moved forward with their pikes levelled; the horse rallied; and the enemy's lancers hesitated, broke, and fled. At that moment the mist dispersed, and the first spectacle which struck the eyes of the Scots, was the rout of their cavalry. A sudden panic instantly spread from the right to the left of their line; at the approach of the English they threw down their arms and ran. Cromwell's regiment halted to sing Psalm cxvii; but the pursuit was continued for more than eight miles; the dead bodies of three thousand Scots strewed their native soil; and ten thousand prisoners, with the artillery, ammunition, and baggage, became the reward of the conquerors. Of the prisoners, five thousand one hundred, something more than one-half, being wounded, were dismissed to their homes, the other half were driven "like turkeys" into England.[1] Of these, one thousand six hundred died of a pestilential disease, and five hundred were actually sick on October 31st. *h*

Gardiner says: "Dunbar ranks with Naseby as one of the two decisive battles of Cromwell's career. As Naseby rendered forever impossible the re-establishment of purely personal government in England, Dunbar struck down the Solemn League and Covenant, and rendered it forever impossible that Scotland should attempt to impose upon England a form of ecclesiastical or political government against the will of Englishmen. Nor was Dunbar less decisive in its influence on the domestic affairs of Scotland herself. Never again would the stricter covenanters grasp the reins of government and mould armies at their pleasure." *b* Cromwell now thought no more of his retreat. He marched back to the capital; the hope of resistance was abandoned; Edinburgh and Leith opened their gates, and the whole country to the Forth submitted to the will of the English general.

CHARLES II'S "START," AND HIS CORONATION

Still the presumption of the six ministers who formed the committee of the kirk was not humbled. Though their predictions had been falsified, they were still the depositaries of the secrets of the Deity; and, in a "Short Declaration and Warning," they announced (Sept. 12) to their countrymen the thirteen causes of this national calamity, the reasons why "God had veiled for a time his face from the sons of Jacob." It was by the general profaneness of the land, by the manifest provocations of the king and the king's house, by the crooked and precipitant ways of statesmen in the Treaty of Breda, by the toleration of maligants in the king's household, by suffering his guard to join in the battle without a previous purgation, by the diffidence of some officers who refused to profit by advantages furnished to them by God, by the presumption of others who promised victory to themselves without eyeing of God, by the rapacity and oppression exercised by the soldiery, and by the carnal self-seeking of men in power, that God had been provoked to visit his people with so direful and yet so merited a chastisement.

To the young king the defeat at Dunbar was a subject of real and ill-dissembled joy. Hitherto he had been a mere puppet in the hands of Argyll and his party; now their power was broken, and it was not impossible for him to gain the ascendency. He entered into a negotiation with Murray, Huntley, Athol, and the numerous royalists in the highlands; but the secret, without the particulars, was betrayed to Argyll, probably by Buckingham, who dis-

[1 Cromwell claimed to have lost only twenty slain. Many of the prisoners were shipped to New England where they underwent a brief servitude.]

approved of the project; and all the cavaliers but three received an order to leave the court in twenty-four hours — the kingdom in twenty days. The vigilance of the guards prevented the execution of the plan which had been laid; but one afternoon, under pretence of hawking, Charles escaped from Perth, and riding forty-two miles, passed the night in a miserable hovel, called Clova, in the braes of Angus. At break of day he was overtaken by Colonel Montgomery, who advised him to return, while the viscount Dudhope urged him to proceed to the mountains, where he would be joined by seven thousand armed men. Charles wavered; but Montgomery directed his attention to two regiments of horse that waited at a distance to intercept his progress, and the royal fugitive consented to return to his former residence in Perth. The Start (so this adventure was called) proved, however, a warning to the committee of estates. They prudently admitted the apology of the king, who attributed his flight to information that he was that day to have been delivered to Cromwell; and they allowed him, for the first time, to preside at their deliberations, and they employed his authority to pacify the royalists in the Highlands, who had taken arms in his name under Huntley, Athol, Seaforth and Middleton. These, after a long negotiation, accepted an act of indemnity, and disbanded their forces.

In the mean while Cromwell in his quarters at Edinburgh laboured to unite the character of the saint with that of the conqueror; and, surrounded as he was with the splendour of victory, to surprise the world by a display of modesty and self-abasement. To his friends and flatterers, who fed his vanity by warning him to be on his guard against its suggestions, he replied, that he "had been a dry bone, and was still an unprofitable servant," a mere instrument in the hands of almighty power; if God had risen in his wrath, if he had bared his arm and avenged his cause, to him, and to him alone, belonged the glory. Assuming the office of a missionary, he exhorted his officers in daily sermons to love one another, to repent from dead works, and to pray and mourn for the blindness of their Scottish adversaries; and, pretending to avail himself of his present leisure, he provoked a theological controversy with the ministers in the castle of Edinburgh, reproaching them with pride in arrogating to themselves the right of expounding the true sense of the Solemn League and Covenant; vindicating the claim of laymen to preach the gospel and exhibit their spiritual gifts for the edification of their brethern; and maintaining that, after the solemn fasts observed by both nations, after their many and earnest appeals to the God of armies, the victory gained at Dunbar must be admitted an evident manifestation of the divine will in favour of the English commonwealth. Finding that he made no proselytes of his opponents, he published his arguments for the instruction of the Scottish people; but his zeal did not escape suspicion; and the more discerning believed that, under the cover of a religious controversy, he was in reality tampering with the fidelity of the governor.[h]

To raise a new army was now the first object of the Scottish government, but this could hardly be effected if the religious test were retained in all its rigour. The commissioners of the kirk, on being consulted, passed two resolutions to the following effect: those who had made defection or had been hitherto backward in the work, ought to be admitted to make profession of repentance, and on doing so might be allowed to serve and to defend their country. Mock penitents now appeared in abundance; royalists, engagers, and all the excluded crowded to court and camp. But a new schism hence arose, for the more rigid and fanatic portion of the clergy protested against the resolutions as an insult to God and a betrayal of the good cause.

[1651 A.D.]

The kirk was now split into resolutioners and protesters, or remonstrants: for the five most fanatic counties of the west, Renfrew, Ayr, Galloway, Wigton, and Dumfries, presented a remonstrance against the treaty with the king, and required him to be excluded from the government. On the first day of the new year, however, Charles was solemnly crowned at Scone, January 1, 1651. When he had sworn on his knees and with upraised hand to observe the two covenants, to maintain presbytery, govern according to the laws of God and the land, and root out false religion and heresy, the crown was placed on his head by the marquis of Argyll, and the nobility and people swore allegiance to him.[i]

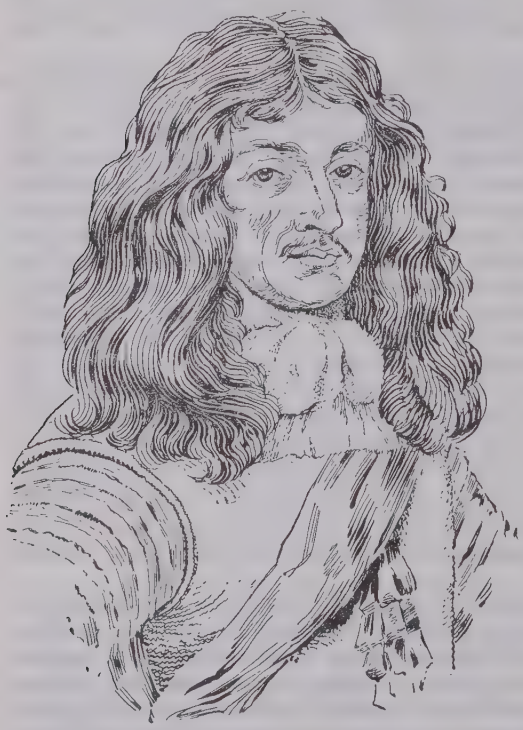
During the ceremony, and after the conclusion, Douglas, the minister, addressed the king, reminding him that he was king by compact with his people; that his authority was limited by the law of God, the laws of the people, and the association of the estates with him in the government; that, though every breach did not dissolve the compact, yet every abuse of power to the subversion of religion, law, or liberty, justified opposition in the people; that it was for him, by his observance of the covenant, to silence those who doubted his sincerity; that the evils which had afflicted his family arose out of the apostasy of his father and grandfather; and that, if he imitated them, he would find that the controversy between him and God was not ended, but would be productive of additional calamities. The reader may imagine what were the feelings of Charles while he listened to the admonitions of the preacher, and when he swore to perform conditions which his soul abhorred, and which he knew that on the first opportunity he should break or elude. But he passed with credit through the ceremony; the coronation exalted him in the eyes of the people; and each day brought to him fresh accessions of influence and authority.[h] His friends were now admitted to parliament, and to gain Argyll more entirely to his side he hinted at a marriage with his daughter; but that wary nobleman was not to be caught by an offer in which he knew he was not sincere.

By the joint exertions of all parties, an army of twenty thousand men was assembled at Stirling in the month of April. The king himself took the chief command, with Hamilton for his lieutenant, and Leslie for his major-general. The passes of the Forth were secured, and the army was encamped in a strong position at the Torwood, near Stirling. Cromwell, who had been suffering so severely from ague as to have obtained permission to return to England, finding himself unexpectedly better at the approach of summer, resumed operations in July. By means of a fleet of boats which had been collected at Queensferry Overton passed over and fortified a hill at Inverkeithing; he was followed by Lambert; the Scottish force sent to oppose them was driven off (July 21st); Cromwell lost no time in transporting the remainder of the army; the whole of Fife was rapidly reduced, and Perth opened her gates August 2nd.

The communications of the royal army with the north were now cut off, and if it remained in its present position it must either starve, disband, or fight at a disadvantage. In this dilemma the king proposed the desperate expedient of a march into England; Argyll alone opposed it in the council, and when his reasons were rejected he obtained permission to retire to his estates. The king then at the head of fourteen thousand men left Stirling (July 31st) on his way for England. Cromwell immediately sent Lambert with a body of three thousand horse to hang on his rear, and he ordered Harrison to advance from Newcastle with an equal number to press on his flank; he himself, leaving Monk with five thousand men to complete the conquest of Scotland, moved rapidly (August 7th) in the direction of York.

THE BATTLE OF WORCESTER AND THE FLIGHT OF CHARLES (1651 A.D.)

Charles entered England at Carlisle; at Warrington (August 16th) Lambert and Harrison attempted to prevent his passage of the Mersey, but they were not in time to break down the bridge, and he passed them by, and marching rapidly through Cheshire and Shropshire came to Worcester (August 22nd), where he was solemnly proclaimed by the mayor and some of the gentlemen of the county. The aspect of his affairs was, however, by no means cheering. The royalists had not been prepared, and few of them came to join him; the committee of the kirk forbade anyone to be employed who did not take the covenant; and the attempts of Massey the defender of Gloucester, who was now one of the royal commanders, to raise men in Lancashire, failed in consequence of it. At the first intelligence of the king's march into England the council of state were in great alarm, for they supposed that it must have been concerted with the Presbyterians, and they expected the royalists everywhere to rise: they even suspected Cromwell of treachery. They soon however resumed their courage; they caused the declaration which Charles had published to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman; and they proclaimed him and all his abettors guilty of high-treason; they put suspected persons into prison, and ordered the militia of the adjoining counties to march toward Worcester.



CHARLES II
(1630–1685)

The very day that Charles entered Worcester, a Presbyterian clergyman named Love, and a layman named Gibbons, were beheaded on Tower Hill for their share in a conspiracy, in favour of royalty as is later described. Cromwell himself soon arrived (August 28th), and found himself at the head of thirty thousand men, while the royalists were not half the number and but a sixth part of them English. That very day Lambert made himself master of the bridge over the Severn at Upton, in the defence of which Massey received a severe wound which deprived the royal army of his valuable services. On the 3rd of September (the day of the victory at Dunbar) Fleetwood, advancing from Upton on the west bank of the Severn, proceeded to force the passage of the Team, while Cromwell threw a bridge of boats over the Severn to come to his aid. The Scots having the advantage of the

numerous hedges in that part, fought gallantly; but Cromwell having passed over some regiments, they were at length driven back to the city.

Meantime the remainder of the royal forces issued from the town and attacked the troops on the east side. At first their efforts were successful, but they were finally driven back by Cromwell's veteran reserve and forced into the city. Cromwell stormed the fort named Fort Royal,[1] and turned its guns on the town, which the royalists speedily abandoned. The battle had lasted five hours; the Scots had fought nobly. "This has been," said Cromwell in his despatch, "a very glorious mercy, and as stiff a contest for four or five hours as ever I have seen." Of the vanquished three thousand men were slain, of the victors only two hundred; but as the whole country rose against the Scots, whose speech betrayed them, the number of the prisoners amounted to ten thousand. Among these were the earls of Derby, Cleveland, and Shrewsbury of the English nobility, and the duke of Hamilton (who was mortally wounded), the earls of Lauderdale, Rothes, and Kelly, and the lords Sinclair, Kenmore, and Spynie of the Scottish; also the generals Leslie, Middleton, and Massey. The earl of Derby and two others were tried by a court-martial at Chester and put to death; the others were kept in prison, from which Massey and Middleton escaped.

"It is certain," says Godwin,[o] "there was on the whole a great spirit of clemency displayed in the limits the government thought proper to prescribe to itself on this occasion. Of the common soldiers taken prisoners, the greater part were sent to the plantations [as slaves], and fifteen hundred were granted to the Guinea merchants, and employed to work in the mines of Africa." Not one word of reprehension has the prejudiced historian to bestow on this barbarous treatment of the freeborn soldiers of an independent nation! The republicans seemed resolved, we may see, to tread faithfully in the foot-prints of the Greeks and Romans.

The dangers and escapes of Charles after the defeat of Worcester are so interesting in themselves and serve so much to display the nobler and more generous feelings of our nature, that we cannot refrain from relating them somewhat in detail. Charles, who had shown no want of courage during the battle, left the town with the Scottish horse; but he parted from them during the night with about sixty followers, and directed his course for Boscobel House in Staffordshire, the seat of Mrs. Cotton, a Catholic lady, where Lord Derby had found shelter some days before. He was, however, conducted instead to White Ladies, another of Mrs. Cotton's houses, and here his companions took leave of him. He cut off his hair, stained his face and hands, and putting on the coarse threadbare clothes of a rustic, went forth in the morning with a bill in his hand, as a wood-cutter, in the company of four brothers, labouring men, named Penderel, and Yates their brother-in-law, all Catholics. One of them accompanied him into the thickest part of the wood while the rest kept watch. As the day was wet and stormy and Charles was weary with his previous exertions, his companion spread a blanket for him under a tree, whither Yates' wife brought him some food. He was startled at the sight of her, but she assured him that she would die sooner than betray him; and the aged mother of the Penderels, when she

[1 Gardiner[b] says that Cromwell, at the risk of his own life, rode up to offer quarter. The entire army was either made prisoners or slain, and the force absolutely disappeared as a fighting unit. It was the first battle since Cropredy bridge in which non-professional soldiers took part, nearly a third of the English army being militia evoked by the hatred of invasion. As Gardiner points out Cromwell now for the first time had secured the popular support.]

came to see him, fell on her knees and blessed God for having chosen her sons to save the life of their king.

About nine in the evening the king and Richard Penderel left the wood and proceeded to Madeley, the house of a Catholic gentleman named Wolf, which was near the Severn, it being his intention to pass over into Wales. They did not reach it till midnight; all the next day (September 5th) they remained concealed behind the hay in a barn, while Wolf sent to examine the river. But all the bridges were guarded and all the boats secured, and they found it necessary to abandon their design, and when night set in to direct their steps to Boscobel. Here the king met Colonel Careless, a Catholic royalist, and as the soldiers were very numerous about there they both concealed themselves all the next day in the dense foliage of an oak-tree which grew close to the foot-path in a meadow in the centre of the wood; whence they could frequently discern the red coats of the soldiers as they passed through the trees. In the night they returned to the house, where Charles remained quietly all the next day, which was Sunday. On Monday (the 8th) he received a message from Lord Wilmot, to meet him at Moseley, the house of Mr. Whitegrave, also a recusant. As his feet had been cut and blistered by the walk to and from Madeley, he rode a horse belonging to one of the Penderels, the six brothers attending him armed.

Here a new plan of escape was devised for him: Jane Lane, the daughter of a Protestant gentleman of Bentley, had obtained a pass to go visit Mrs. Norton, her relation, near Bristol, and it was proposed that the king should ride before her as her servant. To this she readily consented, and in the night Wilmot went to Bentley to make the arrangements. Next day (the 9th) a party of troopers came; the king was shut up in the "priest's hole,"[1] but they departed without searching the house. In the night he went to Bentley, and on the second day, equipped in a suit of gray he mounted before Miss Lane: her cousin, Lassells, rode beside them, and on the 14th they reached Mr. Norton's in safety. Wilmot, who had boldly ridden with a hawk on his fist and dogs at his heels, also eluded discovery, and he took up his abode at Sir John Winter's in the neighbourhood. Jane Lane, pretending that her servant was unwell, obtained a separate apartment for him; but the butler, who had been a servant in the palace at Richmond, recognised him as soon as he saw him. He told his suspicions to Lassells, and the king then deemed it his wisest course to confide in him. His confidence was not deceived; the man was faithful and zealous. By his means Wilmot had a private meeting with the king on the 17th; and as the butler had enquired without success for a ship to take them to France or Spain, it was arranged that they should go to Colonel Windham's at Trent, near Sherborne, in Dorset, and that a letter, as if her father were dangerously ill, should be given to Miss Lane to serve as a pretext for her sudden departure. They therefore left Mr. Norton's the next morning, and reached Trent the following day. Miss Lane and Lassells then returned home.

A ship was soon hired at Lyme to convey a gentleman and his servant (Wilmot and the king) to France. They went down in the evening of the 23rd, Charles riding before a young lady, to a little inn at Charmouth, where they were to be taken on board; but no bark came, for when the master was leaving his house for the purpose his wife had stopped him and would not suffer him to stir. At dawn Wilmot went to Lyme to learn the cause of the disappointment: the others meantime rode to Bridport, which was full of

[1 Catholic homes frequently had secret chambers where the priests could hide from persecution.]

[1651 A.D.]

soldiers; Charles led the horses through them into the inn-yard, rudely pushing them out of the way. But the hostler here claimed acquaintance with him, saying that he had known him in the service of a Mr. Potter at Exeter (in whose house Charles really had lodged). Taking advantage of the confusion of the hostler's memory, the king replied, "True, I did live with him, but I have no time now; we will renew our acquaintance over a pot of beer on my return to London."

When Wilmot came to say that the master would not put to sea, they rode back to Trent,[1] where the king stayed till the 8th of October, when he removed to Heale near Salisbury, the residence of a widow named Hyde, where he remained concealed for five days, during which Colonel Gunter, through one Mansell a merchant, engaged the master of a collier which was lying at Shoreham in Sussex. Charles rode to the adjoining fishing-village of Brighthelmstone on the 14th, where he sat down to supper with the colonels Philips and Gunter, and Mansell, and Tattershall the captain of the vessel. This last recognised the king, having been detained in the river by him in 1648. He called Mansell aside and complained of fraud; the king when informed took no notice, but kept them all drinking and smoking till four in the morning, when they set out for Shoreham. Ere he departed, as he was alone, the landlord came behind him and kissed his hand, which was on the back of a chair, saying, "I have no doubt that if I live I shall be a lord and my wife a lady." The king laughed.



HOUSE TO WHICH KING CHARLES II RETIRED WHILE THE BATTLE OF WORCESTER WAS RAGING

When they were aboard, Tattershall assured the king of his fidelity. The ship when under weigh stood along the coast as if for Deal, whither she was bound. At five, Charles, as had been arranged, addressed the crew, saying that he and his companion were flying from their creditors, and begged them to join him in prevailing on the captain to land them in France; at the same time he gave them twenty shillings for drink. The sailors became zealous advocates; Tattershall made many objections; at length he affected

[1 At Trent one day a trooper rode in and boasted that he had with his own hand slain Charles and taken from him the coat he then wore. The villagers rang the bells, and set bonfires going, and Charles had the rare privilege of looking on at the celebration of his own obsequies.]

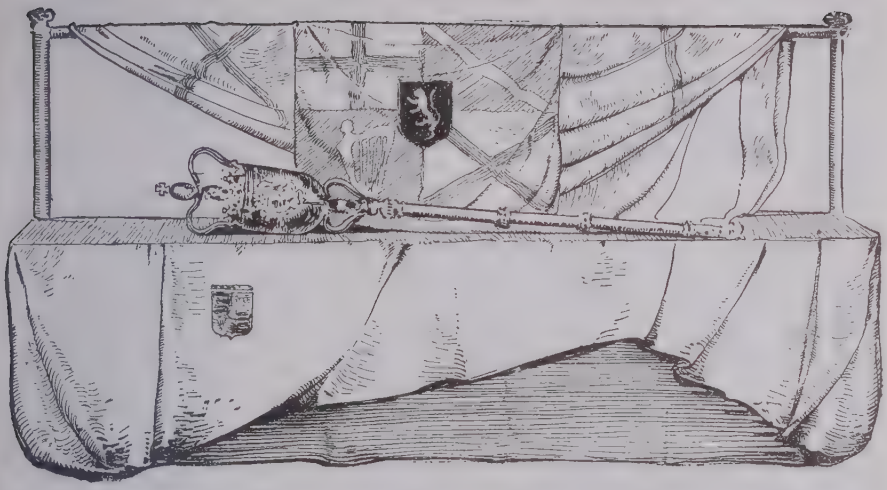
to yield, and the next morning, October 16th, the two adventurers were put ashore at Fechamp in Normandy.

Cardinal de Retz *p* tells us, that Charles had not a second shirt when he reached Paris, nor his mother money enough to buy him one. After the Restoration, Careless and the Penderels were rewarded by the king; Miss Lane and Colonel Windham by the parliament.

Upwards of forty persons, it appears, were privy to the escape of Charles; a reward of 1,000*l.* had been offered (September 9th) for his apprehension; yet no one, not even a servant, was base enough to betray him. This surely is creditable to human nature. It is only to be regretted that the object of such devotion should have afterwards proved so worthless.*i*

Von Ranke notes the curious coincidence that the humble vessel in which Charles escaped carried him to Normandy, that spot whence long ago William had embarked for England with the noblest fleet of the time. The contrast with the present event was absolute. Furthermore the army of the Independents before whom Charles had fled, had often published its determination to destroy that constitution of the state which traced back to the Norman conquest. *q*





CHAPTER IV

CROMWELL AGAINST PARLIAMENT

[1651–1653 A.D.]

In these kingdoms the commonwealth now held supreme authority. It had conquered everywhere the two hostile forces just as they were eager for reconciliation, the royal prerogative and the parliamentary or religious faction. In England the parliamentary party with its Presbyterian creed had been ruined from the moment it had tried to patch up a peace with Charles I. Scotland likewise was defeated in the moment of its arrival at a satisfactory understanding with Charles II. In Ireland Cromwell crushed both the Protestant and the Catholic parties when they were just about reconciled. In the history of Great Britain the epoch of the commonwealth is one of the great links in the general historical progress. By striking decisive blows for the commonwealth in all three countries, Cromwell wins an imperishable importance in Great Britain whatever opinion may be held of his personal achievements or his character. — VON RANKE. [b]

THE parliament and people of England felt that Cromwell had saved the commonwealth. He had done more than maintain a form of government. He had stopped the triumphant return to unlimited power of a prince who, once seated at Whitehall by military superiority, would have swept away every vestige of the liberty and security that had been won since 1640. The greater part of Europe was fast passing into complete despotism; and the state vessel of England would have been borne along helplessly into that shoreless sea. The enemies of Cromwell — the enthusiastic royalists and the theoretic republicans — saw, with dread and hatred, that by the natural course of events, the victorious general would become the virtual head of the commonwealth. He probably could not suppress the same conviction in his own breast. Ludlow [c] thus writes of Cromwell's return to London after the battle of Worcester: "The general, after this action, which he called the

crowning victory, took upon him a more stately behaviour, and chose new friends; neither must it be omitted, that instead of acknowledging the services of those who came from all parts to assist against the common enemy, though he knew they had deserved as much honour as himself and the standing army, he frowned upon them, and the very next day after the fight dismissed and sent them home, well knowing that a useful and experienced militia was more likely to obstruct than to second him in his ambitious designs.

"In a word, so much was he elevated with that success, that Mr. Hugh Peters, as he since told me, took so much notice of it, as to say in confidence to a friend upon the road in his return from Worcester, that Cromwell would make himself king." Again and again Ludlow dwells upon the expression used by Cromwell in his letter to the parliament, as if it were a foreshadowing of his own "crowning." Later writers accept it in the same sense. Cromwell's real phrase is this: "The dimensions of this mercy are above my thoughts: it is, for aught I know, a crowning mercy." To one who was as familiar with Scripture phraseology as Ludlow was, it seems extraordinary that he should attach any more recondite sense to this epithet than that of a perfecting mercy or victory. "Thou crownest the year with thy goodness" is the same as "Thou completest the year with thy goodness."[d]

The parliament seemed at a loss to express its gratitude to the man to whose splendid services the commonwealth owed its preservation. At Aylesbury, Cromwell was met by a deputation of the two commissioners of the great seal, the lord chief justice, and Sir Gilbert Pickering; to each of whom, in token of his satisfaction, he made a present of a horse and of two Scotsmen selected from his prisoners. At Acton he was received by the speaker and the lord president, attended by members of parliament and of the council, and by the lord mayor with the aldermen and sheriffs; and heard from the recorder, in an address of congratulation, that he was destined "to bind kings in chains, and their nobles in fetters of iron." He entered the capital (Oct. 12) in the state carriage, was greeted with the acclamations of the people as the procession passed through the city, and repaired to the palace of Hampton Court, where apartments had been fitted up for him and his family at the public expense. In parliament it was proposed that the 3rd of September should be kept a holiday forever in memory of his victory; a day was appointed for a general thanksgiving; and in addition to a former grant of lands to the amount of two thousand five hundred pounds per annum, other lands of the value of four thousand pounds were settled on him in proof of the national gratitude. Cromwell received these honours with an air of profound humility. He was aware of the necessity of covering the workings of ambition within his breast with the veil of exterior self-abasement; and therefore professed to take no merit to himself, and to see nothing in what he had done, but the hand of the Almighty fighting in behalf of his faithful servants.[1]

In the preceding chapter we have followed the fortunes of Charles Stuart from his landing in Scotland to his defeat at Worcester and his escape to the continent. We may now look back and direct our attention to some of the more important events which occurred during the same period, in England and Ireland. The reader is aware that the form of government established in England was an oligarchy. A few individuals, under the cover of a nominal

[1] "Next day, 13th, the common prisoners were brought through Westminster to Tuthill fields — a sadder spectacle was never seen except the miserable place of their defeat — and there sold to several merchants, and sent to the Barbadoes," says Heath.[e] Fifteen hundred were granted as slaves to the Guinea merchants, and transported to the Gold Coast in Africa.

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parliament, ruled the kingdom with the power of the sword. Could the sense of the nation have been collected, there cannot be a doubt that the old royalists of the cavalier, and the new royalists of the Presbyterian party, would have formed a decided majority; but they were awed into silence and submission by the presence of a standing army of forty-five thousand men; and the maxim that power gives right was held out as a sufficient reason why they should swear fidelity to the commonwealth. This numerous army, the real source of their security, proved, however, a cause of constant solicitude to the leaders.

The pay of the officers and men was always in arrear; the debentures which they received could be seldom exchanged for money without a loss of fifty, sixty, or seventy per cent.; and the plea of necessity was accepted as an excuse for the illegal claim of free quarters which they frequently exercised. To supply their wants, recourse was therefore had to additional taxation, with occasional grants from the excise, and large sales of forfeited property; and, to appease the discontent of the people, promises were repeatedly made, that a considerable portion of the armed force should be disbanded, and the practice of free quarter be abolished. But of these promises, the first proved a mere delusion; for, though some partial reductions were made, on the whole the amount of the army continued to increase; the second was fulfilled; but in return, the burthen of taxation was augmented; for the monthly assessment on the counties gradually swelled from sixty to ninety, to one hundred and twenty, and in conclusion, to one hundred and sixty thousand pounds.

Another subject of disquietude sprung out of those principles of liberty which, even after the suppression of the late mutiny, were secretly cherished and occasionally avowed by the soldiery. Lilburne was revered as an apostle and a martyr; they read with avidity the publications which repeatedly issued from his cell; and they condemned as persecutors and tyrants the men who had immured him and his companions in the Tower. An act was passed making it treason to assert that the government was tyrannical, usurped, or unlawful. No enactments, however, could check the hostility of Lilburne. He published more offensive tracts, and distributed them among the soldiery. A new mutiny broke out at Oxford; its speedy suppression emboldened the council; and Keble, with forty other commissioners, was appointed to try him for his last offence on the recent statute of treasons. He electrified the audience by frequent appeals to Magna Charta and the liberties of Englishmen, and stoutly maintained the doctrine that the jury had a right to judge of the law as well as of the fact. It was in vain that the court pronounced this opinion "the most damnable heresy ever broached in the land," and that the government employed all its influence to win or intimidate the jurors; after a trial of three days, Lilburne obtained a verdict of acquittal.

Before the end of the next year he drew upon himself the vengeance of the men in power, by the distribution of a pamphlet which charged Sir Arthur Haslerig and the commissioners at Haberdashers' Hall with injustice and tyranny. This by the house was voted a breach of privilege, and the offender was condemned (Jan. 16, 1652) in a fine of seven thousand pounds with banishment for life. Probably the court of Star Chamber never pronounced a judgment in which the punishment was more disproportionate to the offence. Lilburne submitted; but his residence on the continent was short: the reader will soon meet with him again in England.

The levellers had boldly avowed their object, the royalists worked in the dark and by stealth; yet the council by its vigilance and promptitude proved

a match for the open hostility of the one and the secret machinations of the other. A doubt may, indeed, be raised of the policy of the Engagement, a promise of fidelity to the commonwealth without king or house of lords. As long as it was confined to those who held office under the government, it remained a mere question of choice; but when it was exacted from all Englishmen above seventeen years of age, under the penalty of incapacity to maintain an action in any court of law, it became to numbers a matter of necessity and served rather to irritate than to produce security. A more efficient measure was the permanent establishment of a high court of justice to inquire into offences against the state, to which was added the organisation of a system of espionage by Captain Bishop, under the direction of Scott, a member of the council.

While the king was on his way to Scotland, a number of blank commissions had been seized in the possession of Dr. Lewen, a civilian, who suffered the penalty of death. Soon afterwards Sir John Gell, Colonel Eusebius Andrews, and Captain Benson, were arraigned on the charge of conspiring the destruction of the government established by law. Andrews and Benson suffered death, and Gell, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, with the forfeiture of his property. These executions did not repress the eagerness of the royalists, nor relax the vigilance of the council. In the beginning of December (1650) the friends of Charles took up arms in Norfolk, but the rising was premature; a body of roundheads dispersed the insurgents; and twenty of the latter atoned for their temerity with their lives. Still the failure of one plot did not prevent the formation of another; and many of the Presbyterians, through enmity to the principles of the Independents, devoted themselves to the interests of the prince. Love, one of the most celebrated of the ministers, was apprehended with several of his associates. It was clearly proved against him that the meetings had been held in his house, the money collected for the royalists had been placed on his table, and the letters received, and the answers to be returned, had been read in his hearing. The unfortunate minister lost his head on Tower Hill with the constancy and serenity of a martyr. Of his associates, only one, Gibbons, a citizen, shared his fate.[m]

FINAL CONQUEST OF SCOTLAND AND IRELAND

The Channel Islands, Scilly, Man, and the colonies of Barbadoes and Virginia had been reduced by the end of the year 1651. Scotland and Ireland only remained to occupy the attention of the council of state. The total conquest of Ireland was speedily achieved. After the departure of Cromwell, Ireton had reduced Waterford and Carlow, while Sir Charles Coote was equally successful in Ulster, and Lord Broghill in Munster. Connaught and the city of Limerick only remained to the Irish. Ormonde, thwarted and impeded in every possible manner by the priesthood, quitted the kingdom (Dec. 7), leaving his uneasy seat to be filled by the marquis of Clanricarde, a Catholic nobleman of high honour and unsullied loyalty. Clanricarde was half-brother to the late earl of Essex. Their mother was the daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham and widow of Sir Philip Sidney. A negotiation was meantime going on with that princely *condottiere* the duke of Lorraine for the service of himself and his army; but he required for himself, his heirs, and successors the title of protector-royal, with the chief civil and military authority, to be retained until Charles Stuart should repay him his expenses. To these extravagant demands the agents sent to Brussels subscribed (July 27, 1651); but Clanri-

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carde rejected them with indignation, and the arrest of the duke by the Spanish government soon put an end to all hopes from that quarter.

Ireton opened the campaign of 1651 with the siege of Limerick (June 11). It had a garrison of three thousand men under Hugh O'Neil, the gallant defender of Clonmel, but the keys of the gates and the government of the city remained with the mayor. Coote advanced from the north, and in spite of Clanricarde pushed on to Portumna and Athunree; Broghill defeated Lord Muskerry, the Catholic commander in Munster; Ireton himself forced the passage of the Shannon at Killaloe, and transported a part of his army to the Clare side of that river; and Limerick was thus shut in on all sides. The defence was gallant, and it was not till after a siege of four months and a wide breach having been effected in the walls, that the people and the garrison consented to treat (Oct. 27). Twenty-two persons were excepted from mercy, of whom five, namely, the bishop of Emly, Woulfe a turbulent friar, Stritch the mayor, Barron one of the town-council, and General Purcell, were executed. The intercession of the members of the court-martial which tried him saved the life of the brave O'Neil. Ireton did not long outlive his conquest; he fell a victim to the plague, which was then raging in that part of the kingdom (Nov. 25). His remains were transmitted to England and honoured with a magnificent funeral in Westminster Abbey, and an estate of 2000*l.* a year was settled on his family. Lieutenant-General Ludlow, who succeeded to the command, completed the subjugation of the country in the following year.

The parliament appointed Lambert to the office of lord-deputy in Ireland (Jan. 30, 1652). Lambert, who was a vain ostentatious man, went immediately to great expense, laying out not less than 5000*l.* on his coach and equipage; but a simple accident came to terminate his visions of glory. His wife and Ireton's widow happened to meet in the park; the former, as the lady of the actual deputy, claimed precedence. The mortified relict complained to her father; about the same time she gave her hand to Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, who was now a widower; and to complete her triumph over her rival, it only remained that her husband and not Lambert should be the deputy, and this was easily effected. It was proposed to limit Lambert's commission to six months, but he objected to this and sent in his resignation. Cromwell was then empowered to appoint the commander of the forces for Ireland, and he nominated Fleetwood (July 9).

Commissioners, as in the case of Scotland, were appointed to regulate the affairs of Ireland. The people of that most unhappy country were treated as we shall now proceed to relate.*f*

CRUELTIES OF THE IRISH SETTLEMENT

One of the first cares of the commissioners was to satisfy the claims of vengeance. In the year 1644 the Catholic nobility had petitioned the king that an inquiry might be made into the murders alleged to have been perpetrated on each side in Ireland, and that justice might be executed on the offenders without distinction of country or religion. To the conquerors it appeared more expedient to confine the inquiry to one party; and a high court of justice was established to try Catholics charged with having shed the blood of any Protestant out of battle since the commencement of the rebellion in 1641. Donnelan, a native, was appointed president, with Commissary-General Reynolds, and Cook, who had acted as solicitor at the trial of Charles I, for his assessors. Lords Muskerry and Clanmaliere, with Mac-

carthy Reagh, whether they owed it to their innocence or to the influence of friends, had the good fortune to be acquitted; the mother of Colonel Fitzpatrick was burned; Lord Mayo, colonels Tool, Bagnal, and about two hundred more, suffered death by the axe or by the halter. It was, however, remarkable, that the greatest deficiency of proof occurred in the province where the principal massacres were said to have been committed. Of the men of Ulster, Sir Phelim O'Neil is the only one whose conviction and execution have been recorded.

Cromwell had not been long in the island before he discovered that it was impossible to accomplish the original design of extirpating the Catholic population; and he had therefore adopted the expedient of allowing their leaders to expatriate themselves with a portion of their countrymen, by entering into the service of foreign powers. This plan was followed by his successors in the war, and was perfected by an act of parliament, banishing all the Catholic officers. Each chieftain, when he surrendered, stipulated for a certain number of men: every facility was furnished him to complete his levy; and the exiles hastened to risk their lives in the service of the Catholic powers who hired them; many in that of Spain, others of France, others of Austria, and some of the republic of Venice. Thus the obnoxious population was reduced by the number of thirty, perhaps forty thousand able-bodied men; but it soon became a question how to dispose of their wives and families, of the wives and families of those who had perished by the ravages of disease and the casualties of war, and of the multitudes who, chased from their homes and employments, were reduced to a state of utter destitution. These at different times, to the amount of several thousands, were collected in bodies, driven on shipboard, and conveyed to the West Indies.

According to Petty,[g] six thousand boys and women were sent away. Lynch[h] (*Cambrensis Eversus*) says that they were sold for slaves. Bruodin[i] in his *Propugnaculum* (Prague, 1669), numbers the exiles at one hundred thousand. After the conquest of Jamaica in 1655, the protector, that he might people it, resolved to transport a thousand Irish boys and a thousand Irish girls to the island.

Yet with all these drains on the one party, and the continual accession of English and Scottish colonists on the other, the Catholic was found to exceed the Protestant population in the proportion of eight to one. Cromwell, when he had reached the zenith of his power, had recourse to a new expedient. He repeatedly solicited the fugitives, who, in the reign of the late king, had settled in New England, to abandon their plantations and accept of lands in Ireland. On their refusal, he made the same offer to the Vaudois, the Protestants of Piedmont, but was equally unsuccessful. They preferred their native valleys, though under the government of a Catholic sovereign, whose enmity they had provoked, to the green fields of Erin, and all the benefits which they might derive from the fostering care and religious creed of the protector. By an act of Aug. 12, 1652, entitled "An Act for the Settlement of Ireland," the parliament divided the royalists and Catholics into different classes, and allotted to each class an appropriate degree of punishment. Forfeiture of life and estate was pronounced against all the great proprietors of lands, banishment against those who had accepted commissions; the forfeiture of two-thirds of their estates against all who had borne arms under the confederates of the king's lieutenant, and the forfeiture of one-third against all persons whomsoever who had not been in the actual service of parliament, or had not displayed their constant affection to the commonwealth of England. This was the doom of persons of property: to all others, whose estates, real and personal, did not

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amount to the value of ten pounds, a full and free pardon was graciously offered.

Care, however, was taken that the third parts, which by this act were to be restored to the original proprietors, were not to be allotted to them out of their former estates, but "in such places as the parliament, for the more effectual settlement of the peace of the nation, should think fit to appoint." When the first plan of extermination had failed, another project was adopted of confining the Catholic landholders to Connaught and Clare, beyond the river Shannon, and of dividing the remainder of the island, Leinster, Munster, and Ulster, among Protestant colonists. This, it was said, would prevent the quarrels which must otherwise occur between the new planters and the ancient owners; it would render rebellion more difficult and less formidable; and it would break the hereditary influence of the chiefs over their septs, and of the landlords over their tenants. Accordingly the Little Parliament, called by Cromwell and his officers (Sept. 26) passed a second act, which assigned to all persons, claiming under the qualifications described in the former, a proportionate quantity of land on the right bank of the Shannon; set aside the counties of Limerick, Tipperary, and Waterford in Munster, of King's County, Queen's County, Westmeath, and Meath in Leinster, and of Down, Antrim, and Armagh in Ulster, to satisfy in equal shares the English adventurers who had subscribed money in the beginning of the contest, and the arrears of the army that had served in Ireland since Cromwell took the command; reserved for the future disposal of the government the forfeitures in the counties of Dublin, Cork, Kildare, and Carlow; and charged those in the remaining counties with the deficiency, if there should be any in the first ten, with the liquidation of several public debts, and with the arrears of the Irish army contracted previously to the battle of Rathmines.

To carry this act into execution, the commissioners, by successive proclamations, ordered all persons who claimed under qualifications, and in addition, all who had borne arms against the parliament, to "remove and transplant" themselves into Connaught and Clare before the first of May, 1654. How many were prevailed upon to obey, is unknown; but that they amounted to a considerable number is plain from the fact that the lands allotted to them in lieu of their third portions extended to more than 800,000 English acres. Many, however, refused. Retiring into bogs and fastnesses, they formed bodies of armed men, and supported themselves and their followers by the depredations which they committed on the occupiers of their estates. They were called rapparees and tories. This celebrated party name, "tory," is derived from "toruighim," to pursue for the sake of plunder. So formidable did they become to the new settlers, that in certain districts, the sum of two hundred pounds was offered for the head of the leader of the band, and that of forty pounds for the head of any one of the privates. To maintain this system of spoliation, and to coerce the vindictive passions of the natives, it became necessary to establish martial law, and to enforce regulations the most arbitrary and oppressive. No Catholic was permitted to reside within any garrison or market town, or to remove more than one mile from his own dwelling without a passport describing his person, age, and occupation; every meeting of four persons besides the family was pronounced an illegal and treasonable assembly; to carry arms, or to have arms at home, was made a capital offence; and any transplanted Irishman, who was found on the left bank of the Shannon, might be put to death by the first person who met him, without the order of a magistrate.

Seldom has any nation been reduced to a state of bondage more galling

and oppressive. Under the pretence of the violation of these laws, their feelings were outraged, and their blood was shed with impunity. They held their property, their liberty, and their lives, at the will of the petty despots around them, foreign planters, and the commanders of military posts, who were stimulated by revenge and interest to depress and exterminate the native population. The religion of the Irish proved an additional source of solicitude to their fanatical conquerors. By one of the articles concluded with Lord Westmeath, it was stipulated that all the inhabitants of Ireland should enjoy the benefit of an act lately passed in England "to relieve peaceable persons from the rigours of former acts in matters of religion"; and that no Irish recusant should be compelled to assist at any form of service contrary to his conscience. When the treaty was presented for ratification, this concession shocked and scandalised the piety of the saints. The first part was instantly negatived; and, if the second was carried by a small majority through the efforts of Marten and Vane, it was with a proviso that "the article should not give any the least allowance, or countenance, or toleration, to the exercise of the Catholic worship in any manner whatsoever."

In the spirit of these votes the civil commissioners ordered by proclamation of January 6th, 1653, all Catholic clergymen to quit Ireland within twenty days, under the penalties of high treason, and forbade all other persons to harbour any such clergymen under the pain of death. Additional provisions tending to the same object followed in succession. Whoever knew of the concealment of a priest, and did not reveal it to the proper authorities, was made liable to the punishment of a public whipping and the amputation of his ears; to be absent on a Sunday from the service at the parish church, subjected the offender to a fine of thirty pence; and the magistrates were authorised to take away the children of Catholics and send them to England for education, and to tender the oath of abjuration to all persons of the age of one and twenty years, the refusal of which subjected them to imprisonment during pleasure, and to the forfeiture of two-thirds of their estates real and personal. During this period the Catholic clergy were exposed to a persecution far more severe than had ever been previously experienced in the island. The Irish people lay prostrate at the feet of their conquerors; the military were distributed in small bodies over the country; their vigilance was sharpened by religious antipathy and the hope of reward; and the means of detection were facilitated by the prohibition of travelling without a license from the magistrates. Of the many priests who still remained in the country, several were discovered, and forfeited their lives on the gallows; those who escaped detection concealed themselves in the caverns of the mountains, or in lonely hovels raised in the midst of the morasses, whence they issued during the night to carry the consolations of religion to the huts of their oppressed and suffering countrymen. A proclamation was also issued ordering all nuns to marry or leave Ireland. They were successively transported to Belgium, France, and Spain, where they were hospitably received in the convents of their respective orders.

THE SUBJUGATION OF SCOTLAND

In Scotland the power of the commonwealth was as firmly established as in Ireland. When Cromwell had hastened in pursuit of the king to Worcester, he had left Monk with eight thousand men to complete the conquest of the kingdom. Monk had invested Stirling, and the Highlanders who composed the garrison compelled the governor to capitulate (Aug. 14, 1651). The

maiden castle, which had never been violated by the presence of a conqueror, submitted to the English "sectaries"; and, what was still more humbling to the pride of the nation, the royal robes, part of the regalia, and the national records, were irreverently torn from their repositories, and sent to London as the trophies of victory. Thence the English general marched forward to Dundee, where he received a proud defiance from Lumsden, the governor. During the preparations for the assault, he learned that the Scottish lords, whom Charles had entrusted with the government in his absence, were holding a meeting on the moor at Ellet, in Angus. By his order, six hundred horse, under the colonels Alured and Morgan, aided, as it was believed, by treachery, surprised them at an early hour in the morning (Aug. 28).

Three hundred prisoners were made, including the two committees of the estates and the kirk, several peers, and all the gentry of the neighbourhood; and these, with such other individuals as the general deemed hostile and dangerous to the commonwealth, followed the regalia and records of their country to the English capital. At Dundee a breach was soon made in the wall: the defenders shrunk from the charge of the assailants; and the governor and garrison were massacred (Sept. 1). Balfour[j] says "Mounche commaundit all, of quhatsummeuer sex, to be putt to the edge of the suord. Ther wer eight hundred inhabitants and souldiers killed, and about two hundred women and children. The plounder and buttie they gatte in the toune, exceided 2 millions and a halffe" (about £200,000). That, however, the whole garrison was not put to the sword appears from the mention in the Journals (Sept. 12) of a list of officers made prisoners, and from Monk's letter to Cromwell. Cary[k] says "There was killed of the enemy about five hundred, and two hundred or thereabouts taken prisoners. The stubbornness of the people enforced the soldiers to plunder the town."

Warned by this awful example, St. Andrews, Aberdeen, and Montrose opened their gates; the earl of Huntley and Lord Balcarres submitted; the few remaining fortresses capitulated in succession. To show the hopelessness of resistance, the army was successively augmented to the amount of twenty thousand men; citadels were marked out to be built of stone at Ayr, Leith, Perth, and Inverness; and a long chain of military stations drawn across the highlands served to curb, if it did not tame, the fierce and indignant spirit of the natives. The parliament declared the lands and goods of the crown public property, and confiscated the estates of all who had joined the king or the duke of Hamilton in their invasions of England, unless they were engaged in trade, and worth no more than £5, or not engaged in trade, and worth only £100.

All authority derived from any other source than the parliament of England was abolished by proclamation (Jan. 31, 1651); the different sheriffs, and civil officers of doubtful fidelity, were removed for others attached to the commonwealth; a yearly tax of £130,000 was imposed in lieu of free quarters for the support of the army; and English judges, assisted by three or four natives, were appointed to go the circuits, and to supersede the courts of session.

The English judges were astonished at the spirit of litigation and revenge which the Scots displayed during the circuit. More than one thousand individuals were accused before them of adultery, incest, and other offences, which they had been obliged to confess in the kirk during the last twenty or thirty years. When no other proof was brought, the charge was dismissed. In like manner sixty persons were charged with witchcraft. These were also acquitted; for, though they had confessed the offence, the confession had been drawn from them by torture. It was usual to tie up the supposed witch

by the thumbs, and to whip her till she confessed; or to put the flame of a candle to the soles of the feet, between the toes, or to parts of the head, or to make the accused wear a shirt of hair steeped in vinegar.

It was with grief and shame that the Scots yielded to these innovations; though they were attended with one redeeming benefit, the prevention of that anarchy and bloodshed which must have followed, had the cavaliers and covenanters, with forces nearly balanced, and passions equally excited, been left to wreak their vengeance on each other. But they were soon threatened with what in their eyes was a still greater evil.

The parliament resolved to incorporate the two countries into one commonwealth, without kingly government or the aristocratical influence of a house of peers. This was thought to fill up the measure of Scottish misery. Not only national but religious feelings were outraged. The ministers forbade the people to give support to the measure. The parliamentary commissioners (they were eight, with St. John and Vane at their head), secure of the power of the sword, derided the menaces of the kirk. They convened at Dalkeith the representatives of the counties and burghs, who were ordered to bring with them full powers to treat and conclude respecting the incorporation of the two countries. Twenty-eight out of thirty shires, and forty-four out of fifty-eight burghs, gave their consent; and the result was a second meeting at Edinburgh, in which twenty-one deputies were chosen to arrange the conditions with the parliamentary commissioners at Westminster. There conferences were held, and many articles discussed (Sept. 22, 1652); but, before the plan could be amicably adjusted, the parliament itself, with all its projects, was overturned by the successful ambition of Cromwell.

TRANSACTIONS WITH PORTUGAL AND SPAIN

From the conquest of Ireland and Scotland we may now turn to the transactions between the commonwealth and foreign powers. The king of Portugal was the first who provoked its anger, and felt its vengeance. At an early period in 1649, Prince Rupert, with the fleet which had revolted from the parliament to the late king, had sailed from the Texel, swept the Irish Channel, and inflicted severe injuries on the English commerce. Vane, to whose industry had been committed the care of the naval department, had made every exertion to equip a formidable armament, the command of which was given to three military officers, Blake,[1] Deane, and Popham. Rupert retired before this superior force to the harbour of Kinsale; the batteries kept his enemies at bay; and the Irish supplied him with men and provisions. At length the victories of Cromwell by land compelled him to quit his asylum; and, with the loss of three ships, he burst through the blockading squadron, sailed to the coast of Spain, and during the winter months sought shelter in the waters of the Tagus. In March, 1650, Blake appeared with eighteen men-of-war at the mouth of the river; to his request that he might be allowed to attack the pirate at his anchorage, he received from the king of Portugal a peremptory refusal; and, in his attempt to force his way up the river he was driven back by the fire from the batteries.

In obedience to his instructions, he revenged himself on the Portuguese trade, and John IV, by way of reprisal, arrested the English merchants, and took possession of their effects. Alarmed, however, by the losses of his subjects, he compelled Rupert to quit the Tagus (Dec. 17), and despatched an

[1] Blake had never been to sea when he took command at the age of fifty, but he speedily revolutionised old-school methods.]

envoy, named Guimaraes, to solicit an accommodation. Rupert sailed into the Mediterranean, and maintained himself by piracy, capturing not only English but Spanish and Genoese ships. All who did not favour him were considered as enemies. Driven from the Mediterranean by the English, he sailed to the West Indies, where he inflicted greater losses on the Spanish than the English trade. Here his brother, Prince Maurice, perished in a storm; and Rupert, unable to oppose his enemies with any hope of success, returned to Europe, and anchored in the harbour of Nantes, in March, 1652. He sold his two men-of-war to Cardinal Mazarin. The progress of the treaty with Portugal was interrupted by the usurpation of Cromwell, and another year elapsed before it was concluded. By it valuable privileges were granted to the English traders; four commissioners — two English and two Portuguese, were appointed to settle all claims against the Portuguese government; and it was agreed that an English commissary should receive one-half of all the duties paid by the English merchants in the ports of Portugal, to provide a sufficient fund for the liquidation of the debt.

To Charles I (nor will it surprise us, if we recollect his treatment of the infanta) the court of Spain had always behaved with coldness and reserve. The ambassador Cardenas continued to reside in London, even after the king's execution, and was the first foreign minister whom the parliament honoured with a public audience. He made it his chief object to cement the friendship between the commonwealth and his own country, fomented the hostility of the former against Portugal and the United Provinces, the ancient enemies of Spain, and procured the assent of his sovereign that an accredited minister from the parliament should be admitted by the court of Madrid. The individual selected for this office was Ascham, a man who, by his writings, had rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious to the royalists. He landed near Cadiz, proceeded under an escort for his protection to Madrid, and repaired to an inn, till a suitable residence could be procured. The next day, while he was sitting at dinner with Riba, a renegado friar, his interpreter, six Englishmen entered the house; four remained below to watch; two burst into the room, exclaiming, "Welcome, gallants, welcome"; and in a moment both the ambassador and the interpreter lay on the floor weltering in their blood. Of the assassins, one — Sparkes, a native of Hampshire — was taken about three miles from the city; and the parliament, unable to obtain more, appeared to be content with the blood of this single victim.

RELATIONS WITH HOLLAND; THE NAVIGATION ACT

These negotiations ended peaceably; those between the commonwealth and the United Provinces, though commenced with friendly feelings, led to hostilities. It might have been expected that the Dutch, mindful of the glorious struggle for liberty maintained by their fathers, and crowned with success by the Treaty of Munster, would have viewed with exultation the triumph of the English republicans. But William II, prince of Orange, had married a daughter of Charles I; his views and interests were espoused by the military and the people; and his adherents possessed the ascendancy in the states general and in all the provincial states, excepting those of Friesland and Holland. As long as he lived, no atonement could be obtained for the murder of Dorislaus, no audience for Strickland, the resident ambassador, though that favour was repeatedly granted to Boswell, the envoy of Charles. However, in November, 1650, the prince had died of the small-pox

in his twenty-fourth year; and a few days later his widow was delivered of a son, William III, the same who subsequently ascended the throne of England. The infancy of his successor emboldened the democratical party; they abolished the office of stadtholder, and recovered the ascendency in the government.

Among the numerous projects which the English leaders cherished under the intoxication of success, was that of forming, by the incorporation of the United Provinces with the commonwealth, a great and powerful republic, capable of striking terror into all the crowned heads of Europe. But so many difficulties were foreseen, so many objections raised, that the ambassadors received instructions to confine themselves to the more sober proposal of "a strict and intimate alliance and union, which might give to each a mutual and intrinsical interest" in the prosperity of the other. The states had not forgotten the offensive delay of the parliament to answer their embassy of intercession for the life of Charles I; nor did they brook the superiority which it now assumed, by prescribing a certain term within which the negotiation should be concluded. Pride was met with equal pride. The states, having demanded in vain an explanation of the proposed confederacy, presented a counter project; but while the different articles remained under discussion, the period prefixed by the parliament expired, and the ambassadors departed. To whom the failure of the negotiation was owing became a subject of controversy. The Hollanders blamed the abrupt and supercilious carriage of St. John and his colleague; the ambassadors charged the states with having purposely created delay, that they might not commit themselves by a treaty with the commonwealth, before they had seen the issue of the contest between the king of Scotland and Oliver Cromwell.

In a short time that contest was decided in the battle of Worcester, and the states condescended to become petitioners in their turn. Their ambassadors arrived in England with the intention of resuming the negotiation where it had been interrupted by the departure of St. John and his colleague. But circumstances were now changed; success had enlarged the pretensions of the parliament; and the British, instead of shunning, courted a trial of strength with the Belgic lion. First the Dutch merchantmen were visited under the pretext of searching for munitions of war, which they were carrying to the enemy; and then, at the representation of certain merchants, who conceived themselves to have been injured by the Dutch navy, letters of marque were granted to several individuals, and more than eighty prizes brought into the English ports.

In addition, the Navigation Act had been passed and carried into execution, by which it was enacted that no goods, the produce of Africa, Asia, and America, should be imported into England in ships which were not the property of England or its colonies; and that no produce or manufacture of any part of Europe should be imported, unless in ships the property of England or of the country of which such merchandise was the proper growth or manufacture. Hitherto the Dutch had been the common carriers of Europe; by this act, the offspring of St. John's resentment, one great and lucrative branch of their commercial prosperity was lopped off, and the first, but fruitless demand of the ambassadors was that, if not repealed, it should at least be suspended during the negotiation. The Dutch merchants had solicited permission to indemnify themselves by reprisals; but the states ordered a numerous fleet to be equipped, and announced to all the neighbouring powers that their object was, not to make war, but to afford protection to their commerce. By the council of state, the communication was received

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as a menace; the English ships of war were ordered to exact in the narrow seas the same honour to the flag of the commonwealth as had been formerly paid to that of the king; and the ambassadors were reminded of the claim of indemnification for the losses sustained by the English in the East Indies, of a free trade from Middelburg to Antwerp, and of the tenth herring which was due from the Dutch fishermen for the permission to exercise their trade in the British seas.

NAVAL BATTLES OF BLAKE AND TROMP

While the conferences were yet pending, Commodore Young met a fleet of Dutch merchantmen under convoy in the Channel (May 12, 1652); and, after a sharp action, compelled the men-of-war to salute the English flag. A few days later (May 18) the celebrated Tromp appeared with two-and-forty sail in the Downs. He had been instructed to keep at a proper distance from the English coast, neither to provoke nor to shun hostility, and to salute or not according to his own discretion; but on no account to yield to the newly-claimed right of search. To Bourne, the English commander, he apologised for his arrival, which, he said, was not with any hostile design, but in consequence of the loss of several anchors and cables on the opposite coast. The next day (May 19) he met Blake off the harbour of Dover; an action took place between the rival commanders; and, when the fleets separated in the evening, the English cut off two ships of thirty guns, one of which they took, the other they abandoned, on account of the damage which it had received. It was a question of some importance who was the aggressor. By Blake it was asserted that Tromp had gratuitously come to insult the English fleet in its own roads, and had provoked the engagement by firing the first broadside. The Dutchman replied that he was cruising for the protection of trade; that the weather had driven him on the English coast; that he had no thought of fighting till he received the fire of Blake's ships; and that, during the action, he had carefully kept on the defensive, though he might with his great superiority of force have annihilated the assailants.



ROBERT BLAKE
(1598–1657)

The great argument of the parliament in their declaration is the following: Tromp came out of his way to meet the English fleet, and fired on Blake without provocation; the states did not punish him, but retained him in the command; therefore he acted by their orders, and the war was begun by them. Each of these assertions was denied on the other side. Tromp showed the reasons which led him into the track of the English fleet; and the states asserted, from the evidence before them, that Tromp had ordered his

sails to be lowered, and was employed in getting ready his boat to compliment the English admiral at the time when he received a broadside from the impatience of Blake.

The reader will probably think, that those who submitted to solicit the continuance of peace were not the first to seek the commencement of hostilities. Immediately after the action at sea, the council ordered the English commanders to pursue, attack, and destroy all vessels the property of the United Provinces; and, in the course of a month, more than seventy sail of merchantmen, besides several men-of-war, were captured, stranded, or burnt. The Dutch, on the contrary, abstained from reprisals; their ambassadors thrice assured the council that the battle had happened without the knowledge, and to the deep regret of the states; and on each occasion earnestly deprecated the adoption of hasty and violent measures, which might lead to consequences highly prejudicial to both nations. They received an answer, which, assuming it as proved that the states intended to usurp the rights of England on the sea, and to destroy the navy, the bulwark of those rights, declared that it was the duty of parliament to seek reparation for the past, and security for the future. Soon afterwards Pauw, the grand pensionary of Holland, arrived. He proposed that a court of inquiry, consisting of an equal number of commissioners from each nation, should be appointed, and exemplary punishment inflicted on the officer who should be found to have provoked the engagement; and demanded that hostilities should cease, and the negotiation be resumed. He was told by order of parliament, that the English government expected full compensation for all the charges to which it had been put by the preparations and attempts of the states, and hoped to meet with security for the future in an alliance which should render the interests of both nations consistent with each other. These, it was evident were conditions to which the pride of the states would refuse to stoop; Pauw demanded an audience of leave of the parliament (June 30); and all hope of reconciliation vanished.

If the Dutch had hitherto solicited peace, it was not that they feared the result of war. The sea was their native element; and the fact of their maritime superiority had long been openly or tacitly acknowledged by all the powers of Europe. But they wisely judged that no victory by sea could repay them for the losses which they must sustain from the extinction of their fishing trade, and the suspension of their commerce. For the commonwealth, on the other hand, it was fortunate that the depredations of Prince Rupert had turned the attention of the leaders to naval concerns. Their fleet had been four years in commission:[1] the officers and men were actuated by the same spirit of civil liberty and religious enthusiasm which distinguished the land army; Ayscue had just returned from the reduction of Barbadoes with a powerful squadron; and fifty additional ships were ordered to be equipped, an object easily accomplished at a time when any merchantman capable of carrying guns could, with a few alterations, be converted into a man-of-war. Ayscue with the smaller division of the fleet remained at home to scour the Channel.

Blake sailed to the north, captured the squadron appointed to protect the Dutch fishing-vessels, exacted from the busses the duty of every tenth herring, and sent them home with a prohibition against fishing without a license from the English government. In the meanwhile Tromp sailed from the Texel with seventy men-of-war. It was expected in Holland that

[1 As Gardiner[1] points out, the Dutch were out of practice, having had no fighting since 1639.]

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he would sweep the English navy from the face of the ocean. His first attempt was to surprise Ayscue, who was saved by a calm followed by a change of wind. He then sailed to the north in search of Blake. But his fleet was dispersed by a storm; and on his return he was received with murmurs and reproaches by the populace. Indignant at a treatment which he had not deserved, he justified his conduct before the states, and then laid down his commission. De Ruyter, a name almost equally illustrious on the ocean, was appointed his successor. That officer sailed to the mouth of the channel, took under his charge a fleet of merchantmen, and on his return was opposed by Ayscue with nearly an equal force. The English commander burst through the enemy, and was followed by nine sail; the rest of the fleet took no share in the action, and the convoy escaped. The blame rested not with Ayscue, but with his inferior officers; but the council took the opportunity to lay him aside, not that they doubted his courage or abilities, but because he was suspected of a secret leaning to the royal cause. To console him for his disgrace, he received a present of three hundred pounds, with a grant of land of the same annual rent in Ireland.

De Witt now joined De Ruyter, and took the command. Blake accepted the challenge of battle (Sept. 28) off the Kentish Knock, and night alone separated the combatants. The next morning the Dutch fled, and were pursued as far as the Gorée. Their ships were in general of smaller dimensions, and drew less water than those of their adversaries, who dared not follow among the numerous sand-banks with which the coast is studded.[m] The English commander Appleton sent to convoy home the Smyrna fleet was blockaded in Leghorn by a Dutch fleet and on August 27th Badiley, sent to his relief, was attacked near Elba by the Dutch under Van Galen and was driven to take refuge in a friendly Spanish port after losing a ship. Meanwhile the Danish king had detained twenty English merchantmen. Parliament now ordered thirty new frigates built.[a] Blake, supposing that naval operations would be suspended during the winter, had detached several squadrons to different ports, and was riding in the Downs with thirty-seven sail, when he was surprised by the appearance of a hostile fleet of double that number, under the command of Tromp, whose wounded pride had been appeased with a new commission.[1] A mistaken sense of honour induced the English admiral to engage in the unequal contest. The battle raged from eleven in the morning till night. The English, though they burned a large ship and disabled two others, lost five sail either sunk or taken; and Blake, under cover of the darkness, ran up the river as far as Leigh. Tromp sought his enemy at Harwich and Yarmouth; returning, he insulted the coast as he passed; and continued to cruise backwards and forwards from the North Foreland to the Isle of Wight [capturing prizes, including one man-of-war. Dutch sailors also landed on the coast of Sussex and carried off cattle].

The parliament made every exertion to wipe away this disgrace. The ships were speedily refitted; two regiments of infantry embarked to serve as marines; a bounty was offered for volunteers; the wages of the seamen were raised; provision was made for their families during their absence on service; a new rate for the division of prize-money was established; and, in aid of Blake, two officers, whose abilities had been already tried, Deane and Monk, received the joint command of the fleet. On the other hand, the Dutch were

[1 According to Gardiner Blake went into battle with 45 sail to Tromp's 85. Blake's ships, however, were as a rule much more powerful than Tromp's. But 20 of Blake's ships kept out of the fight. See also the history of the Netherlands, chapter XIV, for the Dutch view of the wars.]

intoxicated with their success; they announced it to the world in prints, poems, and publications; and Tromp affixed a broom to the head of his mast as an emblem of his triumph.[1] He had gone to the Île de Ré to take homeward-bound trade under his charge, with orders to resume his station at the mouth of the Thames, and to prevent the egress of the English. But Blake had already stationed himself with more than seventy sail across the Channel, opposite the Isle of Portland, to intercept the return of the enemy. On the 18th of February, 1653, the Dutch fleet, equal in number, with one hundred and fifty merchantmen under convoy, was discovered near Cape La Hogue, steering along the coast of France. The action was maintained with the most desperate obstinacy. The Dutch lost six sail, either sunk or taken, the English one, but several were disabled, and Blake himself was severely wounded.

The following morning the enemy were seen opposite Weymouth, drawn up in the form of a crescent covering the merchantmen. Many attempts were made to break through the line; and so imminent did the danger appear to the Dutch admiral, that he made signal for the convoy to shift for themselves.[2] The battle lasted at intervals through the night; it was renewed with greater vigour near Boulogne in the morning; till Tromp, availing himself of the shallowness of the coast, pursued his course homeward unmolested by the pursuit of the enemy. The victory was decidedly with the English; the loss in men might be equal on both sides; but the Dutch themselves acknowledged that nine of their men-of-war and twenty-four of the merchant vessels had been either sunk or captured.

CROMWELL'S GROWING AMBITION

This was the last naval victory achieved under the auspices of the parliament, which, though it wielded the powers of government with an energy that surprised the several nations of Europe, was doomed to bend before the superior genius or ascendancy of Cromwell. When he first formed the design of seizing the supreme authority, is uncertain; it was not till after the victory at Worcester that he began gradually and cautiously to unfold his object. He saw himself crowned with the laurels of conquest; he held the command in chief of a numerous and devoted army; and he dwelt with his family in a palace formerly the residence of the English monarchs. His adversaries had long ago pronounced him, in all but name, "a king"; and his friends were accustomed to address him in language as adulatory as ever gratified the ears of the most absolute sovereign. His importance was perpetually forced upon his notice by the praise of his dependants, by the foreign envoys who paid court to him, and by the royalists who craved his protection. In such circumstances it cannot be surprising if the victorious general indulged the aspirings of ambition; if the stern republican, however he might hate to see the crown on the brows of another, felt no repugnance to place it upon his own.

The grandees of the army felt that they no longer possessed the chief sway in the government. War had called them away to their commands in Scot-

[1 This story though discredited by some writers is accepted by the vast majority.]

[2 As Gardiner[1] points out Tromp had long been removed from his base of refitting, and his ammunition now gave out, half of his ships having none at all; while Blake's fleet was fully supplied. Gardiner says that while the victory remained with the English it was due to circumstances rather than to their commanders and "the honours of that heroic struggle lay with Tromp" for his "magnificent seamanship and undaunted courage." The geographical position of England, he says, gave her always an advantage over Dutch commerce which must always be convoyed in time of war, thus hampering any war fleet.]

land and Ireland; and during their absence, the conduct of affairs had devolved on those who, in contradistinction, were denominated the statesmen. Thus, by the course of events, the servants had grown into masters, and the power of the senate had obtained the superiority over the power of the sword. Still the officers in their distant quarters jealously watched, and severely criticised the conduct of the men at Westminster. With want of vigour in directing the military and naval resources of the country, they could not be charged; but it was complained that they neglected the internal economy of government; that no one of the objects demanded in the Agreement of the People had been accomplished; and that, while others sacrificed their health and their lives in the service of the commonwealth, all the emoluments and patronage were monopolized by the idle drones who remained in the capital.

On the return of the lord-general, the council of officers had been re-established at Whitehall (Sept. 16, 1651); and their discontent was artfully employed by Cromwell in furtherance of his own elevation. When he resumed his seat in the house, he reminded the members of their indifference to two measures earnestly desired by the country, the Act of Amnesty and the termination of the present parliament. Bills for each of these objects had been introduced as far back as 1649; but, after some progress, both were suffered to sleep in the several committees; and this backwardness of the "statesmen" was attributed to their wish to enrich themselves by forfeitures, and to perpetuate their power by perpetuating the parliament. The influence of Cromwell revived both questions. An Act of Oblivion was obtained (Feb. 24, 1652), which, with some exceptions, pardoned all offences committed before the battle of Worcester, and relieved the minds of the royalists from the apprehension of additional forfeitures. On the question of the expiration of parliament, after several warm debates, the period had been fixed (Nov. 18, 1651) for the 3rd of November, 1654; a distance of three years, which, perhaps, was not the less pleasing to Cromwell, as it served to show how unwilling his adversaries were to resign their power. The interval was to be employed in determining the qualifications of the succeeding parliament.

In the winter, the lord-general called a meeting of officers and members at the house of the speaker; and it must have excited their surprise, when he proposed to them to deliberate, whether it were better to establish a republic, or a mixed form of monarchical government. The officers in general pronounced in favour of a republic, as the best security for the liberties of the people; the lawyers pleaded unanimously for a limited monarchy, as better adapted to the laws, the habits, and the feelings of Englishmen. With the latter Cromwell agreed, and inquired whom in that case they would choose for king. It was replied, either Charles Stuart or the duke of York, provided they would comply with the demands of the parliament; if they would not, the young duke of Gloucester, who could not have imbibed the despotic notions of his elder brothers. This was not the answer which Cromwell sought: he heard it with uneasiness; and, as often as the subject was resumed, diverted the conversation to some other question. In conclusion, he gave his opinion, that, "somewhat of a monarchical government would be most effectual, if it could be established with safety to the liberties of the people, as Englishmen and Christians." That the result of the meeting disappointed his expectations, is evident; but he derived from it this advantage, that he had ascertained the sentiments of many, whose aid he might subsequently require. None of the leaders from the opposite party appear to have been present.

Jealous, however, of his designs, "the statesmen" had begun to fight him with his own weapons. As the commonwealth had no longer an enemy to

contend with on the land, they proposed a considerable reduction in the number of the forces, and a proportionate reduction of the taxes raised for their support. The motion was too reasonable in itself, and too popular in the country, to be resisted with safety: one-fourth of the army was disbanded (Dec. 19), and the monthly assessment lowered from one hundred and twenty thousand pounds to ninety thousand pounds. Before the expiration of six months, the question of a further reduction was brought forward; but the council of war took the alarm, and a letter from Cromwell to the speaker induced the house to continue its last vote. In a short time it was again mentioned; but (August 13) six officers appeared at the bar of the house with a petition from the army, which, under pretence of praying for improvements, tacitly charged the members with the neglect of their duty. Whitelocke remonstrated with Cromwell on the danger of permitting armed bodies to assemble and petition. He slighted the advice.

Soon afterwards the lord-general requested a private and confidential interview with that lawyer. So violent, he observed, was the discontent of the army, so imperious the conduct of the parliament, that it would be impossible to prevent a collision of interests, and the subsequent ruin of the good cause, unless there were established "some authority so full and so high" as to be able to check these exorbitances, and to restrain the parliament. Whitelocke replied, that, to control the supreme power was legally impossible. All, even Cromwell himself, derived their authority from it. At these words the lord-general abruptly exclaimed, "What, if a man should take upon him to be king?" The commissioner answered that the title would confer no additional benefit on his excellency. By his command of the army, his ascendancy in the house, and his reputation, both at home and abroad, he already enjoyed, without the envy of the name, all the power of a king. When Cromwell insisted that the name would give security to his followers, and command the respect of the people, Whitelocke rejoined, that it would change the state of the controversy between the parties, and convert a national into a personal quarrel. His friends had cheerfully fought with him to establish a republican in place of monarchical government; would they equally fight with him in favour of the house of Cromwell against the house of Stuart? They separated; and Whitelocke soon discovered that he had forfeited his confidence.

CROMWELL DISSOLVES THE LONG PARLIAMENT APRIL 20TH, 1653

At length Cromwell fixed on a plan to accomplish his purpose by procuring the dissolution of the parliament, and vesting for a time the sovereign authority in a council of forty persons, with himself at their head. It was his wish to effect this quietly by the votes of parliament — his resolution to effect it by open force, if such votes were refused. Several meetings were held by the officers and members at the lodgings of the lord-general in Whitehall. St. John and a few others gave their assent; the rest, under the guidance of Whitelocke and Widdrington, declared that the dissolution would be dangerous, and the establishment of the proposed council unwarrantable. On the last meeting, held on the 19th of April, 1653, all these points were long and warmly debated. Some of the officers declared that the parliament must be dissolved "one way or other"; but the general checked their indiscretion and precipitancy; and the assembly broke up at midnight, with an understanding that the leading men on each side should resume the subject in the morning. At an early hour (April 20) the conference was recommenced, and after a short time interrupted, in consequence of the receipt of a notice by the general

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that it was the intention of the house to comply with the desires of the army. This was a mistake: the opposite party, led by Vane, who had discovered the object of Cromwell, had indeed resolved to pass a bill of dissolution, not, however, the bill proposed by the officers, but their own bill, containing all the obnoxious provisions; and to pass it that very morning, that it might obtain the force of law before their adversaries could have time to appeal to the power of the sword. While Harrison "most sweetly and humbly" conjured them to pause before they took so important a step, Ingoldsby hastened to inform the lord-general at Whitehall. His resolution was immediately formed; and a company of musketeers received orders to accompany him to the house.

At this eventful moment, big with the most important consequences both to himself and his country, whatever were the workings of Cromwell's mind, he had the art to conceal them from the eyes of the beholders. Leaving the military in the lobby, he entered the house, and composedly seated himself on one of the outer benches. His dress was a plain suit of black cloth, with grey worsted stockings. For a while he seemed to listen with interest to the debate; but, when the speaker was going to put the question, he whispered to Harrison, "This is the time; I must do it"; and rising, put off his hat to address the house. At first his language was decorous and even laudatory. Gradually he became more warm and animated: at last he assumed all the vehemence of passion, and indulged in personal vituperation. He charged the members with self-seeking and profaneness; with the frequent denial of justice, and numerous acts of oppression; with idolising the lawyers, the constant advocates of tyranny; with neglecting the men who had bled for them in the field, that they might gain the Presbyterians who had apostatised from the cause; and with doing all this in order to perpetuate their own power, and to replenish their own purses. But their time was come; the Lord had disowned them; he had chosen more worthy instruments to perform his work.

Here the orator was interrupted by Sir Peter Wentworth, who declared that he never before heard language so unparliamentary, language, too, the more offensive, because it was addressed to them by their own servant, whom they had too fondly cherished, and whom, by their unprecedented bounty, they had made what he was. At these words Cromwell put on his hat, and, springing from his place, exclaimed, "Come, come, sir, I will put an end to your prating." For a few seconds, apparently in the most violent agitation, he paced forward and backward, and then, stamping on the floor, added, "You are no parliament. I say you are no parliament: bring them in, bring them in." Instantly the door opened, and Colonel Worseley entered, followed by more than twenty musketeers. "This," cried Sir Henry Vane, "is not honest. It is against morality and common honesty." "Sir Henry Vane," replied Cromwell, "O Sir Henry Vane! The Lord deliver me from Sir Henry Vane! He might have prevented this. But he is a juggler, and has not common honesty himself." From Vane he directed his discourse to Whitelocke, on whom he poured a torrent of abuse; then, pointing to Challoner, "There," he cried, "sits a drunkard"; next, to Marten and Wentworth, "There are two whoremasters"; and afterwards, selecting different members in succession, described them as dishonest and corrupt livers, a shame and a scandal to the profession of the gospel.

Suddenly, however, checking himself, he turned to the guard, and ordered them to clear the house. At these words Colonel Harrison took the speaker by the hand, and led him from the chair; Algernon Sidney was next compelled to quit his seat; and the other members, eighty in number, on approach of the

military, rose and moved towards the door. Cromwell now resumed his discourse. "It is you," he exclaimed, "that have forced me to do this. I have sought the Lord both day and night, that he would rather slay me, than put me on the doing of this work." Alderman Allen took advantage of these words to observe, that it was not yet too late to undo what had been done; but Cromwell instantly charged him with peculation, and gave him into custody. When all were gone, fixing his eye on the mace, "What," said he, "shall we do with this fool's bauble? Here, carry it away." Then, taking the act of dissolution from the clerk, he ordered the doors to be locked, and, accompanied by the military, returned to Whitehall.

That afternoon the members of the council assembled in their usual place of meeting. Bradshaw had just taken the chair, when the lord-general entered, and told them, that if they were there as private individuals, they were welcome; but, if as the council of state, they must know that the parliament was dissolved, and with it also the council. "Sir," replied Bradshaw, with the spirit of an ancient Roman, "we have heard what you did at the house this morning, and before many hours all England will know it. But, sir, you are mistaken to think that the parliament is dissolved. No power under heaven can dissolve them but themselves. Therefore take you notice of that." After this protest they withdrew.

REVIEW OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT

Thus, by the parricidal hands of its own children, perished the Long Parliament, which, under a variety of forms, had, for more than twelve years, defended and invaded the liberties of the nation. It fell without a struggle or a groan, unpitied and unregretted. The members slunk away to their homes, where they sought by submission to purchase the forbearance of their new master; and their partisans, if partisans they had, reserved themselves in silence for a day of retribution, which came not before Cromwell slept in his grave. The royalists congratulated each other on an event which they deemed a preparatory step to the restoration of the king; the army and navy, in numerous addresses, declared that they would live or die, stand or fall, with the lord-general, and in every part of the country the congregations of the saints magnified the arm of the Lord which had broken the mighty, that in lieu of the sway of mortal men, "the fifth monarchy, the reign of Christ, might be established upon earth."

It would, however, be unjust to the memory of those who exercised the supreme power after the death of the king, not to acknowledge that there existed among them men capable of wielding with energy the destinies of a great empire. They governed only four years; yet, under their auspices, the conquests of Ireland and Scotland were achieved, and a navy was created, the rival of that of Holland and the terror of the rest of Europe. But there existed an essential error in their form of government. Deliberative assemblies are always slow in their proceedings; yet the pleasure of parliament, as the supreme power, was to be taken on every subject connected with the foreign relations, or the internal administration of the country; and hence it happened that, among the immense variety of questions which came before it, those commanded immediate attention which were deemed of immediate necessity; while the others, though often of the highest importance to the national welfare, were first postponed, then neglected, and ultimately forgotten. To this habit of procrastination was perhaps owing the extinction of its

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authority. It disappointed the hopes of the country, and supplied Cromwell with the most plausible argument in defence of his conduct.

Of the parliamentary transactions up to this period, the principal have been noticed in the preceding pages. We shall add a few others which may be thought worthy the attention of the reader. It was complained that, since the abolition of the spiritual tribunals, the sins of incest, adultery, and fornication had been multiplied, in consequence of the impunity with which they might be committed; and, at the prayer of the godly, they were made criminal offences, cognisable by the criminal courts, and punishable, the first two with death, the last with three months' imprisonment. But it was predicted at the time, and experience verified the prediction, that the severity of the punishment would defeat the purpose of the law. Scarcely a petition was presented, which did not, among other things, pray for the reformation of the courts of justice; and the house, after several long debates, acquiesced in a measure, understood to be only the forerunner of several others, that the law books should be written, and law proceedings be conducted in the English language.

So enormous were the charges of the commonwealth, arising from incessant war by sea or land, that questions of finance continually engaged the attention of the house. There were four principal sources of revenue; the customs, the excise, the sale of fee-farm rents, of the lands of the crown, and of those belonging to the bishops, deans, and chapters, and the sequestration and forfeiture of the estates of papists and delinquents. The ordinances for the latter had been passed as early as the year 1643, and in the course of the seven succeeding years, the harvest had been reaped and gathered. Still some gleanings might remain; and (Jan. 22, 1650) an act was passed for the better ordering and managing such estates; the former compositions were subjected to examination; defects and concealments were detected; and proportionate fines were in numerous cases exacted. In 1651, seventy individuals, most of them of high rank, all of opulent fortunes, who had imprudently displayed their attachment to the royal cause, were condemned to forfeit their property, both real and personal, for the benefit of the commonwealth. The fatal march of Charles to Worcester furnished grounds for a new proscription in 1652. First nine-and-twenty, then six hundred and eighty-two royalists were selected for punishment. It was enacted that those in the first class should forfeit their whole property; while to those in the second, the right of pre-emption was reserved at the rate of one-third part of the clear value, to be paid within four months.

During the late reign, as long as the Presbyterians retained their ascendancy in parliament, they enforced with all their power uniformity of worship and doctrine. The clergy of the established church were ejected from their livings, and the professors of the Catholic faith were condemned to forfeit two-thirds of their property, or to abjure their religion. Nor was the proof of recusancy to depend, as formerly, on the slow process of presentation and conviction; bare suspicion was held a sufficient ground for the sequestrator to seize his prey; and the complainant was told that he had the remedy in his own hands, he might take the oath of abjuration. The Independents, indeed, proclaimed themselves the champions of religious liberty: they repealed the statutes imposing penalties for absence from church; and they declared that men were free to serve God according to the dictates of conscience. Yet their notions of toleration were very confined: they refused to extend it either to prelacy or popery, to the service of the Church of England, or of the church of Rome. The ejected clergymen were still excluded

from the pulpit, and the Catholics were still the victims of persecuting statutes. In 1650, an act was passed offering to the discoverers of priests and Jesuits, or of their receivers and abettors, the same reward as had been granted to the apprehenders of highwaymen. Immediately officers and informers were employed in every direction; the houses of Catholics were broken open and searched at all hours of the day and night; many clergymen were apprehended, and several were tried, and received judgment of death. Of these only one, Peter Wright, chaplain to the marquis of Winchester, suffered. The leaders shrunk from the odium of such sanguinary exhibitions, and transported the rest of the prisoners to the continent.

But if the zeal of the Independents was more sparing of blood than that of the Presbyterians, it was not inferior in point of rapacity. The ordinances for sequestration and forfeiture were executed with unrelenting severity. In 1650 the annual rents of Catholics in possession of the sequestrators were returned at £62,048 17*s.* 3¾*d.* It should, however, be observed that thirteen counties were not included. It is difficult to say which suffered most cruelly — families with small fortunes who were thus reduced to a state of penury; or husbandmen, servants, and mechanics, who, on their refusal to take the oath of abjuration, were deprived of two-thirds of their scanty earnings, even of their household goods and wearing apparel. The sufferers ventured to solicit from parliament such indulgence as might be thought "consistent with the public peace and their comfortable subsistence in their native country." The petition was read: Sir Henry Vane spoke in its favour; but the house was deaf to the voice of reason and humanity, and the prayer for relief was indignantly rejected. In proof we may be allowed to mention one instance of a Catholic servant-maid, an orphan, who, during a servitude of seventeen years, at seven nobles a year, had saved twenty pounds. The sequestrators, having discovered with whom she had deposited her money, took two-thirds, thirteen pounds six shillings and eightpence, for the use of the commonwealth, and left her the remainder, six pounds thirteen and fourpence. In March, 1652, she appealed to the commissioners at Haberdashers' Hall, who replied that they could afford her no relief, unless she took the oath of abjuration.[m]

Hallam[n] has said of the Long Parliament that "scarce two or three public acts of justice, humanity, or generosity, and very few of political wisdom or courage, are recorded of them from their quarrel with the king to their expulsion by Cromwell." They fell unlamented by the nation, though a few republican enthusiasts have chanted dirges to their memory. The praises of their panegyrists, we may observe, are almost confined to their successes in war; but these are surely the praises of Cromwell, Blake, and such men, and not of them. Their financial system was as simple as that of an eastern despot; they laid on enormous taxes and levied them by the swords of the soldiery; if they wanted money on any occasion, they ordered the sale of delinquents' estates; if timber was required for the navy, they directed the woods of some delinquent to be felled. In these cases justice was not to be had from them. Lord Craven, for example, had been out of England all the time of the war; one might therefore expect that no charge of delinquency could be made against him; but some one having sworn that he had seen the king in Holland, the parliament voted that his lands should be sold, though it is said he convicted the informer of perjury. Many other acts of oppression of a similar nature will be found.

At the same time they were most liberal in providing for themselves; they of course monopolised all lucrative offices; and in perusing Whitelocke[o]

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and the journals, the ignorant admirers of these stern republicans will be surprised at the sums which they voted themselves under the name of arrears, compensations for losses, etc. Neither should their high court of justice and their abolition of trial by jury be forgotten; at the same time it should be recorded to their credit, that they always inflicted the penalty of death in a mild form, and never butchered their victims by quartering and disembowel ing, as was done under the monarchy. One most remarkable part of the policy of the republicans has been left almost unnoticed by historians, namely, their selling their prisoners for slaves. This we may suppose they did in imitation of the Greeks and Romans. They actually commenced this practice during the lifetime of the king, for the Welsh taken by Cromwell in 1648 were sold into the plantations. The same, as we have seen, was the fate of the Scots after the battle of Worcester. That the wretched Irish should have been sold without compunction was a matter of course; but even the English were not treated any better; for as we shall see, Cromwell after the rising of Grove and Penruddock in 1655, sold the prisoners for slaves. The tyranny, as it was termed, of Charl s, surely did not extend so far as this. We shall however find that the example of the commonwealth was not lost on his sons.*f*



Costume of Soldier in Time of Charles II

THE NEW COUNCIL OF STATE APPOINTED

Whoever has studied the character of Cromwell will have remarked the anxiety with which he laboured to conceal his real designs from the notice of his adherents. If credit were due to his exertions, he cherished none of those aspiring thoughts which agitate the breasts of the ambitious; the consciousness of his weakness taught him to shrink from the responsibility of power; and at every step in his ascent to greatness, he affected to sacrifice his own feelings to the judgment and importunity of others. But in dissolving the late parliament he had deviated from this his ordinary course: he had been compelled to come boldly forward by the obstinacy or the policy of his opponents, who during twelve months had triumphed over his intrigues, and were preparing to pass an act which would place new obstacles in his path. Now, however, that he had forcibly taken into his own hands the reins of government, it remained for him to determine whether he should retain them in his grasp, or deliver them over to others. He preferred the latter; for the maturity of time was not yet come: he saw that, among the officers who blindly submitted to be the tools of his ambition, there were several who would abandon the idol of their worship, whenever they should suspect him of a design to subvert the public liberty. But if he parted with power for the moment, it was in such manner as to warrant the hope that it would shortly return to him under another form, not as won by the sword of the military, but as deposited in his hands by the judgment of parliament.

It could not escape the sagacity of the lord-general that the fanatics

with whose aid he had subverted the late government, were not the men to be entrusted with the destinies of the three kingdoms; yet he deemed it his interest to indulge them in their wild notions of civil and religious reformation, and to suffer himself for a while to be guided by their counsels. Their first measure was to publish a vindication of their proceedings (April 22nd, 1653). They next proceeded to establish a council of state. Some proposed that it should consist of ten members, some of seventy, after the model of the Jewish sanhedrim; and others of thirteen, in imitation of Christ and his twelve apostles. The last project was adopted as equally scriptural, and more convenient. With Cromwell, in the place of lord president, were joined four civilians and eight officers of high rank; so that the army still retained its ascendency, and the council of state became in fact a military council. From this moment for some months it would have embarrassed any man to determine where the supreme power resided.

CROMWELL CALLS A NEW PARLIAMENT

In the mean while, the lord-general continued to wear the mask of humility and godliness; he prayed and preached with more than his wonted fervour; and his piety was rewarded, according to the report of his confidants, with frequent communications from the Holy Spirit.

In the month of May he spent eight days in close consultation with his military divan; and the result was a determination to call a new parliament, but a parliament modelled on principles unknown to the history of this or of any other nation. It was to be a parliament of saints, of men who had not offered themselves as candidates, or been chosen by the people, but whose chief qualification consisted in holiness of life, and whose call to the office of legislators came from the choice of the council. With this view the ministers took the sense of the "congregational churches" in the several counties: the returns contained the names of the persons, "faithful, fearing God, and hating covetousness," who were deemed qualified for this high and important trust; and out of these the council in the presence of the lord-general selected one hundred and thirty-nine representatives for England, six for Wales, six for Ireland, and five for Scotland. To each of them was sent a writ of summons under the signature of Cromwell, requiring his personal attendance at Whitehall on a certain day, to take upon himself the trust, and to serve the office of member for some particular place. Of the surprise with which the writs were received by many the reader may judge. Yet, out of the whole number, two only returned a refusal: by most the very extraordinary manner of their election was taken as a sufficient proof that the call was from heaven.

On the appointed day, the 4th of July, 1653, one hundred and twenty of these faithful and godly men attended in the council chamber at Whitehall. They were seated on chairs round the table; and the lord-general took his station near the middle window, supported on each side by a numerous body of officers. He addressed the company standing, and it was believed by his admirers, perhaps by himself, "that the Spirit of God spoke in him and by him." Having vindicated in a long narrative the dissolution of the late parliament, he congratulated the persons present on the high office to which they had been called. It was not of their own seeking. It had come to them from God by the choice of the army, the usual channel through which in these latter days the divine mercies had been dispensed to the nation. He would not charge them, but he would pray that they might "exercise

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the judgment of mercy and truth," and might "be faithful with the saints," however those saints might differ respecting forms of worship.

His enthusiasm kindled as he proceeded; and the visions of futurity began to open to his imagination. It was, he exclaimed, marvellous in his eyes; they were called to war with the Lamb against his enemies; they were come to the threshold of the door, to the very edge of the promises and prophecies; God was about to bring his people out of the depths of the sea; perhaps to bring the Jews home to their station out of the aisles of the sea. "God," he exclaimed, "shakes the mountains, and they reel; God hath a high hill, too, and his hill is as the hill of Bashan; and the chariots of God are twenty thousand of angels; and God will dwell upon this hill forever." At the conclusion "of this grave, Christian, and seasonable speech," he placed on the table an instrument under his own hand and seal, entrusting to them the supreme authority for the space of fifteen months from that day, then to be transmitted by them to another assembly, the members of which they should previously have chosen.[m]

GUIZOT'S ACCOUNT OF THE "LITTLE" OR "BAREBONES" PARLIAMENT

The members resolved, after a long debate, and by a majority of sixty-five votes against forty-six, that they would assume the name of the parliament. They elected as their speaker Francis Rouse, who had been a member of the Long Parliament; ordered that the mace, which Cromwell had removed, should be replaced on their table; appointed a council of state of thirty-one members, with instructions similar to those given to the preceding council; and, in short, resumed all the prerogatives and re-established all the usages of the expelled parliament. Cromwell and his officers had made them a parliament; to show their gratitude, they voted, in their turn, that the lord-general, major-generals Lambert, Harrison, and Desborough, and Colonel Tomlinson should be invited to sit with them as members of the house. On the day on which they installed themselves at Westminster, they devoted nearly their whole sitting to pious exercises; not, as the previous parliament had done, by attending sermons preached by specially appointed ministers, but by themselves engaging in spontaneous prayers, without the assistance of any professional ecclesiastic.

Eight or ten members often spoke in succession, invoking the divine blessing on their labours, or commenting on passages of Scripture; "and some affirmed," says one of them, "they never enjoyed so much of the spirit and presence of Christ in any of the meetings and exercises of religion in all their lives as they did that day." They therefore persisted in this practice, and instead of appointing a chaplain every day, as soon as a few members had arrived, one of them engaged in prayer, and others followed him, until a sufficient number had assembled to open the sitting and begin business. On the day after their installation, they voted that a special day should be devoted to the solemn invocation of the divine blessing upon their future acts; and having discharged this duty, with a view to induce the nation to join its prayers to their own, for the same purpose, they published a declaration, which is expressive at once of proud hopes, of mystical enthusiasm, and of feelings of the deepest humility.

"We declare ourselves, to be the parliament of the commonwealth of England. . . . . When we look upon ourselves, we are much afraid, and tremble at the mighty work and heavy weight before us, which we justly acknowledge far above, and quite beyond, our strength to wield or pose; so that we oft cry out and say with Jehoshaphat, '*O Lord we know not what*

to do, but our eye is towards thee! . . . . We hope that God, in his great and free goodness, will not forsake his people; and that we may be fitted and used as instruments in his hand, that all oppressing yokes may be broken, and all burdens removed, and the loins also of the poor and needy may be filled with blessing; that all nations may turn their swords and spears into plough-shares and pruning-hooks, that the wolf may feed with the lamb, and the earth be full of the knowledge of God, as waters cover the sea. This is all we say, if this undertaking be from God, let him prosper and bless it, and let every one take heed of fighting against God; but if not, let it fall, though we fall before it."

Thus strengthened and confident, they set to work finally to effect those reforms which had been so long and so earnestly desired. Twelve committees were appointed for this purpose. The ardour and assiduity of these committees, and of the parliament itself, in their respective labours, were great. The parliament voted that it would meet at eight o'clock in the morning of every day in the week, excepting Sunday. A sincere zeal animated the assembly; questions and considerations of private interest had but little influence in their deliberations; like bold and honest men, their only thought was how they might best serve and reform the state. But two contingencies which popular reformers never foresee, obstacles and speculative theories, soon arose. In order to accomplish great reforms in a great society, without destroying its peace, the legislator must possess extraordinary wisdom and a high position: reforms, when they originate with the lower classes, are inseparable from revolutions. The parliament of Cromwell's election was neither sufficiently enlightened, nor sufficiently influential to reform English society, without endangering its tranquillity; and as, at the same time, it was neither so insane, nor so perverse, nor so strong, as blindly to destroy instead of reforming, it soon became powerless, in spite of its honesty and courage, and ridiculous, because it combined earnestness with impotence.

It found, however, one part of its task in a very advanced state: the two committees which the Long Parliament had appointed in 1651 for the purpose of preparing a scheme of law-reform, had left a large body of materials, in which most of the questions mooted were solved, and the solutions even given at length. Twenty-one bills were ready prepared to receive the force of laws by the vote of the house. After long debates, however, four measures of reform were alone carried: one to place under the control of the civil magistrates, the celebration and registration of marriages, and the registration of births and deaths; the other three, for the relief of creditors and poor prisoners for debt, for the abolition of certain fines, and for the redress of certain delays in procedure.[1] The collection of taxes, the concentration of all the revenues of the state in one public treasury, and the administration of the army and navy, also formed the subject of regulations which put an end to grave abuses. The question of the distribution of confiscated lands in Ireland, first among the subscribers to the various public loans, and then among the disbanded

[1] The condition of the law was in itself certainly bad enough, but they regarded it as a perfect Augean stable. There were said to be not less than twenty-three thousand causes pending in the court of chancery, some of which had been there twenty, others thirty years; the expenses were enormous; the justice of the decisions was suspicious. The whole body of the law itself being in their eyes a mere chaos of confusion, made up of traditions, statutes and decisions, often obscure, often contradictory, it was deemed the wisest course to do away with it altogether, and form out of it a reasonable code which might be comprised in a pocket-volume and be accessible to all men, and not be a mystery confined to a few. A committee was appointed to effect this, and a commencement was made with the articles "*Treason*" and "*Murder.*" In matters of religion one of the first points which presented itself was that of advowsons. Nothing seemed to be (perhaps nothing is) more adverse to the spirit of true religion, than that a layman, merely as the owner of land, should have the right of imposing a religious teacher on a parish, and could even sell that right like any other species of property. It was therefore resolved that the right of presentation should be taken away, and that the parishioners should be empowered to choose their own pastors. — KEIGHTLEY.

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officers and soldiers, was finally settled. The salaries of the persons employed in several departments of the public service were reduced; and serious and persevering efforts were made to meet all the expenses, and discharge all the liabilities of the state.

But, when it came to treat of really great political questions, when it was in presence of the obstacles and enemies which those questions raised up against it, then the insufficiency of its information, its chimerical ideas, its anarchical tendencies, its internal dissensions, and the weakness of its position, became fully apparent. Not only were their innovations naturally opposed by those classes whose interests would be seriously affected by their adoption, by the clergy, the lay impropriators, the magistrates, the lawyers, and all the professions dependent on these; but they interfered, more or less directly, with those rights of property and hereditary succession which could not be infringed upon, even in the slightest degree, without shaking the whole framework of society. Accordingly, whenever these vital questions were mooted, a deep schism arose in the parliament. But the reformers, wilfully or blindly obedient to the revolutionary spirit, required that, in the first instance, the innovations which they demanded should be resolved upon, and the principle which they involved be absolutely admitted, and that the house should then inquire what was to be done to fill up the vacancies, and repair the losses which they had occasioned.

Irritated at resistance, the revolutionary spirit became increasingly manifest; strange propositions multiplied — some of them puerile, as this, "that all who have applied for offices shall be incapable of public employment"; others menacing, not only to the higher classes, but to all who had a settled occupation, from the demagogic and destructive mysticism which they exhibited. Although strongly opposed in their progress through parliament, these propositions were always sooner or later adopted; for the zealous and mystical sectaries, with Major-General Harrison at their head, daily obtained a greater preponderance in the house. From their friends out of doors they received impetuous encouragement and support: all questions, whether political or religious, which at any time occupied the attention of parliament, were discussed at the same time by meetings of private citizens, unlimited as to numbers, unrestricted as to ideas and language. Two Anabaptist preachers, Christopher Feake and Vavasor Powell, may be particularly mentioned. These eloquent enthusiasts held meetings every Monday at Blackfriars, which were crowded by multitudes of hearers, mutually encouraging one another to a spirit of opposition and revolution. At these meetings, foreign politics were treated of, as well as home affairs, with equal violence and even greater ignorance.

Cromwell was an attentive observer of these disorders and conflicts. It was in the name and with the support of the reforming sectaries that he had expelled the Long Parliament, and assumed possession of the supreme power. But he had quickly perceived that such innovators, though useful instruments of destruction, were destructive to the very power they had established; and that the classes among whom conservative interests prevailed, were the natural and permanent allies of authority. Besides, he was influenced by no principles or scruples powerful enough to prevent him, when occasion required, from changing his conduct and seeking out other friends. To govern was his sole aim; whoever stood in the way of his attainment of the reins of government, or of his continuance at the head of the state, was his adversary—he had no friends but his agents. The landed proprietors, the clergy, and the lawyers, had need of him, and were ready to support him if he would defend

them: he made an alliance with them, thus completely changing his position, and becoming an aristocrat and conservative instead of a democrat and revolutionist. But he was an able and prudent man, and he knew the art of breaking with old allies only so far as suited his purpose, and of humouring them even when he intended to break with them. He sent for the principal leaders of the sectaries, the Anabaptist preacher, Feake, among others; upbraided them with the blind violence of their opposition which, both at home and abroad, tended only to the advantage of their common enemies, and declared that they would be responsible for all the consequences that might ensue. He dismissed them without further rebuke. But his resolution was taken; and, in his soul, the fate of a parliament in which such persons had so much influence, was irrevocably determined.



THOMAS SYDENHAM
(1624–1689)

On Monday, the 12th of December, 1653, a number of members devoted to Cromwell, were observed to enter the house of commons at an unusually early hour. No sooner had prayers been said, than Colonel Sydenham rose and made a most violent attack upon the measures of the parliament, particularly of a majority of its members. "They aimed," he went on to say, "at no less than destroying the clergy, the law, and the property of the subject. Their purpose was to take away the law of the land, and the birthrights of Englishmen, for which all had so long been contending with their blood, and to substitute in their room a code, modelled on the law of Moses, and which was adapted only for the nation of the Jews. In these circumstances, he could no longer satisfy himself to sit in that house; and he moved that the continuance of this parliament, as now constituted, would not be for the good of the commonwealth; and that, therefore, it was requisite that the house, in a body, should repair to the lord-general, to deliver back into his hands the powers which they had received from him." Colonel Sydenham's motion was at once seconded by Sir Charles Wolseley, a gentleman of Oxfordshire, and one of Cromwell's confidants.

Notwithstanding their surprise and indignation, the reformers defended themselves. The debate promised to be of considerable duration. The issue seemed exceedingly doubtful. Rous, the speaker, suddenly left the chair, and broke up the sitting. The serjeant took up the mace and carried it before him, as he left the hall. About forty members followed him, and they proceeded together towards Whitehall. Thirty or thirty-five members

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remained in the house, in great indignation and embarrassment, for they were not sufficiently numerous to make a house; but twenty-seven of them, Harrison among the number, resolved to keep their seats, and proposed to pass the time in prayer. But two officers, Colonel Goffe and Major White, suddenly entered the house and desired them to withdraw; they answered that they would not do so, unless compelled by force. White called in a file of musketeers; the house was cleared, and sentinels were placed at the doors, in charge of the keys. The cavaliers, in their ironical narratives of the occurrence, assert that, on entering the house, White said to Harrison, "What do you here?" "We are seeking the Lord," replied Harrison. "Then," returned White, "you may go elsewhere, for, to my certain knowledge he has not been here these twelve years."

Meanwhile, the speaker, and the members who had accompanied him, had arrived at Whitehall. They first of all went into a private room, and hurriedly wrote a brief resignation of their power into Cromwell's hands. This they signed, and then demanded an interview with the lord-general. He expressed extreme surprise at their proceeding, declaring that he was not prepared for such an offer, nor able to load himself with so heavy and serious a burden. But Lambert, Sydenham, and the other members present, insisted; their resolution was taken—he must accept the restoration of power which he had himself conferred. He yielded at last. The act of abdication was left open for three or four days, for the signatures of those members who had not come to Whitehall; and it soon exhibited eighty names — a majority of the whole assembly. Cromwell had slain the Long Parliament with his own hand; he did not vouchsafe so much honour to the parliament which he had himself created; a ridiculous act of suicide, and the ridiculous nickname which it derived from one of its most obscure members, Mr. Praise-god Barebone,[1] a leather-seller in the city of London, are the only recollections which this assembly has left in history. And yet, it was deficient neither in honesty nor in patriotism; but it was absolutely wanting in dignity when it allowed its existence to rest on a falsehood, and in good sense when it attempted to reform the whole framework of English society: such a task was infinitely above its strength and capacity. The Barebones Parliament had been intended by Cromwell as an expedient; it disappeared as soon as it attempted to become an independent power.

Four days after the fall of the Barebones Parliament, on the 16th of December, 1653, at one o'clock in the afternoon, a pompous cavalcade proceeded from Whitehall to Westminster, between a double line of soldiery. The lords commissioners of the great seal, the judges, the council of state, the lord mayor and aldermen of the city of London, in their scarlet robes and state carriages, headed the procession. After them came Cromwell, in a simple suit of black velvet, with long boots, and a broad gold band round his hat. His guards and a large number of gentlemen, bareheaded, walked before his carriage, which was surrounded by the principal officers of the army, sword in hand, and hat on head. On arriving at Westminster Hall, the procession entered the court of chancery, at one end of which a chair of state had been placed. Cromwell stood in front of the chair, and as soon as the assembly was seated, Major-General Lambert announced the voluntary

[1] Godwin *p* and Forster *q* have taken considerable pains to establish that this person's real name was Barbone, and not Barebone, and thus to remove the ridicule attaching to the latter name; but, by their own admission, the writ of summons addressed to this member spells his name as Barebone; I have therefore retained this spelling, which seems to be at once officially and historically correct.

dissolution of the late parliament, and in the name of the army, of the three nations, and of the exigencies of the time, prayed the lord-general to accept the office of protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland.[r]

THE INSTRUMENT OF GOVERNMENT MAKES CROMWELL PROTECTOR

The instrument of government, as the plan of the new constitution was named, was then read by one of the clerks of the council. Cromwell having with feigned reluctance given his consent, the oath was read to him by the lord-commissioner Lisle, and he signed it. Lambert then on his knees offered him the civic sword in a scabbard; he took it, and at the same time laid aside his own military one. He then sat down and put on his hat; the commissioners handed him the seal, the lord mayor the sword; he took them and gave them back. Having exercised these acts of sovereignty he returned to Whitehall. Next day the new government was proclaimed with the ceremonies usual at the accession of a king.

The substance of the instrument was, that the supreme authority should be in the lord protector and the parliament; the protector to be assisted by a council of not less than thirteen, nor more than twenty-one persons, immovable except for corruption or other miscarriage in their trust. The former functions of royalty in general were to be exercised by the protector, with the consent of parliament or the council. A parliament was to be summoned for the 3rd of September, 1654, and once in every third year, reckoned from the dissolution of the last, and not to be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved for the space of five months without its own consent. The parliament was to consist of four hundred members for England and Wales, thirty for Scotland, and thirty for Ireland. The smaller boroughs were disfranchised and the number of county members was increased; the qualification for electors was to be the possession of an estate, real or personal, of the value of 200*l*. Those persons who had aided or abetted the royal cause in the late wars were to be incapable of being elected or of voting at elections for the next and three succeeding parliaments. Catholics, and the aiders and abettors of the Irish rebellion, were to be disabled forever. A provision more certain and less subject to scruple than tithes was to be made for the teachers of religion. All who professed faith in God through Jesus Christ were to be protected; but this liberty was not to extend "to popery or prelacy, or to such as under the profession of Christ hold forth and practise licentiousness."

Oliver Cromwell had thus, by taking advantage of a train of favourable circumstances, raised himself to the summit on which, since his victory at Worcester, he had probably fixed his view. His usurpation, if such it is to be called, was the greatest benefit that could befall the country in its present condition. Had the Presbyterians recovered their power, they would have bound their odious intolerant religious despotism on the necks of the people; the royalists, if triumphant, would have introduced the plenitude of absolute power. The rule of Cromwell gave time for men's minds to settle.[t] Von Ranke contrasts Cromwell's *coup d'état* with that of Napoleon, as follows:[a] "Were we to describe in a word the chief difference between the revolution in England and the similar catastrophe that occurred in France a hundred and fifty years later, we might say that the social revolution in France was practically complete before the victorious general grasped the sovereignty; while, by contrast, in England the rule of the sword intervened at an earlier period, and put a check to the progress of revolution the moment it began to undermine the social foundations."[b]



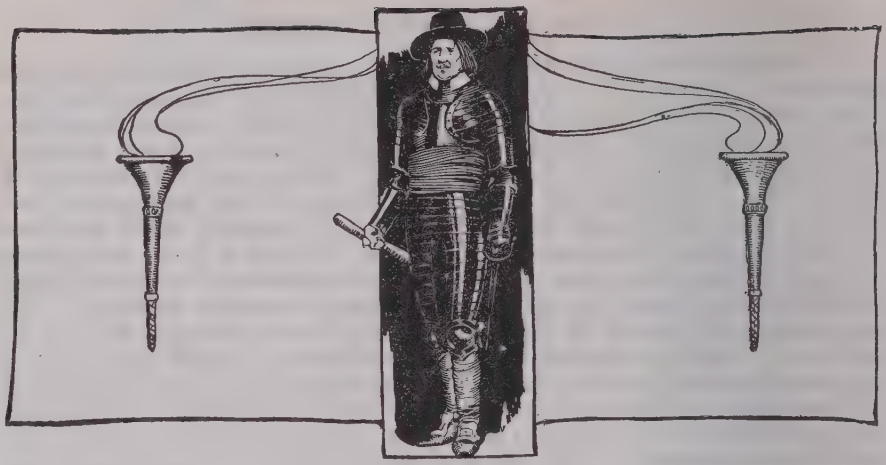
OLIVER CROMWELL

(From the painting by Sir Peter Lely in the Pitti Palace, Florence; sent by the Protector to the Grand Duke Ferdinand II)

Hallam on Cromwell's Usurpation

It can admit of no doubt that the despotism of a wise man is more tolerable than that of political or religious fanatics; and it rarely happens that there is any better remedy in revolutions which have given the latter an ascendant. Cromwell's assumption, therefore, of the title of protector was a necessary and wholesome usurpation, however he may have caused the necessity; it secured the nation from the mischievous lunacy of the Anabaptists, and from the more cool-blooded tyranny of that little oligarchy which arrogated to itself the name of commonwealth's men. Though a gross and glaring evidence of the omnipotence of the army, the instrument under which he took his title accorded to him no unnecessary executive authority. The sovereignty still resided in the parliament; he had no negative voice on their laws. Until the meeting of the next parliament a power was given him of making temporary ordinances: but this was not, as Hume,[s] on the authority of Clarendon[t] and Warwick,[u] has supposed, and as his conduct, if that were any proof of the law, might lead us to infer, designed to exist in future intervals of the legislature. In the ascent of this bold usurper to greatness he had successively employed and thrown away several of the powerful factions who distracted the nation. He had encouraged the levellers and persecuted them; he had flattered the Long Parliament and betrayed it; he had made use of the sectaries to crush the commonwealth; he had spurned the sectaries in his last advance to power. These, with the royalists and the Presbyterians, forming in effect the whole people, though too disunited for such a coalition as must have overthrown him, were the perpetual, irreconcilable enemies of his administration. Master of his army, which he knew well how to manage, surrounded by a few deep and experienced counsellors, furnished by his spies with the completest intelligence of all designs against him, he had no great cause of alarm from open resistance. But he was bound by the instrument of government to call a parliament; and in any parliament his adversaries must be formidable.[n]





CHAPTER V

CROMWELL AS PROTECTOR

[1653–1658 A.D.]

Cromwell at the head of the army had conquered and crushed king, lords, and commons. As opposed to the constitution of the kingdom he seemed to be a great destroyer. But further than this he would not budge. The instant his partisans inclined to threaten civil institutions and the social structure they found him their most potent enemy. In the wreckage of all authority, political or churchly, Cromwell rose the champion of the social fabric of property, of civil rights, and the lower clergy. It was in this spirit that he grasped the supreme power — and with the approval of a large part of the public. Both lawyers and clergymen had seen their very existence endangered by the destructive enactments of the Independents. Cromwell was their deliverer; to them the full meaning of the word was implied by his title, protector. — VON RANKE. [b]

IT cannot be supposed that this elevation of Cromwell to the supreme power was viewed with satisfaction by any other class of men than his brethren in arms, who considered his greatness their own work, and expected from his gratitude their merited reward. But the nation was surfeited with revolutions. They readily acquiesced in any change which promised the return of tranquillity in the place of solicitude, danger, and misery. The protector, however, did not neglect the means of consolidating his own authority. Availing himself of the powers entrusted to him by the "instrument," he gave the chief commands in the army to men in whom he could confide; quartered the troops in the manner best calculated to put down any insurrection; and, among the multitude of ordinances which he published, was careful to repeal the acts enforcing the Engagement; to forbid all meetings on racecourses or at cockpits, to explain what offences should be deemed treason against his government; and to establish a high court of justice for the trial of those who might be charged with such offences.

[1653 A.D.]

He could not, however, be ignorant that, even among the former companions of his fortunes, the men who had fought and bled by his side, there were several who, much as they revered the general, looked on the protector with the most cordial abhorrence. They scrupled not, both in public companies, and from the pulpit, to pronounce him "a dissembling perjured villain"; and they openly threatened him with "a worse fate than had befallen the last tyrant." If it was necessary to silence these declaimers, it was also dangerous to treat them with severity. He proceeded with caution, and modified his displeasure by circumstances. Some he removed from their commissions in the army and their ministry in the church; others he did not permit, but go at large till they had given security for their subsequent behaviour; and those who proved less tractable, or appeared more dangerous, he incarcerated in the Tower. Among the last were Harrison, formerly his fellow-labourer in the dissolution of the Long Parliament, now his most implacable enemy; and Feakes and Powell, the Anabaptist preachers, who had braved his resentment during the last parliament. Symson, their colleague, shared their imprisonment, but procured his liberty by submission.

To the royalists, as he feared them less, he showed less forbearance. Charles, who still resided in Paris, maintained a constant correspondence with the friends of his family in England. Among the agents whom he employed were men who betrayed his secrets, or pretended secrets, to his enemies, or who seduced his adherents into imaginary plots, that by the discovery they might earn the gratitude of the protector. Of the latter class was an individual named Henshaw, who had repaired to Paris, and been refused what he solicited—admission to the royal presence. On his return, he detailed to certain royalists a plan by which the protector might be assassinated on his way to Hampton Court, the guards at Whitehall overpowered, the town surprised, and the royal exile proclaimed. When a sufficient number were entangled in the toil, forty were apprehended and examined. Of these, three were selected for trial before the high court of justice. Fox pleaded guilty and obtained his pardon. Vowell, a schoolmaster, and Gerard, a youg gentleman two-and-twenty years of age, received judgment of death.

On the same scaffold, but an hour later, perished a foreign nobleman, only nineteen years old, Dom Pantaleon Sa, brother to Guimaraes, the Portuguese ambassador. Six months before, he and Gerard, whose execution we have just noticed, had quarrelled in the New Exchange. Pantaleon, the next evening, repaired to the same place with a body of armed followers; a fray ensued; Greenway, a person unconcerned in the dispute, was killed by accident or mistake; and the Portuguese fled to the house of the ambassador, whence they were conducted to prison by the military. The people, taking up the affair as a national quarrel, loudly demanded the blood of the reputed murderers. On behalf of Pantaleon it was argued that he was an ambassador, and therefore answerable to no one but his master; but the instrument which he produced in proof of the first allegation was no more than a written promise that he should succeed his brother in office. He was sacrificed, if we believe one of them, to the clamour of the people, whose feelings were so excited, that when his head fell on the scaffold, the spectators proclaimed their joy by the most savage yells of exultation. It was the very day on which his brother, perhaps to propitiate the protector, had signed the treaty between the two nations.

These executions had been preceded by one of a very different description. Colonel Worseley had apprehended a Catholic clergyman, of the name of Southworth, who, thirty-seven years before, had been convicted at Lan-

caster, and sent into banishment. The old man (he had passed his seventy-second year), at his arraignment, pleaded that he had taken orders in the church of Rome, but was innocent of any treason. Judgment of death was pronounced; and the protector, notwithstanding the urgent solicitations of the French and Spanish ambassadors, resolved that he should suffer. It was not that Cromwell approved of sanguinary punishments in matters of religion, but that he had no objection to purchasing the good-will of the godly by shedding the blood of a priest. The fate of this venerable man excited the sympathy of the higher classes. On the scaffold he pointed out the inconsistency of the men who pretended to have taken up arms for liberty of conscience, and yet shed the blood of those who differed from them in religious opinions. He suffered the usual punishment of traitors.

SCOTLAND SUBDUED AND INCORPORATED

In Scotland as in Ireland the spirit of disaffection equally prevailed among the superior officers; but their attention was averted from political feuds by military operations. In the preceding years, under the appearance of general tranquillity, the embers of war had continued to smoulder in the Highlands: they burst into a flame on the departure of Monk to take the command of the English fleet. To Charles in France, and his partisans in Scotland, it seemed a favourable moment; the earls of Glencairn and Balcarres, were successively joined by Angus, Montrose, Athol, Seaforth, Kenmore, and Lorne, the son of Argyll; and Wogan, an enterprising officer, landing at Dover (November 22nd, 1653), raised a troop of loyalists in London, and traversing England under the colours of the commonwealth, reached in safety the quarters of his Scottish friends. A petty but most destructive warfare ensued. To Middleton the protector opposed Monk. Middleton was surprised at Loch Garry (July 19th) by the force under Morgan; his men, embarrassed in the defile, were slain or made prisoners; and his loss taught the royalist leaders to deserve mercy by the promptitude of their submission, and the lenity of Monk contributed as much as the fortune of war to the total suppression of the insurgents.

Cromwell, however, did not wait for the issue of the contest. Before Monk had joined the army, he published three ordinances, by which, of his supreme authority, he incorporated Scotland with England, absolved the natives from their allegiance to Charles Stuart, abolished the kingly office and the Scottish parliament, with all tenures and superiorities importing servitude and vassalage, erected courts-baron to supply the place of the jurisdictions which he had taken away, and granted a free pardon to the nation, with the exception of numerous individuals whom he subjected to different degrees of punishment.

Thus the whole frame of the Scottish constitution was subverted: yet no one ventured to remonstrate or oppose. The spirit of the nation had been broken. The experience of the past, and the presence of the military, convinced the people that resistance was fruitless. Of the nobility, many languished within the walls of their prisons in England; and the others were ground to the dust by the demands of their creditors, or the exactions of the sequestrators; and even the kirk, which had so often bearded kings on their thrones, was taught to feel that its authority, however it might boast of its celestial origin, was no match for the earthly power of the English commonwealth. Soon after Cromwell had called his Little Parliament, the general assembly of the kirk met at the usual place in Edinburgh; and Dickson, the

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moderator, had begun his prayer, when Colonel Cotterel, leaving two troops of horse and two companies of foot at the door, entered the house, and inquired by what authority they sat there; Was it by authority of the parliament, or of the commander of the forces, or of the English judges in Scotland? The moderator meekly but firmly replied, that they formed a spiritual court, established by God, recognised by law, and supported by the Solemn League and Covenant. But this was a language which the soldier did not, or would not, understand.

Mounting a bench, he declared that there existed no authority in Scotland which was not derived from the parliament of England; that it was his duty to put down every illegal assumption of power; and that they must immediately depart or suffer themselves to be dragged out by the military under his command. No one offered to resist: a protestation was hastily entered on the minutes; and the whole body was marched between the two files of soldiers through the streets, to the surprise, and grief, and horror of the inhabitants. At the distance of a mile from the city, Cotterel discharged them with an admonition. "Thus," exclaims Baillie[v] "our general assembly, the glory and strength of our church upon earth, is by your soldiery crushed and trod under foot. For this our hearts are sad, and our eyes run down with water."

Yet after this they were permitted to meet in synods and presbyteries, an indulgence which they owed not to the moderation of their adversaries, but to the policy of Vane, who argued that it was better to furnish them with the opportunity of quarrelling among themselves, than, by establishing a compulsory tranquillity, allow them to combine against the commonwealth. For the ministers were still divided into resolutioners and protestors, and the virulence of this religious feud appeared to augment in proportion as the parties were deprived of real power.

FINAL BATTLES OF THE DUTCH WAR

By foreign powers the recent elevation of Cromwell was viewed without surprise. All who had reason to hope from his friendship, or to fear from his enmity, offered their congratulations, and ambassadors and envoys from most of the princes of Europe crowded to the court of the protector. He received them with all the state of a sovereign. It appears from the Council Book that the quarterly expense of the protector's family amounted to thirty-five thousand pounds.

The treaty with the United Provinces was the first which engaged the attention of the protector, and was not concluded till repeated victories had proved the superiority of the English navy, and a protracted negotiation had exhausted the patience of the states. In the preceding month of May the hostile fleets, each consisting of about one hundred sail, had put to sea, the English commanded by Monk, Deane, Penn, and Lawson; the Dutch by Tromp, De Ruyter, De Witt, and Evertsen. While Monk insulted the coast of Holland, Tromp cannonaded the town of Dover. They met each other (June 2nd, 1653) off the North Foreland, and the action continued the whole day. The enemy lost two sail; on the part of the English, Deane was killed by a chain-shot. He fell by the side of Monk, who instantly spread his cloak over the dead body, that the men might not be alarmed at the fate of their commander.

The battle was renewed the next morning. Though Blake, with eighteen sail, had joined the English in the night, Tromp fought with the most deter-

mined courage; but a panic pervaded his fleet; his orders were disobeyed; several captains fled from the superior fire of the enemy; and, ultimately, the Dutch sought shelter within the Wielings, and along the shallow coast of Zealand. They lost one-and-twenty sail; thirteen hundred men were made prisoners, and the number of killed and wounded was great in proportion.[1]

Cromwell received the news of this victory with transports of joy. Though he could claim no share in the merit (for the fleet owed its success to the exertions of the government which he had overturned), he was aware that it would shed a lustre over his own administration; and the people were publicly called upon to return thanks to the Almighty for so signal a favour.

To the states, the defeat of their fleet proved a subject of the deepest regret. It was not the loss of men and ships that they deplored; such loss might soon be repaired; but it degraded them in the eyes of Europe, by placing them in the position of suppliants deprecating the anger of a victorious enemy. In consequence of the importunate entreaties of the merchants, they had previously appointed ambassadors to make proposals of peace to the new government. They were informed that England would waive the claim of pecuniary compensation, providing Tromp were removed for a while from the command of their fleet, as an acknowledgment that he was the aggressor; but that, on the other hand, it was expected that the states should consent to the incorporation of the two countries into one great maritime power, to be equally under the same government, consisting of individuals chosen out of both.[2] This was a subject on which the ambassadors had no power to treat; and it was agreed that two of their number should repair to the Hague for additional instructions.

But a few days before their departure, another battle had been fought at sea (July 31st), and another victory won by the English. For eight weeks Monk had blockaded the entrance of the Texel; but Tromp, the moment his fleet was repaired, put to sea. Each admiral commanded about one hundred sail; and as long as Tromp lived, the victory hung in suspense; he had burst through the English line, and returned to his first station, when he fell by a musket-shot; then the Dutch began to waver; in a short time they fled, and the pursuit continued till midnight. That which distinguished this from every preceding action was the order issued by Monk to make no prizes, but to sink or destroy the ships of the enemy. Hence the only trophies of victory were the prisoners, men who had been picked up after they had thrown themselves into the water, or had escaped in boats from the wrecks. Of these, more than a thousand were brought to England, a sufficient proof that, if the loss of the enemy did not amount to twenty sail, as stated by Monk, it exceeded nine small vessels, the utmost allowed by the states.[3]

[1 Gardiner[c] points out that in the first place Tromp had but 104 sail, six of them fireships; the English had 115 including 5 fireships, their vessels and cannon being decidedly superior in size and weight. Furthermore, Blake came up now with 13 fresh ships, and once more Tromp's ammunition began to give out, as the parsimony of the Dutch republic had insufficiently supplied him. Gardiner again credits Tromp with superior seamanship.]

[2 Gardiner[c] calls this "the most astounding proposal ever made by an Englishman to the minister of a foreign state." It was proposed to include Denmark, Sweden and the Protestant German provinces in one great amalgamation to partition the whole world, the Dutch to have all of Asia, the English all of America.]

[3 Gardiner[c] puts the Dutch loss at 26 men-of-war, 2,700 drowned, 2,500 wounded and 1,000 prisoners. The English lost 2 ships, 7 captains and 250 men slain, and 5 captains and 800 men wounded; the fleet was so badly shattered, however, that it was compelled to abandon the blockade to refit. Of Tromp, Gardiner says that he "was, in every sense, the hero of the war. If tactical skill could have merited victory from an enemy greatly superior in force he would have made the battle off the Gabbard as glorious for his countrymen as had been the fight in the Downs in 1639." Fighting for the liberty of his country's trade he was borne

[1653 A.D.]

During the absence of the other ambassadors, Cromwell sought several private interviews with the third who remained, Beverning, the deputy from the states of Holland; and the moderation with which he spoke of the questions in dispute, joined to the tears with which he lamented the enmity of two nations so similar in their political and religious principles, convinced the Dutchman that an accommodation might be easily and promptly attained. At his desire his colleagues returned; the conferences were resumed; the most cheering hopes were indulged; when suddenly (November 24th) the English commissioners presented seven-and-twenty articles, conceived in a tone of insulting superiority, and demanding sacrifices painful and degrading. Every question was adjusted, with the exception of this: whether the king of Denmark, the ally of the Dutch, who, to gratify them, had seized and confiscated twenty-three English merchantmen in the Baltic (January 6th, 1654), should be comprehended or not in the treaty. The ambassadors were at Gravesend on their way home, when Cromwell proposed a new expedient, which they approved. At the same time he equipped a fleet of one hundred sail, and ordered several regiments to embark. The ambassadors, aware that the states had made no provision to oppose this formidable armament, reluctantly acquiesced; and on the 5th of April, after a negotiation of ten months, the peace was definitively signed.

By this treaty the English cabinet silently abandoned those lofty pretensions which it had originally put forth. It made no mention of indemnity for the past, of security for the future, of the incorporation of the two states, of the claim of search, of the tenth herring, or of the exclusion of the prince of Orange from the office of stadtholder. To these humiliating conditions the pride of the states had refused to submit; and Cromwell was content to accept two other articles, which, while they appeared equally to affect the two nations, were in reality directed against the Stuart family and its adherents. It was stipulated that neither commonwealth should harbour or aid the enemies, rebels, or exiles of the other. The only questions which latterly retarded the conclusion of the treaty related to the compensation to be made to the merchants for the depredations on their trade in the East Indies before, and the detention of their ships by the king of Denmark during the war. It was, however, agreed that arbitrators should be chosen out of both nations, and that each government should be bound by their award. These determined that the island of Polerone should be restored, and damages to the amount of one hundred and seventy thousand pounds should be paid to the English East India Company; that three thousand six hundred and fifteen pounds should be distributed among the heirs of those who suffered at Amboyna;[1] and that a compensation of ninety-seven thousand nine hundred and seventy-three pounds should be made to the traders to the Baltic.

By Sagredo,[d] the Venetian ambassador, who resided during the war at Amsterdam, we are told that the Dutch acknowledged the loss of one thousand one hundred and twenty-two men-of-war and merchantmen; and that the expense of this war exceeded that of their twenty years' hostilities with Spain. He states that their inferiority arose from three causes: that the English ships were of greater bulk; the English cannon were of brass, and

down by official incompetence, and by the defects of a complicated administrative machinery even more than by the material superiority of the English navy." For fuller accounts of his character, see the history of Holland.]

[1 The Amboyna massacre took place in 1623 at Amboyna, one of the Molucca islands, where the Dutch claiming that certain Englishmen had conspired to seize the island and murder the inhabitants, put 110 English to death after torturing them. See the history of the Netherlands, chapter XII, volume XIII.]

of a larger calibre; and the number of prizes made by the English at the commencement crippled the maritime resources of their enemies. It has been said that the Dutch employed one hundred thousand men in the herring-fishery.

On one subject, in the protector's estimation of considerable importance, he was partially successful. Possessed of the supreme power himself, he considered Charles as a personal rival, and made it his policy to strip the exiled king of all hope of foreign support. From the prince of Orange, so nearly allied to the royal family, Cromwell had little to fear during his minority; and, to render him incapable of benefiting the royal cause in his more mature age, the protector attempted to exclude him by the treaty from succeeding to those high offices which might almost be considered hereditary in his family. The determined refusal of the states had induced him to withdraw the demand; but he intrigued, through the agency of Beverning, with the leaders of the Louvestein party;[1] and obtained a secret article, by which the states of Holland and Friesland promised never to elect the prince of Orange for their stadholder, nor suffer him to have the chief command of the army and navy.

RELATIONS WITH FRANCE AND SPAIN

The war in which the rival crowns of France and Spain had so long been engaged induced both Louis and Philip to pay their court to the new protector. Alonzo de Cardenas, the Spanish ambassador, had the advantage of being on the spot. He waited on Cromwell to present to him the congratulations of his sovereign, and to offer to him the support of the Spanish monarch, if he should feel desirous to rise a step higher, and assume the style and office of king. When Don Alonzo communicated the draft of a treaty of alliance which had all but concluded with the deputies appointed by the late parliament, he was asked whether the king of Spain would consent to a free trade to the West Indies, would omit the clause respecting the Inquisition,[2] reduce to an equality the duties on foreign merchandise, and give to the English merchant the pre-emption of the Spanish wool. He replied, that his master would as soon lose his eyes as suffer the interference of any foreign power on the two first questions; as to the others, satisfactory adjustments might easily be made. This was sufficient for the present. Cromwell affected to consider the treaty at an end; though the real fact was, that he meditated a very different project in his own mind, and was careful not to be precluded by premature arrangements.

The French ambassador, though he commenced his negotiation under less propitious auspices, had the address or good fortune to conduct it to a more favourable issue. That the royal family of France, from its relationship to that of England, was ill-disposed towards the commonwealth, there could be no doubt; but its inclinations were controlled by the internal feuds which distracted, and the external war which demanded, the attention of the government. The first proof of hostility was supposed to be given before the death of the king, by a royal *arrêt* (October 21st, 1648) prohibiting the importation into France of English woollens and silks; and this was after-

[1] The leaders of the republicans were so called, because they had been confined in the castle of Louvestein, whence they were discharged on the death of the late prince of Orange.

[2] The clause respecting the Inquisition was one which secured the English traders from being molested by that court, on condition that they gave **no scandal, — modo ne dent scandalum.** This condition Cromwell wished to be withdrawn.

wards met by an order of parliament (August 23rd, 1649) equally prohibiting the importation into England of French woollens, silks, and wines. The alleged infraction of these commercial regulations led to the arrest and subsequent condemnation of vessels belonging to both nations; each government issued letters-of-marque to the sufferers among its subjects; and the naval commanders received instructions to seek that compensation for the individuals aggrieved which the latter were unable to obtain of themselves. Thus the maritime trade of both countries was exposed to the depredations of private and national cruisers, while their respective governments were considered as remaining at peace. But in 1651, when the cardinal Mazarin had been banished from France, it was resolved by Cromwell, who had recently won the battle of Worcester, to tempt the fidelity of d'Estrades, the governor of Dunkirk and a dependant on the exiled minister. An officer of the lord general's regiment made to d'Estrades the offer of a considerable sum, on condition that he would deliver the fortress into the hands of the English; or of the same sum, with the aid of a military force to the cardinal, if he preferred to treat in the name of his patron. The governor complained of the insult offered to his honour; but intimated that, if the English wished to purchase Dunkirk, the proposal might be addressed to his sovereign. The hint was taken, and the offer was made, and debated in the royal council at Poitiers. The cardinal, who returned to France at the very time, urged its acceptance; but the queen-mother and the other counsellors were so unwilling to give the English a footing in France, that he acquiesced in their opinion and a refusal was returned. Cromwell did not fail to resent the disappointment. By the facility which he afforded to the Spanish levies in Ireland, their army in Flanders was enabled to reduce Gravelines, and, soon afterwards, to invest Dunkirk. That fortress was on the point of capitulating when a French flotilla of seven sail, carrying from twenty to thirty guns each, and laden with stores and provisions, was descried stealing along the shore to its relief. Blake, who had received secret orders from the council, gave chase; the whole squadron was captured (September 5th, 1652), and the next day Dunkirk opened its gates.

Bordeaux had been appointed ambassador to the parliament (February 21st, 1653); after the inauguration of Cromwell it became necessary to appoint him ambassador to his highness the protector. But in what style was Louis to address the usurper by letter? "Mon cousin" was offered and refused; "mon frère," which Cromwell sought, was offensive to the pride of the monarch; and, as a temperament between the two, "monsieur le protecteur" was given and accepted. Bordeaux proposed a treaty of amity. To thwart the efforts of his rival, Don Alonzo, abandoning his former project, brought forward the proposal of a new commercial treaty between England and Spain. Cromwell was in no haste to conclude with either. He was aware that the war between them was the true cause of these applications; that he held the balance in his hand, and that it was in his power at any moment to incline it in favour of either of the two crowns. His determination, indeed, had long been taken; but it was not his purpose to let it transpire; and when he was asked the object of the two great armaments preparing in the English ports, he refused to give any satisfactory explanation.

THE FIRST PROTECTORATE PARLIAMENT

In this state of the treaty, its further progress was for a while suspended by the meeting of the protector's first parliament. He had summoned it for

the 3rd of September, his fortunate day, as he perhaps believed himself, as he certainly wished it to be believed by others. But the 3rd happened in 1654 to fall on a Sunday; and, that the Sabbath might not be profaned by the agitation of worldly business, he requested the members to meet him at sermon in Westminister Abbey on the following morning. At ten the procession set out from Whitehall. The personal appearance of the protector formed a striking contrast with the parade of the procession. He was dressed in a plain suit, after the fashion of a country gentleman, and was chiefly distinguished from his attendants by his superior simplicity, and the privilege of wearing his hat. After sermon, he placed himself in the chair of state in the Painted Chamber, while the members seated themselves, uncovered, on benches ranged along the walls. The protector then rose, took off his hat, and addressed them in a speech which lasted three hours. It was, after his usual style, verbose, involved, and obscure, sprinkled with quotations from Scripture to refresh the piety of the saints, and seasoned with an affectation of modesty to disarm the enmity of the republicans.

He described the state of the nation at the close of the last parliament. He then bade them contrast this picture with the existing state of things. The taxes had been reduced; judges of talent and integrity had been placed upon the bench; the burthen of the commissioners of the great seal had been lightened by the removal of many descriptions of causes from the court of Chancery to the ordinary courts of law; and "a stop had been put to that heady way for every man who pleased to become a preacher." The war with Holland had terminated in an advantageous peace; treaties of commerce and amity had been concluded with Denmark and Sweden;[1] a similar treaty, which would place the British trader beyond the reach of the Inquisition, had been signed with Portugal, and another was in progress with the ambassador of the French monarch. Thus had the government brought the three nations by hasty strides towards the land of promise; it was for the parliament to introduce them into it. The prospect was bright before them; let them not look back to the onions and flesh-pots of Egypt.

To procure a parliament favourable to his designs, all the power of the government had been employed to influence the elections; the returns had been examined by a committee of the council, under the pretext of seeing that the provisions of the "instrument" were observed; and the consequence was, that the lord Grey of Groby, Major Wildman, and some other noted republicans, had been excluded by command of the protector. Still he found himself unable to mould the house to his wishes. By the court, Lenthall was put in nomination for the office of speaker; by the opposition, Bradshaw, the boldest and most able of the opposite party. After a short debate, Lenthall was chosen, by the one, because they knew him to be a timid and a time-serving character; by the other, because they thought that, to place him in the chair was one step towards the revival of the Long Parliament, of which he had been speaker.

It was not long before the relative strength of the parties was ascertained.

[1] That with Sweden was negotiated by Whitelocke, who had been sent on that mission against his will by the influence of Cromwell. The object was to detach Sweden from the interest of France, and engage it to maintain the liberty of trade in the Baltic, against Denmark, which was under the influence of Holland. It was concluded April 11. After the peace with Holland, the Danish monarch hastened to appease the protector; the treaty which, though said by Cromwell to be already concluded, was not signed till eleven days afterwards, stipulated that the English traders should pay no other customs or dues than the Dutch. Thus they were enabled to import naval stores on the same terms, while before, on account of the heavy duties, they bought them at second hand of the Dutch.

[1654 A.D.]

After a sharp debate, in which it was repeatedly asked why the members of the Long Parliament then present should not resume the authority of which they had been illegally deprived by force, and by what right, but that of the sword, one man presumed to "command his commanders," the question was put, that the house resolve itself into a committee, to determine whether or not the government shall be in a single person and a parliament; and, to the surprise and alarm of Cromwell, it was carried (September 8th) against the court by a majority of five voices. The leaders of the opposition were Bradshaw, Haslerig, and Scott, who now contended in the committee that the existing government emanated from an incompetent authority, and stood in opposition to the solemn determination of a legitimate parliament; while the protectorists, with equal warmth, maintained that, since it had been approved by the people, the only real source of power, it could not be subject to revision by the representatives of the people. The debate lasted several days, during which the commonwealth party gradually increased in number. That the executive power might be profitably delegated to a single individual, was not disputed; but it was contended that, of right, the legislative authority belonged exclusively to the parliament.[e]

This was far more than the assertion of a rival ambition: it was a systematic determination to admit the legitimacy of no government and of no power which did not emanate from the parliament, as the creature from its creator; it was the proclamation of the primordial, individual, and absolute sovereignty, in principle, of the people, and in fact, of the parliament, as representing the people.

Cromwell was not a philosopher, he did not act in obedience to systematic and premeditated views; but he was guided in his government by the superior instinct and practical good sense of a man destined to govern. He had watched the operation of this arrogant design to create the entire government by the sole will of the people, or of the parliament; he had himself audaciously promoted the work of destruction which had preceded the new creation; and, amidst the ruins which his hands had made, he had perceived the vanity of his rash hopes; he had learned that no government is, or can be, the work of man's will alone; he had recognised, as essential to its production, the action of time, and a variety of other causes apart from human deliberation. Entering, so to speak, into council with these superior powers, he regarded himself as their representative and minister, by the right of his genius, and of his manifold successes. He resolved not to suffer interference with what they had done, and he had done, to establish, in the stead of fallen monarchy, the new government over which he presided.

CROMWELL OVERAWES THE PARLIAMENT (1654 A.D.)

The parliament had spent four days in discussing the question whether it should give this government its approbation. On the morning of the 12th of September, 1654, the members were proceeding to the house, as usual, to continue this debate; and on their way they were constantly met by reports that the parliament was dissolved, and that the council of state and council of war, sitting together as one body, had decided upon its dissolution. On their arrival at Westminister, they found the doors of the parliament house shut, and guarded by soldiers; some of them attempted to go up the stairs: "There is no passage that way," said the guard; "the house is locked up, and we have orders to give no admittance to any person. If you are a member, go into the Painted Chamber, where the protector will presently be."

At about ten o'clock Cromwell appeared, attended by his officers and life guards, and took his stand on the raised dais where he had stood a week before to open the parliament.

"Gentlemen," he said to them, in part, "it is not long since I met you in this place, upon an occasion which gave me much more content and comfort than this doth. I called not myself to this place. I was by birth a gentleman, living neither in any considerable height, nor yet in obscurity. I have been called to several employments in the nation — to serve in parliament and elsewhere; and I did endeavour to discharge the duty of an honest man in those services. Having had some occasions to see, together with my brethren and countrymen, a happy period put to our sharp wars and contests with the then common enemy, I hoped, in a private capacity, to have reaped the fruit and benefit of our hard labours and hazards. I hoped to have had leave to retire to a private life. I begged to be dismissed of my charge; I begged it again and again — and God be judge between me and all men if I lie in this matter. That I lie not, in matter of fact, is known to very many; but whether I tell a lie in my heart, as labouring to represent to you what was not upon my heart, I say, the Lord be judge."

He then proceeded to narrate, in this tone, all his past career — his struggle with the Long Parliament, the overtures he had received from that body, and the necessity he had been under to dissolve it. "Because of my manner of life," he continued, "which had led me up and down the nation, thereby giving me to see and know the temper and spirits of all men, and of the best of men; I knew that the nation loathed their sitting. Under their arbitrary power, poor men were driven, like flocks of sheep, by forty in a morning, to the confiscation of goods and estates, without any man being able to give a reason why two of them had deserved to forfeit a shilling. And so far as I could discern, when they were dissolved, there was not so much as the barking of a dog, or any general and visible repining at it!"

He then referred to the convocation of the Barebones Parliament. "I have appealed to God before you already," he said, "though it be a tender thing to make appeals to God, yet I trust in such exigencies as these it will not offend his majesty. And I say to you again, in the presence of that God who hath blessed, and been with me in all my adversities and successes, that my greatest end was to lay down the power which was in my hands. The authority I had was boundless — for by act of parliament, I was general of all the forces in the three nations; in which unlimited condition I did not desire to live a day — wherefore, we called that meeting. The result was that they came and brought to me a parchment, signed by very much the major part of them, expressing their re-delivery and resignation of the power and authority that had been committed them, back again into my hands. And I can say it, in the presence of divers persons here who know whether I lie in that, that I did not know one tittle of that resignation, till they all came and brought it, and delivered it into my hands.

"My power was again, by this resignation, become as boundless and unlimited as before. All government was dissolved: all civil administration was at an end. I was arbitrary in power; having the armies in the three nations under my command; and truly not very ill-beloved by them, nor very ill-beloved by the people — by the good people. The gentlemen that undertook to frame this government did consult divers days together, how to frame somewhat that might give us settlement; and that I was not privy to their councils they know. When they had finished their model in some measure, they told me that except I would undertake the government,

[1654 A.D.]

they thought things would hardly come to a composure or settlement, but blood and confusion would break in upon us. I refused it again and again; not complimentingly — as they know, and as God knows! They urged on me, 'That I did not hereby receive anything which put me into a higher capacity than before; but that it limited me — that it bound my hands to act nothing without the consent of a council, until the parliament met, and then limited me by the parliament. After many arguments, and at the entreaty and request of divers persons of honour and quality, I did accept of the place and title of protector. I shall submit to your judgment, that I brought not myself into this condition.

"This was not done in a corner: it was open and public. I have a cloud of witnesses. I have witnesses within, without, above! I had the approbation of the officers of the army, in the three nations. And with their express consent, there went along an implied consent also of a body of persons who had had somewhat to do in the world; who had been instrumental, under God, to fight down the enemies of God and of His people — I mean the soldiery. And truly, the soldiery were a very considerable part of these nations, especially when all government was thus dissolved, and nothing to keep things in order but the sword. And yet they — which many histories will not parallel — even they were desirous that things ought to come to a consistency, and arbitrariness be taken away, and the government be put into the hands of a person limited and bounded, as in the Act of Settlement, whom they distrusted the least, and loved not the worst.

"Nor is this all. The judges did declare, that they could not administer justice to the satisfaction of their consciences, until they had received commissions from me. And I have yet more witnesses. All the sheriffs in England are my witnesses; and all that have come in upon a process issued out by sheriffs are my witnesses. All the people in England are my witnesses; and many in Ireland and Scotland. And I shall now make you my last witnesses — and shall ask you, whether you came not hither by my writs, directed to the several sheriffs? To which writs the people gave obedience; having also had the Act of Government communicated to them, which was required to be distinctly read unto the people at the place of election, to avoid surprises, or misleadings of them through their ignorance. There also they signed the indenture, with proviso 'That the persons so chosen should not have power to alter the government as now settled in one single person and a parliament.'

"This being the case, though I told you in my last speech that you were a free parliament, yet I thought it was understood withal that I was the protector, and the authority that called you; that I was in possession of the government by a good right from God and men. I do not know why I may not balance this providence, in the sight of God, with any hereditary interest. And for you to disown or not to own it; for you to act with parliamentary authority, especially in the disowning of it, contrary to the very fundamental things, yea, against the very root itself of this establishment; to sit, and not own the authority by which you sit — is that which I believe astonisheth more men than myself, and doth as dangerously disappoint and discompose the nation as anything that could have been invented by the greatest enemy to our peace and welfare, or that could well have happened. In every government there must be somewhat fundamental, somewhat like a Magna Charta, which should be standing, unalterable." *f*

He would have them to know that four things were fundamental: (1) that the supreme power should be invested in a single person and parliament:

(2) that the parliament should be successive, and not perpetual; (3) that neither protector nor parliament alone should possess the uncontrolled command of the military force; and (4) that liberty of conscience should be fenced round with such barriers as might exclude both profaneness and persecution. The other articles of the instrument were less essential; they might be altered with circumstances; and he should always be ready to agree to what was reasonable. But he would not permit them to sit, and yet disown the authority by which they sat.[e]

He went on: "I can sooner be willing to be rolled into my grave, and buried with infamy, than I can give my consent unto the wilful throwing away of this government, in the fundamentals of it! And therefore I must deal plainly with you. What I forbore upon a just confidence at first, you necessitate me unto now! Seeing the authority which called you is so little valued, and so much slighted — till some assurance be given and made known that the fundamental interest shall be settled and approved, according to the proviso in the writ of return, and such a consent testified as will make it appear that the same is accepted — I have caused a stop to be put to your entrance into the parliament house.

"I am sorry, I am sorry, and I could be sorry to the death, that there is cause for this. But there is cause. There is therefore somewhat to be offered to you: a promise of reforming as to circumstantials, and agreeing in the substance and fundamentals, that is to say, in the form of government now settled. The making of your minds known in that, by giving your assent and subscription to it, is the means that will let you in, to act those things as a parliament which are for the good of the people. The place where you may come thus and sign, as many as God shall make free thereunto, is in the lobby without the parliament door."

So much boldness in displaying his power, and in making indiscriminate use of force and right, truth and falsehood, in the assertion of his authority, struck all minds with stupor. Indignant, but powerless, the republican leaders, Bradshaw, Scott, and Haslerig, refused to give any pledge, and returned home again; and to the honour of the party, about a hundred and fifty members followed their example. But the majority of members either approved or submitted; on the very first day, a hundred and forty signed the required engagement; before the end of the month, more than three hundred had subscribed it, and the parliament resumed its labours. Cromwell manifested no ill-feeling towards the recusant members. On the 18th of September, in order to give an air of independence to their servility, the house converted the whole of Cromwell's recent conduct into a measure of their own, and resolved: "That all persons returned, or who shall be returned, to serve in this parliament, shall, before they be admitted to sit in the house, subscribe the recognition of the government — to be true and faithful to the lord protector, and not to propose, or give consent, to alter the government, as it is settled in one person and a parliament." A disreputable artifice of a mutilated assembly, which falsely ascribed to itself an act of violence, in order to cover its humiliation by the lie!

A singular accident was well nigh causing the abrupt overthrow of the precarious edifice, so laboriously supported by the strong arm of one man. On the 29th of September, Cromwell had taken it into his head to dine in the open air, in Hyde Park, with Thurloe and some of his household; his carriage was harnessed with six Friesland horses which the duke of Oldenburg had sent him not long before; and he resolved to try, with his own hand, the mettle of these animals, "not doubting," says Ludlow,[g] "but they would prove

as tame as the three nations which were ridden by him." Thurloe[h] could not resist the desire to ride in a carriage driven by the protector, and so got inside. Cromwell, he says, "drove pretty handsomely for some time, but, at last, provoking the horses too much with the whip, they grew unruly"; the postilion was thrown; Cromwell fell from the coach-box upon the pole, and from the pole to the ground; his foot caught in the harness, and he was dragged along for a moment, but he quickly extricated himself, and the carriage passed on without touching him. During his fall, a pistol went off in his pocket, revealing, in the accidental danger which he had incurred, his secret precautions against the constant dangers by which he was surrounded. He was immediately taken up — as well as Thurloe, who had dislocated his ankle by jumping out of the carriage — and conveyed to Whitehall, where he was let blood, and remained confined to his room for nearly three weeks, during which time he received few visitors, and gave but little attention to business. The government newspapers made no allusion to the accident; those of the opposition merely mentioned the danger to which the protector had been exposed, without specifying its cause; the court poets celebrated his miraculous deliverance.[1]

Cromwell's real or apparent inactivity lasted much longer than his indisposition; for more than three months, he remained almost utterly unmoved and silent, as if his only intention were to watch and wait. Meanwhile parliament was discussing the constitution of the protectorate.[f]

CROMWELL DISSOLVES THE PARLIAMENT (1655 A.D.)

The force so lately put on the parliament, and the occasion of that force, had opened the eyes of the most devoted among his adherents. His protestations of disinterestedness, his solemn appeals to heaven in testimony of his wish to lead the life of a private gentleman, were contrasted with his aspiring and arbitrary conduct; and the house, though deprived of one-fourth of its number, still contained a majority jealous of his designs and anxious to limit his authority. The accident which had placed his life in jeopardy naturally led to the consideration of the probable consequences of his death; and, to sound the disposition of the members, the question of the succession was repeatedly, though not formally, introduced. The remarks which it provoked afforded little encouragement to his hopes; yet, when the previous arrangements had been made, and all the dependants of the government had been mustered, Lambert, having in a long and studied speech detailed the evils of elective, the benefits of hereditary, succession, moved that the office of protector should be limited to the family of Oliver Cromwell, according to the known law of inheritance. To the surprise and the mortification of the party, the motion was negatived by a division of two hundred against eighty voices; and it was resolved that, on the death of the protector, his successor should be chosen by the parliament if it were sitting, and by the council in the absence of parliament. Cromwell, on his part, betrayed no symptom of impatience; but waited quietly for the moment when he had resolved to break the designs of his adversaries. They proceeded with the revision of the "instrument"; their labours were embodied in a bill, and the bill was read a third time. During two days the courtiers prolonged the debate by moving a variety of amendments; on the third Cromwell summoned the house to meet him in the Painted Chamber. Displeasure and contempt were marked

[1 The cavaliers declared with better wit than prophesy that Cromwell's next fall would be from the end of a hangman's cart.]

on his countenance; and the high and criminatory tone which he assumed taught them to feel how inferior the representatives of the people were to the representative of the army.

They appeared there, he observed, with the speaker at their head, as a house of parliament. Yet, what had they done as a parliament? He never had played, he never would play, the orator; and therefore he would tell them frankly, they had done nothing. For five months they had passed no bill, had made no address, had held no communication with him. But had they then done nothing? Yes: they had encouraged the cavaliers to plot against the commonwealth, and the levellers to intrigue with the cavaliers. By their dissension they had aided the fanatics to throw the nation into confusion, and by the slowness of their proceedings had compelled the soldiers to live at free quarters on the country. They supposed that he sought to make the protectorship hereditary in his family. It was not true; had they inserted such a provision in the "instrument," on that ground alone he would have rejected it. He spoke in the fear of the Lord, who would not be mocked, and with the satisfaction that his conscience did not belie his assertion. The different revolutions which had happened were attributed to his cunning. How blind were men who would not see the hand of providence in its merciful dispensations, who ridiculed as the visions of enthusiasm the observations "made by the quickening and teaching Spirit!" It was supposed that he would not be able to raise money without the aid of parliament. But "he had been inured to difficulties, and never found God failing when he trusted in Him." But that he might trouble them no longer, it was his duty to tell them that their continuance was not for the benefit of the nation, and therefore he did then and there declare that he dissolved the parliament.

This was a stroke for which his adversaries were unprepared. The "instrument" had provided that the parliament should continue to sit during five months, and it still wanted twelve days of the expiration of that term. But Cromwell chose to understand the clause not of calendar but of lunar months, the fifth of which had been completed on the preceding evening. Much might have been urged against such an interpretation; but a military force was ready to support the opinion of the protector, and prudence taught the most reluctant of his enemies to submit.[e]

ROYALIST CONSPIRACIES AND CROMWELL'S DESPOTISM

The coalition of royalists and republicans to which Cromwell alluded was no fiction. The common hatred of him united them, and each hoped that when he was overthrown they would be able to subdue their allies and establish their own system. Some of the leading republicans, such as Colonel Overton and Major Wildman, entered into correspondence with the exiled king. Okey, Alured, Lawson, and Hacker, held consultations with Wildman, at which Marten and Lord Grey of Groby are said to have been sometimes present. Of the co-operation of Haslerig, Harrison, Carew, and some others, there seems to have been no doubt. The vigilance of the government, however, disconcerted all their plans. Overton was arrested and sent up from Scotland; Lord Grey, Harrison, and Carew, were committed to various prisons. Wildman was taken in the very act of dictating "The Declaration of the free and well-affected people of England, now in arms against the tyrant Oliver Cromwell, Esq." A part of Whitelocke's[i] remarks on it are as follows: "Divers suspected their designs at the bottom in it to intend the bringing in of the king; because they conclude in their declaration for a truly free parliament, which

[1655 A.D.]

was the way for the king's restauration. And that began now to be held fit and requisite by many sober and faithful patriots, who were distasted at the private ambition of some and their domineering." He hints that he was himself of this way of thinking. We everywhere meet with proofs of the general wish for the restoration of the monarchy.

The general rising of the royalists had been fixed for the beginning of March (1655). Wilmot (now earl of Rochester) and Sir Joseph Wagstaff came over privately to take the command of them, and Charles himself with Ormonde and others moved from Cologne to Middelburg, to be ready to pass over to England. The wakeful eye of government, however, was on their projects, and the partial risings which they made in Yorkshire and the west were easily suppressed. Sir Henry Slingsby and Sir Richard Malever, who had been with Wilmot at the head of the former, were taken, but Wilmot himself escaped. In the west, Wagstaff being joined by Colonel Penruddock, Captain Grove, and about two hundred others, entered Salisbury on a Sunday night (March 11th), and seized in their beds the judges and the sheriff who were there to hold the assizes next day. In the morning Wagstaff prepared to hang them; but Penruddock and others, horrified at such barbarity, interposed so warmly that he consented to liberate them. The insurgents then proclaimed the king, but finding that none joined them, and that a reinforcement which they expected from Hampshire did not arrive, they retired and passed through Dorset into Devon, where they were attacked at South Molton by Captain Crooke, and routed. Wagstaff made his escape, the rest surrendered. Cromwell resolved to venture on trying them by jury, and as their guilt was manifest according to the existing laws, they were all found guilty. Grove and Penruddock were beheaded; some were hanged, others were pardoned; the remainder, without any regard to their station in life, were, in the usual way, shipped off for slaves to Barbadoes.

Hitherto Cromwell had been lenient to the royalists in the hopes of gaining them; of this he now despaired, and he resolved to keep measures with them no longer. A great number of noblemen and gentlemen were arrested; the Episcopalian clergy were forbidden to act as schoolmasters or tutors, or to use the church service either in public or private; priests were ordered to quit the kingdom under pain of death; cavaliers and papists were not to come within less than twenty miles of the city. He finally "decimated" the royalists, that is, imposed an annual income-tax of ten per cent. on all possessing £100 a year and upwards in land, or £1,500 in personal property, who had ever borne arms for the king, or declared themselves to be of the royal party. He thus openly trampled on the Act of Oblivion, which, when it suited his purpose, he had pressed on so strenuously. The reason he assigned was, that as, by their obstinately keeping themselves separate from the rest of the nation, they were a continual cause of danger, it was but just that they should be made to defray the expenses incurred in guarding against it.

For the collection of this tax, and for carrying into effect his other arbitrary measures, he divided England into eleven districts, over each of which he set a major-general. These officers were furnished with most extensive authority; they were empowered to raise troops, levy the taxes, disarm cavaliers and papists, inquire into the conduct of ministers and schoolmasters, arrest and imprison dangerous and suspicious persons. When to these we add the arbitrary system of general taxation continued or imposed, the high courts of justice, the interference with the functions of judges and advocates, we have a picture of despotism before which that of the Stuarts almost sinks into insignificance.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND NAVAL EXPEDITIONS

We now turn to the foreign affairs of the protector's government. France and Spain, we have seen, were rivals for his favour. Of all the states of Europe, Spain was, perhaps, the one with which there was least ground of quarrel: it had given no countenance whatever to the royal family; it had been the first to acknowledge the commonwealth. But on the other hand, Cromwell was a zealous Protestant, and Spain was Catholic, and the chief seat of the Inquisition; and the gold and silver which it drew from America were, moreover, tempting to the protector's cupidity. He did not see why Spain should monopolise the wealth of an immense country, the innocent people of which she had so barbarously massacred, and treat as pirates the crews of all ships which were found in those latitudes. The Spanish court, meantime, aware that Cromwell was equipping a fleet, and fearing that it might be intended for the West Indies, sent the marquis of Leyda to London; but after staying there five months, he returned without having effected anything.

Cromwell had, in fact, prepared two fleets; the one of thirty sail under Blake had sailed in the preceding month of October (1655) to the Mediterranean, to exact reparation for injuries done to the English trade by the states around that sea. Blake first cast anchor before the port of Leghorn, and he made the duke of Tuscany and the pope pay 60,000*l.* for the injuries done to the English nation [in permitting Prince Rupert to sell in their ports three English merchantmen captured in 1650]. He then sailed to Algiers (March 10th, 1656), and required the dey to deliver up the English ships and men taken by his piratic subjects. Having received a conciliatory reply, he proceeded to Tunis, and made a similar demand; but the dey bade him destroy the castles of Goletta and Porto Forina, and his fleet, if he was able. Blake speedily silenced the fire of these castles, and then entered the harbour and burned nine ships of war that were lying there. He sailed thence to Tripoli, whose dey submitted at once to his demands. Having thus chastised these pirates, Blake returned to England.

The other fleet, which consisted of thirty sail, commanded by Admiral Penn, and carrying four thousand land forces under General Venables, sailed about the end of December for the West Indies,[1] with sealed orders. When they reached Barbadoes January 29th, they opened their instructions, and having enlisted and regimented a good number of those who had been sent thither as slaves, and thus raised their forces to nine thousand men, to which they added twelve hundred at St. Christopher's, they sailed to Haiti; but instead of entering the port of Santo Domingo at once (April 14th), when the town would probably have submitted, they landed the troops at a distance of forty miles from it. Here a mutiny broke out in consequence of Commissioner Winslow's issuing a proclamation, stating, in Roman fashion, that all plunder should be public property. This being appeased by Venables, they advanced for three days under a burning sun, and living chiefly on unripe fruit, which caused diseases among the men. At length they joined a detachment which had landed within ten miles of the town. As they advanced they fell into an ambuscade; they drove off the enemy, but their success was of no avail, for the diseased condition of the troops made it necessary for them to fall back to the station of the detachment, where they remained for a week. When they

[1 Gardiner [c] notes that the mundane spirit of conquest now revealed marks a turning point in the Puritan attitude, and in Cromwell's soul. He also thinks that, whatever the provocation, the act of sending a fleet to attack Spanish colonies previous to any declaration of war was highly dishonourable.]

advanced again toward the town (on the 25th), the road, lying through a thick wood, was commanded by a battery, and the sides were lined with Spanish marksmen. The advance guard in disorder fell back on a regiment of foot, and they on a troop of horse; all was confusion till a body of seamen cleared the wood. But night then came on, and they returned once more to their former station. Here a council of war having decided that success was now hopeless, it was resolved to re-embark the troops. They therefore left Haiti (May 3rd); but as the commanders feared to return without having effected something, they made a descent on the 10th on the island of Jamaica, the people of which offered no resistance; but they had placed the greater part of their property in security, so that the plunder gained was trifling. By Cromwell and the nation, the acquisition of Jamaica was thought a matter of no importance; yet there were people who saw further into things, and regarded it as really of more value to England than Haiti would have been. Penn and Venables were, on their return, both committed to the Tower by the indignant and mortified protector. They had shown themselves inefficient commanders, and by their want of harmony they had almost ensured failure.

Cromwell at this time added to his reputation in the eyes of the world by his prompt and effectual interference in behalf of the Vaudois, or Protestant inhabitants of the valleys of Lucerne, Perusa, and San Martino in Piedmont, who were persecuted by their Catholic sovereign. There are of course conflicting statements on this subject; but it is a fair conclusion, where the Catholics were by far the stronger party, they were the aggressors. The Vaudois, it appears, were ordered to give up a part of the valley of Lucerne; they expressed their dissatisfaction, and the duke of Savoy forthwith quartered troops in their valleys. The soldiers acted with insolence and tyranny; the people resisted but were overpowered, and a massacre of about three hundred of the inhabitants of Lucerne was perpetrated (April 21st) with all the circumstances, we are assured, of the most revolting barbarity.[1] When the intelligence reached England, Cromwell lost no time in sending off Under-Secretary Morland as his envoy to Turin; he wrote letters to all the Protestant states of Europe, and he made the security of the Vaudois a *sine quà non* in the treaty which was pending with the court of France. The duke was therefore obliged to allow his Protestant subjects to exercise the religion of their fathers, and Cromwell sent them a sum of money from himself in addition to what had by his permission been collected for them in the churches.

When the Spanish court was certified of the attempt on Haiti, it was thrown into great perplexity, being already engaged in a war with France. It could not, however, tamely pass over such an indignity; it was therefore resolved (September 1st) to lay an embargo on the English ships and property in Spain; and Cardenas also received orders to remonstrate, and if not satisfied, to withdraw. He accordingly left England (October 24th), and the day after his departure Cromwell put forth a declaration of the justice of the war on his part, and signed the treaty with France, by a secret article of which ten Frenchmen were to be excluded from the British dominions, and Charles II, the duke of York, Ormonde, Hyde, and fifteen others from those of France.

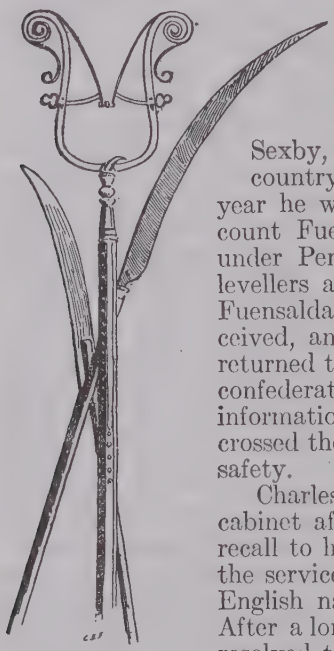
Among the events of this year may be noticed the return of the Jews to England, where they had not been settled since the reign of Edward I. Manasseh Ben Israel, a distinguished rabbi, came over to England to negotiate with

[1 On this atrocity Milton wrote his sonnet beginning :

"Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughter'd saints whose bones
Lie scatter'd on the Alpine mountains cold."]

the protector on this subject [and to offer a large sum for permission to settle and trade in England]; and though the bigotry of the committee appointed to consider his propositions did not allow Cromwell to go so far as he wished, he permitted them to come over, to build a synagogue, and to purchase ground for a cemetery.

Political parties are willing to join with those whom they most hate to overthrow an object of common aversion. In accordance with this principle, we now meet the sectarian levellers again in alliance with the royalists, and even with the court of Spain. Edward Sexby, a man who had risen from the ranks to the post of colonel, had been an admirer and an agent of Cromwell's in the army; he had been a leading agitator; he was a zealot for liberty, and when his former idol apostatised as he thought, he became his inveterate foe. After the arrest of Wildman and others, Sexby, who had not been taken, went through the country distributing pamphlets. In the May of this year he went over to Brussels, where he informed the count Fuensaldaña of the real destination of the fleet under Penn and Venables, and offered the aid of the levellers against the protector, if furnished with money Fuensaldaña sent him to Madrid, where he was well received, and he obtained 40,000 crowns, with which he returned to Antwerp, whence he sent various sums to his confederates in England; and though Cromwell had gotten information, and even seized a remittance of £800, Sexby crossed the channel, remained some time, and returned in safety.



Scythes used as Weapons in Civil Wars, Seventeenth Century

Charles had made an offer of alliance to the Spanish cabinet after the rupture with England. He engaged to recall to his standard the English and Irish regiments in the service of France; he boasted of his influence in the English navy, and, like Sexby, only asked for money. After a long period of the usual delay, the court of Spain resolved to accept both offers, and to effect a union between Charles and Sexby. The latter said that the wish of his friends was to have a free parliament, in which case there was no doubt that Charles would be restored, though with some limitations. The plan formed was, that Charles should raise four regiments out of his subjects in the service of France, that Spain should furnish a body of six thousand men, and that the levellers should secure for them a port and fortress not distant from London, where they might effect a landing.[i]

THE SECOND PROTECTORATE PARLIAMENT (1656 A.D.)

The equipment of the fleet had exhausted the treasury, and the protector dared not impose additional taxes on the country at a time when his right to levy the ordinary revenue was disputed in the courts of law. On the ground that the parliamentary grants were expired, Sir Peter Wentworth had refused to pay the assessment in the country, and Coney, a merchant, the duties on imports in London. The commissioners imposed fines, and distrained; the aggrieved brought actions against the collectors.[e]

[1656 A.D.]

Cromwell tried to soothe the sturdy citizen Coney who reminded him that he himself had said in the Long Parliament, that the subject who yields to an illegal impost is more the enemy of his country than the tyrant who imposes it. The protector sent the merchant to prison; and then more arbitrarily imprisoned the counsel, who had, in pleading for his writ of habeas corpus, used arguments which went to deny altogether the legality of the authority of the existing government. There was a compromise in which Coney at length withdrew his opposition to the impost, and his legal defenders were released. Sir Peter Wentworth was brought before Cromwell and his council. He was required to withdraw an action which he had commenced against the tax-collector. "If you command it I must submit," said Wentworth to the protector. He did command it, and the resistance was at an end.[k]

But the want of money daily increased, and by the advice of the council he consented to call a parliament to meet on the 17th of September. The result of the elections revealed to him the alarming secret, that the antipathy to his government was more deeply rooted, and more widely spread, than he had previously imagined. In Scotland and Ireland, indeed, the electors obsequiously chose the members recommended by the council; but these were conquered countries, bending under the yoke of military despotism. In England, the whole nation was in a ferment; pamphlets were clandestinely circulated, calling on the electors to make a last struggle in defence of their liberties; and though Vane, Ludlow, and Rich were taken into custody; though other republican leaders were excluded by criminal prosecutions, though the cavaliers, the Catholics, and all who had neglected to aid the cause of the parliament, were disqualified from voting by the "instrument"; though a military force was employed in London to overawe the proceedings, and the whole influence of the government and of the army was openly exerted in the country, yet in several counties the court candidates were wholly, and in most, partially, rejected. But Cromwell was aware of the error which he had committed in the last parliament. He resolved that none of his avowed opponents should be allowed to take possession of their seats. The returns were laid before the council; the major-generals received orders to inquire into the political and religious characters of the elected; the reports of these officers were carefully examined; and a list was made of nearly one hundred persons to be excluded under the pretext of immorality or delinquency.

On the appointed day, the protector, after divine service, addressed the new "representatives" in the Painted Chamber. His real object was to procure money, and with this view he sought to excite their alarm, and to inflame their religious antipathies.

From the Painted Chamber the members proceeded to the house. A military guard was stationed at the door, and a certificate from the council was required from each individual previously to his admission. The excluded members complained by letter of this breach of parliamentary privilege. A strong feeling of disapprobation was manifested in several parts of the house. Several members, to show their disapprobation, voluntarily seceded, and those, who had been excluded by force, published (September 22nd) in bold and indignant language an appeal to the justice of the people.

Having weeded out his enemies, Cromwell had no reason to fear opposition to his pleasure. The house passed a resolution declaratory of the justice and policy of the war against Spain, and two acts, by one of which were annulled all claims of Charles Stuart and his family to the crown, by the other were provided additional safeguards for the person of the chief governor. With

the same unanimity, a supply of four hundred thousand pounds was voted, but when the means of raising the money came under consideration, a great diversity of opinion prevailed. Week after week, month after month, was tediously and fruitlessly consumed; though the time limited by the "instrument" was past, still the money bill had made no progress; and, to add to the impatience of Cromwell, a new subject was accidentally introduced, which, as it strongly interested the passions, absorbed for some time the attention of the house.

At the age of nineteen, George Fox, the son of a weaver of Drayton, heard, or persuaded himself that he heard, an inward voice, calling on him to forsake his parents' house, and to make himself a stranger in his own country. Docile to the celestial admonition, he began to lead a solitary life, wandering from place to place, and clothed from head to foot in garments of leather. He found himself inebriated with spiritual delights, and received an assurance that his name was written in the Lamb's Book of Life. At the same time, he was forbidden by the Lord to employ the plural pronoun "you" in addressing a single person," to bid his neighbour good even or good morrow, or to uncover the head, or scrape with the leg to any mortal being. In 1647, he preached for the first time at Duckenfield, not far from Manchester; but the most fruitful scene of his labours was at Swarthmoor, near Ulverston. His disciples followed his example. Their refusal to uncover before the bench was usually punished with a fine, on the ground of contempt; their religious objection to take an oath, or to pay tithes, exposed them to protracted periods of imprisonment; and they were often and severely whipped as vagrants. Still, in defiance of punishment and calumny, the Quakers, or Friends, so they were called, persevered in their profession.

Of the severities so wantonly exercised against these religionists it is difficult to speak with temper. Of this, James Naylor furnished a striking instance. He accepted the worship which was paid to him, not as offered to James Naylor, but to Christ dwelling in James Naylor. Under this impression, during part of his progress to Bristol, and at his entrance into that city, he rode on horseback with a man walking bareheaded before him, two females holding his bridle on each side, and others attending him, one of whom, Dorcas Erbury, maintained that he had raised her to life after she had been dead the space of two days. These occasionally threw scarfs and handkerchiefs before him, and sang, "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God of Hosts; Hosanna in the highest; holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God of Israel." The house voted that Naylor was guilty of blasphemy; the more zealous moved that he should be put to death. The punishment to which he was doomed ought to have satisfied the most bigoted of his adversaries. He stood with his neck in the pillory for two hours (December 18th) and was whipped from Palace Yard to the Old Exchange, receiving three hundred and ten lashes on the way. Some days later he was again placed in the pillory; and the letter B for blasphemer was burned on his forehead, and his tongue was bored with a red-hot iron. From London the house ordered him to be conducted to Bristol (January 13, 1657), the place of his offence. He entered at Lamford's Gate, riding on the bare back of a horse with his face to the tail; dismounted at Rockley Gate, and was successively whipped in five parts of the city. His admirers, however, were not ashamed of the martyr. On every occasion they attended him bareheaded; they kissed and sucked his wounds; and they chanted with him passages from the Scriptures. On his return to London, he was committed to solitary confinement, without pen, ink, or paper, or fire, or candle, and with no other sustenance than what

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he might earn by his own industry. Here the delusion under which he laboured gradually wore away. By the Rump Parliament he was afterwards discharged. In 1660 he was found in a dying state in a field in Huntingdonshire, and shortly afterwards expired.

CROMWELL WOULD BE KING

While the parliament thus spent its time in the prosecution of an offence which concerned it not, Cromwell anxiously revolved in his own mind a secret project of the first importance to himself and the country. To his ambition, it was not sufficient that he actually possessed the supreme authority, and exercised it with more despotic sway than any of his legitimate predecessors; he still sought to mount a step higher, to encircle his brows with a diadem, and to be addressed with the title of majesty. It could not be, that vanity alone induced him to hazard the attachment of his friends for the sake of mere parade and empty sound. He had rendered the more modest title of protector as great and as formidable as that of king, and, though uncrowned, had treated on a footing of equality with the proudest of the crowned heads in Europe. It is more probable that he was led by considerations of interest. He knew that the nation was weary of change; he saw with what partiality men continued to cling to the old institutions; and he, perhaps, trusted that the establishment of an hereditary monarchy, with a house of peers, though under a new dynasty, and with various modifications, might secure the possession of the crown, not only to himself, but also to his posterity. However that may be, he now made the acquisition of the kingly dignity the object of his policy.

The first opportunity of preparing the public mind for this important alteration was furnished by the recent proceedings against Naylor, which had provoked considerable discontent on account of the judicial authority exercised by the house — an authority which appeared subversive of the national liberties.[e] Cromwell, as we have seen by what he said to Whitelocke, had had this idea in his mind for some time. He now consulted on the subject with Thurloe, Pierrepoint, and St. John; and to gain the good-will of the people, he resolved to commence with allowing the arbitrary rule of the major-generals to be terminated. A bill being brought in (January 7th, 1657), of which the object was to confirm their past acts, and invest them with legal authority for the future, it was opposed by Claypole, the protector's son-in-law, and by Lord Broghill his confidant. The debate was continued for ten successive days; the tyranny of the "bashaws," as they were called, was detailed and dwelt on; but, headed by Lambert, they defended themselves with spirit. One of their arguments amounting to this, that the whole body of the cavaliers should be punished for the offence of some, Henry Cromwell, the protector's nephew, replied, that on this principle, all the major-generals ought to be punished, because some of them had done ill, of which he could produce proofs. He was called on to name, and he professed himself ready to do so; but the debate was adjourned. It was hinted to him that his uncle would not be pleased with his conduct; but he went that very night and told the protector what he had done, and added, that he "had his black book and papers ready to make good what he had said." Cromwell replied in a jesting manner; and taking off a rich scarlet cloak and his gloves, gave them to Henry, who strutted into the house with them next day. The bill was finally lost (on the 29th) by a large majority, and

the major-generals remained exposed to actions at law for their previous conduct.

While this bill was pending, a plot to murder the protector was discovered. The agent was Miles Syndercomb, who had been a quartermaster in Monk's army, but had been dismissed for his share in Overton's plot. Sexby, when last in England, had arranged the plan with him, and there can be no doubt that Charles and his court knew and approved of it. The death of Cromwell was to be the signal for the rising of the levellers and royalists, and the invasion from Flanders. Syndercomb and another named Cecil bribed Tooke, a life-guardsman, to give them information of the places where Cromwell was to pass, intending to shoot him from a window; but something always occurred to frustrate them, and at Wildman's suggestion they altered their plan. One evening at six o'clock (January 9th, 1657), they entered the chapel at Whitehall, and having set a basket of combustibles in one of the pews, lighted a slow match, calculated for six hours; but as they were coming out they were all seized, for Tooke had betrayed them. Cecil told all he knew, which only amounted to this, that some persons in the palace were to kill Cromwell in the confusion. Syndercomb was tried and condemned for high treason (February 9th); he would give no information, and he was found dead in his bed a few hours before the time appointed for his execution (13th). The royalists and levellers maintained that he had been strangled by Cromwell's orders; the verdict of the jury was suicide by snuffing up a poisonous powder.

The pulse of the house on the subject of kingship having been felt after the discovery of this plot, about a month later (February 23rd), Alderman Pack rose and presented a paper, called "A Humble Address and Remonstrance," protesting against the present uncertain form of government, and calling on the protector to assume a higher title. The officers instantly rose in a great heat, and Pack was borne down to the bar; but order being restored, and Lord Broghill, with Glyn, Whitelocke, and the lawyers and dependents of the court supporting Pack, the paper was read, and it was resolved to take it into consideration. It was debated, article by article, and at length adopted under the title of "The Humble Petition and Advice."

The only opposition which Cromwell had to fear was that of the army, in which interest swayed some, fanaticism others, to oppose it. Lambert, in particular, was against it; for being the second person in the country and a vain ambitious man, he looked forward to being the next protector. His proposal to the officers was, to bring up five regiments of cavalry and compel the house to confirm the "instrument" and the establishment of major-generals. They hesitated however to adopt this bold measure, and he then withdrew from their councils. The inferior officers also held meetings, and they sent (on the 28th) one hundred of their number to inform the protector of their sentiments. He reminded them that at one time they had offered him the title of king; he said he had always been the drudge of the officers; that the parliament had been called contrary to his judgment, that it required to be controlled, which could only be done by enlarging the authority of the protector. Several were convinced by his reasons, but they had no effect on the majority. They, however, agreed that if the question of the title were kept to be last considered, they would make no opposition to those of his being empowered to name his successor, and of the parliament's consisting of two houses as he proposed.

On the 25th of March the title of king was voted, and six days after a committee waited on the protector with The Humble Petition and Advice. He spoke of the "consternation of his mind" at the offer, and requested time "to ask

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counsel of God and his own heart"; at the same time approving of everything but the new title to be given to himself. At his desire, a committee was appointed to hear and resolve his scruples. After various conferences, he owned (Apr. 20th) that his doubts were removed, and at length he appointed a day (May 6th) to meet the parliament, when it was fully expected that he would accept the royal title.

Cromwell had vainly sought to gain his brother and son-in-law, Desborough and Fleetwood, over to his design. They now told him that they must resign their commissions; and Desborough having informed Pride of what Cromwell was about to do, the latter cried out, "He shall not." When asked how he could prevent it, he said by a petition signed by the officers: they approved of his plan, and went straight to Doctor Owen, and prevailed on him to draw up one without delay.

The 8th was the day finally fixed for the protector to meet the parliament. On the morning of that day, Colonel Mason and six-and-twenty other officers came and presented the petition, in which they asserted that the design of those who urged the general to take the title of king was to destroy him and bring the nation under the old servitude, and prayed the parliament to continue steady to the old cause, for which they themselves were willing to lay down their lives.*i*



CAVALIER OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

CROMWELL REFUSES THE TITLE AND IS INAUGURATED PROTECTOR

This bold step subdued the reluctance of the protector. He abandoned the lofty hopes to which he had so long, so pertinaciously clung, despatched Fleetwood to the house to prevent a debate, and shortly afterwards summoned the members to meet him at Whitehall. Addressing them with more than his usual embarrassment, he said, that neither his own reflections nor the reasoning of the committee had convinced him that he ought to accept the title of king. If he were to accept it, it would be doubtingly; if he did it doubtingly, it would not be of faith; and if it were not of faith, it would be a sin. "Wherefore," he concluded, "I cannot undertake this government with that title of king, and this is mine answer to this great and weighty business."

Thus ended the mighty farce which for more than two months held in suspense the hopes and fears of three nations. But the friends of Cromwell resumed the subject in parliament. It was observed that he had not refused to administer the government under any other title; the name of king was expunged for that of protector; and with this and a few more amendments, the Humble Petition and Advice received the sanction of the chief magistrate. The inauguration followed. On the platform, raised at the upper end of Westminster Hall, and in front of a magnificent chair of state, stood the protector; while the speaker, with his assistants, invested him with a purple mantle lined with ermine, presented him with a bible superbly gilt and embossed, girt a sword by his side, and placed a sceptre of massive gold in his hand. At a signal given, the trumpet sounded; the heralds proclaimed the

style of the new sovereign; and the spectators shouted, "Long live his highness; God save the lord-protector." He rose immediately, bowed to the ambassadors, and walked in state through the hall to his carriage. Most of the officers took the oath of fidelity to the protector. Lambert refused, and resigned his commissions, which brought him about six thousand pounds per annum. Cromwell, however, assigned to him a yearly pension of two thousand pounds.

That which distinguished the present from the late form of government was the return which it made towards the more ancient institutions of the country. That return, indeed, had wrung from Cromwell certain concessions repugnant to his feelings and ambition, but to which he probably was reconciled by the consideration that in the course of a few years they might be modified or repealed. The supreme authority was vested in the protector; but, instead of rendering it hereditary in his family, the most which he could obtain was the power of nominating his immediate successor. The two houses of parliament were restored; but, as if it were meant to allude to his past conduct, he was bound to leave to the house of commons the right of examining the qualifications and determining the claims of the several representatives.

To him was given the power of nominating the members of the "other house" (he dared not yet term it the house of lords); but, in the first instance, the persons so nominated were to be approved by the house of representatives, and afterwards by the other house itself. In the appointment of councillors, the great officers of state, and the commanders of the forces, many of the restrictions sought to be introduced by the Long Parliament were enforced. In point of religion, it was enacted that a confession of faith should be agreed upon between the protector and the two houses; but that dissenters from it should enjoy liberty of conscience, and the free exercise of their worship, unless they should reject the mystery of the Trinity, or the inspiration of the Scriptures, or profess prelatic, or popish, or blasphemous doctrines. The yearly revenue was fixed at one million three hundred thousand pounds, of which no part was to be raised by a land-tax; and of this sum one million was devoted to the support of the army and navy, and three hundred thousand pounds to the expenses of the civil list; but, on the remonstrance of the protector, that with so small a revenue it would be impossible to continue the war, an additional grant of six hundred thousand pounds was voted for the three following years. After the inauguration, the commons adjourned during six months, that time might be allowed for the formation of the "other house."[1]

The failure of the Syndercomb conspiracy would not have prevented the intended invasion by the royal army from Flanders, had not Charles been disappointed in his expectations from another quarter. No reasoning, no entreaty, could quicken the characteristic slowness of the Spanish ministers. But Sexby's impatience refused to submit to these delays; his fierce and implacable spirit could not be satisfied without the life of the protector. A tract had been recently printed in Holland, entitled *Killing No Murder*, which, from the powerful manner in which it was written, made a deeper impression on the public mind than any other literary production of the age. After an address to Cromwell, and another to the army, both conceived in a strain of the most poignant and sarcastic irony, it proceeds to discuss the three

[1] In a catalogue printed at the time, the names were given of one hundred and eighty-two members of this parliament, who, it was pretended, "were sons, kinsmen, servants, and otherwise engaged unto, and had places of profit, offices, salaries, and advantages, under the protector," sharing annually among them out of the public money the incredible sum of one million sixteen thousand three hundred and seventeen pounds, sixteen shillings, and eightpence

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questions: Whether the lord-protector be a tyrant? Whether it be lawful to do justice on him by killing him? and, Whether this, if it be lawful, will prove of benefit to the commonwealth? Having determined each question in the affirmative, it concludes with an eulogium on the bold and patriotic spirit of Syndercomb, the rival of Brutus and Cato, and a warning that the protector's own muster-roll contains the names of those who aspire to the honour of delivering their country; that his highness is not secure at his table or in his bed; that death is at his heels wherever he moves, and that though his head reaches the clouds, he shall perish like his own dung, and they that have seen him shall exclaim, Where is he?

Of this tract thousands of copies were sent by Sexby into England; and, though many were seized by the officers, yet many found their way into circulation. Having obtained a sum of one thousand four hundred crowns, he followed the books to organise new plots against the life of the protector. But by this time he was too well known. All his steps in Holland were watched; his departure for England was announced; emissaries were despatched in every direction; and within a few weeks he was apprehended and incarcerated in the Tower. There he discovered, probably feigned, symptoms of insanity. He was never brought to trial, but died, probably by violence, in the sixth month of his imprisonment.[1]

VICTORY AND DEATH OF BLAKE (1657 A.D.)

During the winter Blake continued to blockade Cadiz: in the spring he learned that the Plate fleet from Peru had sought an asylum in the harbour of Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriffe. There the merchantmen, ten in number, were moored close to the shore, in the form of a crescent; while the six galleons in their front formed a parallel line at anchor in deeper water. The entrance of the bay was commanded by the guns of the castle; seven batteries erected at intervals along the beach protected the rest of the harbour; and these were connected with each other by covered ways lined with musketry. Blake examined the defences, and, according to custom, proclaimed a solemn fast. At eight on the morning of April 20th, 1657, Stayner took the lead in a frigate; the admiral followed in the larger ships; and the whole fleet availing itself of a favourable wind, entered the harbour under a tremendous shower of balls and shells. The Spaniards, though few in number of ships, were superior in that of men; their hopes were supported by the aid which they received from the land; and during four hours they fought with the most determined bravery. Driven from the galleons, the crews retreated to the second line of merchantmen, and renewed the contest till they were finally compelled to save themselves on the shore.

At two in the afternoon every Spanish ship was in possession of the English, and in flames. Still there remained the difficulty of working the fleet out of the harbour in the teeth of the gale. About sunset they were out of reach of the guns from the forts; the wind, by a miracle, as Blake persuaded himself, veered to the south-west, and the conquerors proceeded triumphantly out to sea. This gallant action, though it failed of securing the treasure which the protector chiefly sought, raised the reputation of Blake in every part of Europe. Unfortunately the hero himself lived not to receive the congratulations of his country. He had been during a great part of three years at sea;

[1] Clarendon[2] assures us that Sexby was an illiterate person, which is a sufficient proof that he was not the real author of the tract, though he acknowledged it for his own in the Tower, probably to deceive the protector. By most historians it has been attributed to Captain Titus.

the scurvy and dropsy wasted his constitution; and he expired August 7th, 1657, in his fifty-ninth year, as his ship, the *St. George*, entered the harbour of Plymouth.

Blake had served with distinction in the army during the civil war; and the knowledge of his talents and integrity induced the parliamentary leaders to entrust him with the command of the fleet. For maritime tactics he relied on the experience of others; his plans and his daring were exclusively his own. He may claim the peculiar praise of having dispelled an illusion which had hitherto cramped the operations of the British navy — a persuasion that it was little short of madness to expose a ship at sea to the fire from a battery on shore. Though Cromwell prized his services, he doubted his attachment But he publicly acknowledged his merit, honouring his bones with a funeral at the national expense, and ordering them to be interred at Westminster, in Henry the Seventh's chapel.[1] In the next reign the coffin was taken from the vault, and deposited in the churchyard.

The reader is aware of Cromwell's anxiety to form a more intimate alliance with Louis XIV. For this purpose Lockhart, one of the Scottish judges, who had married his niece, and received knighthood at his hand, proceeded to France. After some discussion, a treaty, to last twelve months, was concluded. To avoid disputes, the treaty was written in the Latin language, and the precedency was given to Louis in one copy, to Cromwell in the other. Sir John Reynolds landed at Calais with an auxiliary force of six thousand men, one half in the pay of the king, the other half in that of the protector. But as an associate in the war, Cromwell demanded a share in the spoil, and that share was nothing less than the possession of Mardyke and Dunkirk, as soon as they could be reduced by the allies. To this proposal the strongest opposition had been made in the French cabinet. Louis was reminded of the injuries which the English, the natural enemies of France, had inflicted on the country in the reigns of his predecessors. Dunkirk would prove a second Calais; it would open to a foreign foe the way into the heart of his dominions. But he yielded to the superior wisdom or ascendancy of Mazarin, who replied that, if France refused the offer, it would be accepted with a similar sacrifice by Spain.[2]

The combined force was placed under the command of the celebrated Turenne, who was opposed by the Spaniards under Don John of Austria, with the British exiles, commanded by the duke of York, and the French exiles, by the prince of Condé. The English auxiliaries, composed of veteran regiments, supported the reputation of their country by their martial appearance and exemplary discipline; but they had few opportunities of displaying their valour; and the summer was spent in a tedious succession of marches and countermarches, accompanied with no brilliant action nor important result. Cromwell viewed the operations of the army with distrust and impatience. At last he would brook no longer delay; the army marched into the neighbourhood of the town, and the fort of Mardyke capitulated (September 23) after a siege of three days. Mardyke received a garrison, partly of English and partly of French, under the command of Sir John Reynolds; but that officer in a short time incurred the suspicion of the protector.

[1 Keightley *j* says, "Our naval history properly begins with Blake and the first Dutch war."]

[2 Gardiner *c* sees in this alliance of the French king and the protector that the seeds, which were ultimately to come to evil fruitage in the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, ever being unwittingly sown by the self-constituted protector of the Protestant world.]

CROMWELL CALLS AND DISSOLVES HIS FOURTH PARLIAMENT

At home the public attention was absorbed by a new and most interesting spectacle. The parliament met on the day to which it had been adjourned (Jan. 20, 1658) but it was now divided according to the ancient form into two houses. Sixty-two individuals had been summoned to the upper house, and the writs, as they were copies of those formerly issued by the sovereign, were held to confer in like manner the privileges of an hereditary peerage, subject to certain exceptions specified in the Humble Petition and Advice. The commons, at the call of the usher of the black rod, proceeded to the house of lords, where they found his highness seated under a canopy of state. His speech began with the ancient address: "My lords and gentlemen of the house of commons." It was short, but its brevity was compensated by its piety, and after an exposition of the eighty-fifth psalm, he referred his two houses for other particulars to Fiennes, the lord-keeper. After the departure of the commons, the lords spent their time in inquiries into the privileges of their house. Cromwell had summoned his two sons, Richard and Henry, seven peers of royal creation, several members of his council, some gentlemen of fortune and family, with a due proportion of lawyers and officers, and a scanty sprinkling of persons known to be disaffected to his government. Of the ancient peers two only attended, the lords Eure and Fauconberg of whom the latter had recently married Mary, the protector's daughter; and of the other members, nine were absent through business or disinclination. As their journals have not been preserved, we have little knowledge of their proceedings.

In the lower house, the interest of the government had declined by the impolitic removal of the leading members to the house of lords, and by the introduction of those who, having formerly been excluded by order of Cromwell, now took their seats in virtue of the article which reserved to the house the right of inquiry into the qualifications of its members. The opposition was led by two men of considerable influence and undaunted resolution, Haslerig and Scott. Both had been excluded at the first meeting of this parliament, and both remembered the affront. To remove Haslerig from a place where his experience and eloquence rendered him a formidable adversary, Cromwell had called him to the upper house; but he refused to obey the writ, and took his seat among the commons. That a new house was to be called according to the articles of the Humble Petition and Advice, no one denied; but who, it was asked, made its members lords? Who gave them the privileges of the ancient peerage? Who empowered them to negative the acts of that house to which they owed their existence? Was it to be borne that the nominees of the protector should control the representatives of the people, the depositaries of the supreme power of the nation?

Cromwell sought to soothe these angry spirits. He read to them lectures on the benefit, the necessity, of unanimity. England was the only stay, the last hope of religion. But his advice, and entreaties, and menaces were useless.

Never, perhaps, during his extraordinary career, was Cromwell involved in difficulties equal to those which surrounded him at this moment. He could raise no money without the consent of parliament, and the pay of the army in England was five, and of that in Ireland seven months in arrear; the exiled king threatened a descent from the coast of Flanders, and the royalists throughout the kingdom were preparing to join his standard; the leaders of opposition in parliament had combined with several officers in the army to re-establish the commonwealth, "without a single person or house of 'lord'";

and a preparatory petition for the purpose of collecting signatures was circulated through the city.

The morning of February 4th Cromwell unexpectedly threw himself into a carriage with two horses standing at the gates of Whitehall; and, beckoning to six of his guards to follow, ordered the coachman to drive to the parliament house. Sending for the commons, he addressed them in an angry and expostulating tone. "They," he said, "had placed him in the high situation in which he stood; he sought it not; there was neither man nor woman treading on English ground who could say he did. God knew that he would rather have lived under a wood side, and have tended a flock of sheep, than have undertaken the government. But, having undertaken it at their request, he had a right to look to them for aid and support. Yet some among them, God was his witness, in violation of their oaths, were attempting to establish a commonwealth interest in the army; some had received commissions to enlist men for Charles Stuart; and both had their emissaries at that moment seeking to raise a tumult, or rather a rebellion, in the city. But he was bound before God to prevent such disasters; and, therefore," he concluded, "I think it high time that an end be put to your sitting; and I do dissolve this parliament; and let God judge between me and you." "Amen, amen," responded several voices from the ranks of the opposition.

This was the fourth parliament that Cromwell had broken. The republicans indulged their resentment in murmurs, and complaints, and menaces; but the protector, secure of the fidelity of the army, despised the feeble efforts of their vengeance, and encouraged by his vigour the timidity of his counsellors. Strong patrols of infantry and cavalry paraded the streets, dispersing every assemblage of people in the open air, in private houses, and even in conventicles and churches, for the purpose, or under the pretext, of devotion. The colonel-major and several captains of his own regiment were cashiered.

"I," says Hacker, "that had served him fourteen years, and had commanded a regiment seven years, without any trial or appeal, with the breath of his nostrils I was outed, and lost not only my place but a dear friend to boot. Five captains under my command were outed with me, because they could not say that was a house of lords."[e]

At the same time several arrests took place; for the conspiracies of which he spoke were no fictions. Ormonde was actually in London at this very time negotiating with the various political parties, and transports were collected at Ostend to carry over an invading force. But Cromwell had a source of intelligence which the royalists little suspected. There was a select band of six, named the Sealed Knot, who enjoyed the principal confidence of Charles and his court, and were the directors of the royalists in England. Sir Richard Willis had most influence in the Sealed Knot, and he was in the pay of Cromwell! For Willis having been arrested one time, Cromwell, it is said, undertook to prove to him that it was for the interest of the royalists themselves that their plots should be prevented; Willis was, or affected to be, convinced, and it was arranged that he should give information, but never be brought forward as a witness or required to name any person. For this service he had an annual stipend of 200*l*.

The protector, therefore, knew of Ormonde's being in London, and when it was thought that he had been there long enough, a hint was given him, and he hastened to Shoreham and embarked for France. Shortly after, some of the members of the Knot and other royalists were arrested, and Sir Henry Slingsby Doctor Hewit, John Mordaunt brother to Lord Peterborough, Sir Humphrey Bennet, and Captain Woodcock were brought to trial before a high court of

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justice. Slingsby was a gentlemen of advanced age; he had been a prisoner at Hull ever since the rising in 1655, in which he had been engaged; the charge against him was his having given the officers of the garrison commissions from King Charles. Hewit was an Episcopalian clergyman and an active agent for the exiled king. Mordaunt also had distributed commissions. Hewit refused to plead, but that availed him not, and he and Slingsby were found guilty. Mordaunt was acquitted, the principal witness against him having been bribed to abscond. Slingsby was married to the aunt of Lord Fauconberg, and the lady Claypole strongly interested herself for Hewit; but the protector would hearken to neither daughter nor son-in-law in their favour: they were both beheaded (June 8). Bennet and Woodcock were acquitted. While Cromwell thus suppressed conspiracy at home, his arms prospered on the Continent.

THE BATTLE OF THE DUNES: CAPTURE OF DUNKIRK (1658 A.D.)

During the winter, the gains and losses of the hostile armies in Flanders had been nearly balanced. If, on the one hand, the duke of York was repulsed with loss in his attempt to storm by night the works at Mardyke; on the other, the Marshal d'Aumont was made prisoner with fifteen hundred men by the Spanish governor of Ostend, who, under the pretence of delivering up the place, had decoyed him within the fortifications. In February, the offensive treaty between France and England was renewed for another year; three thousand men, drafted from different regiments, were sent by the protector to supply the deficiency in the number of his forces, and the combined army opened the campaign with the siege of Dunkirk. Don John, with the consent of his mentor, the marquis Caracena, resolved to hazard a battle; and, collecting a force of six thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry, encamped between the village of Zudcote and the lines of the besiegers. But Turenne, aware of the defective organisation of the Spanish armies, resolved to prevent the threatened attack; and on the morning of June 4, before the Spanish cannon and ammunition had reached the camp, the allied force was seen advancing in battle array. Don John hastily placed his men along a ridge of sand-hills which extended from the sea-coast to the canal, giving the command of the right wing to the duke of York, of the left to the prince of Condé, and reserving the centre to himself.

The battle was begun by the English, who found themselves opposed to their countryman, the duke of York. They were led by Major-General Morgan; for Lockhart, who acted both as ambassador and commander-in-chief, was confined by indisposition to his carriage. Their ardour to distinguish themselves in the presence of the two rival nations carried them considerably in advance of their allies; but, having halted to gain breath at the foot of the opposite sand-hill, they mounted with impetuosity, received the fire of the enemy, and, at the point of the pike, drove them from their position. The duke immediately charged at the head of the Spanish cavalry; but one-half of his men were mowed down by a well-directed fire of musketry; and James himself owed the preservation of his life to the temper of his armour. The advantage, however, was dearly purchased: in Lockhart's regiment scarcely an officer remained to take the command.

By this time the action had commenced on the left, where the prince of Condé, after some sharp fighting, was compelled to retreat by the bank of the canal. The centre was never engaged; for the regiment, on its extreme left, seeing itself flanked by the French in pursuit of Condé, precipitately

abandoned its position, and the example was successively imitated by the whole line. But, in the meanwhile, the duke of York had rallied his broken infantry, and while they faced the English, he charged the latter in flank at the head of his company of horse-guards. Though thrown into disorder, they continued to fight, employing the butt-ends of their muskets against the swords of their adversaries, and in a few minutes several squadrons of French cavalry arrived to their aid. James was surrounded; and, in despair of saving himself by flight, he boldly assumed the character of a French officer; rode at the head of twenty troopers toward the right of their army; and, carefully threading the different corps, arrived without exciting suspicion at the bank of the canal, by which he speedily effected his escape to Furnes. The victory on the part of the allies was complete. The Spanish cavalry made no effort to protect the retreat of their infantry; every regiment of which was successively surrounded by the pursuers, and compelled to surrender. By Turenne and his officers the chief merit of this brilliant success was cheerfully allotted to the courage and steadiness of the English regiments; at Whitehall it was attributed to the prayers of the lord-protector, who, on that very day, observed with his council a solemn fast to implore the blessing of heaven on the operations of the allied army.

Unable to oppose their enemies in the field, the Spanish generals proposed to retard their progress by the most obstinate defence of the different fortresses. The prince de Ligne undertook that of Ypres; the care of Newport, Bruges, and Ostend was committed to the duke of York; and Don John returned to Brussels to hasten new levies from the different provinces. Within a fortnight Dunkirk capitulated (June 17th), and the king of France, having taken possession, delivered the keys with his own hand to the English ambassador. Gravelines was soon afterwards reduced (Aug. 20th); the prince de Ligne suffered himself to be surprised by the superior activity of Turenne; Ypres opened its gates, and all the towns on the banks of the Lys successively submitted to the conquerors. Seldom, perhaps, had there occurred a campaign more disastrous to the Spanish arms.

CROMWELL'S MANY DISTRESSES AND DEATH (SEPTEMBER 3RD, 1658)

In the eyes of the superficial observer, Cromwell might now appear to have reached the zenith of power and greatness. At home he had discovered, defeated, and punished all the conspiracies against him; abroad, his army had gained laurels in the field; his fleets swept the seas; his friendship was sought by every power; and his mediation was employed in settling the differences between both Portugal and Holland, and the king of Sweden and the elector of Brandenburg. But, above all, he was now in possession of Dunkirk, the great object of his foreign policy for the last two years. The real fact, however, was that his authority in England never rested on a more precarious footing than at the present moment; while, on the other hand, the cares and anxieties of government, joined to his apprehensions of personal violence, and the pressure of domestic affliction, were rapidly undermining his constitution, and hurrying him from the gay and glittering visions of ambition to the darkness and silence of the tomb.

Cromwell was now reduced to that situation which, to the late unfortunate monarch, had proved the source of so many calamities. His expenditure far outran his income. Though the last parliament had made provision, ample provision, as it was then thought, for the splendour of his establishment, and for all the charges of the war, he had already contracted enormous

debts; his exchequer was frequently drained to the last shilling; and his ministers were compelled to go a-begging — such is the expression of the secretary of state — for the temporary loan of a few thousand pounds, with the cheerless anticipation of a refusal. He looked on the army, the greater part of which he had quartered in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, as his chief — his only support against his enemies; and while the soldiers were comfortably clothed and fed, he might with confidence rely on their attachment; but now that their pay was in arrear, he had reason to apprehend that discontent might induce them to listen to the suggestions of those officers who sought to subvert his power. On former occasions, indeed, he had relieved himself from similar embarrassments by the imposition of taxes by his own authority; but this practice was so strongly reprobated in the Humble Petition and Advice, and he had abjured it with so much solemnity, that he dared not repeat the experiment. He attempted to raise a loan among the merchants and capitalists in the city; but his credit and popularity were gone; he had, by plunging into war with Spain, cut off one of the most plentiful sources of profit, the Spanish trade; and the number of prizes made by the enemy, amounting to more than a thousand, had ruined many opulent houses.

There remained a third expedient — an application to parliament. But Cromwell, like the first Charles, had learned to dread the very name of a parliament.[1] Three of these assemblies he had moulded according to his own plan, and yet not one of them could he render obsequious to his will. Urged, however, by the ceaseless importunities of Thurloe, he appointed nine councillors (June 18) to inquire into the means of defeating the intrigues of the republicans in a future parliament; the manner of raising a permanent revenue from the estates of the royalists; and the best method of determining the succession to the protectorate. But among the nine were two who, aware of his increasing infirmities, began to cherish projects of their own aggrandisement, and who, therefore, made it their care to perplex and to prolong the deliberations. The committee sat three weeks. On the first two questions they came to no conclusion; with respect to the third, they voted, on a division, that the choice between an elective and an hereditary succession was a matter of indifference. Suspicious of their motives, Cromwell dissolved the committee (July 8th). But he substituted no council in its place; things were allowed to take their course; the embarrassment of the treasury increased; and the irresolution of the protector, joined to the dangers which threatened the government, shook the confidence of Thurloe himself. It was only when he looked up to heaven that he discovered a gleam of hope, in the persuasion that the God who had befriended Cromwell through life, would not desert him at the close of his career.

To the cares of government must be added his constant dread of assassination. It is certainly extraordinary that, while so many conspiracies are said to have been formed, no attempt was actually made against his person; but the fact that such designs had existed, and the knowledge that his death was of the first importance to his enemies, convinced him that he could never be secure from danger. He multiplied his precautions. We are told that he wore defensive armour under his clothes; carried loaded pistols in his pockets; sought to remain in privacy; and, when he found it necessary to give audience, sternly watched the eyes and gestures of those who addressed him. He was careful that his own motions should not be known beforehand.

[1 "It is a singular part of Cromwell's policy that he would neither reign with parliaments nor without them."]

His carriage was filled with attendants; a numerous escort accompanied him; and he proceeded at full speed, frequently diverging from the road to the right or left, and generally returning by a different route. In his palace he often inspected the nightly watch, changed his bed-chamber, and was careful that, besides the principal door, there should be some other egress, for the facility of escape. He had often faced death without flinching in the field; but his spirit broke under the continual fear of unknown and invisible foes. He passed the nights in a state of feverish anxiety; sleep fled from his pillow; and for more than a year before his death we always find the absence of rest assigned as either the cause which produced, or a circumstance which aggravated, his numerous ailments.

The selfishness of ambition does not exclude the more kindly feelings of domestic affection. Cromwell was sincerely attached to his children; but, among them, he gave the preference to his daughter Elizabeth Claypole. The meek disposition of the young woman possessed singular charms for the overbearing spirit of her father; and her timid piety readily received lessons on mystical theology from the superior experience of the lord-general. The following passage from one of Cromwell's letters to his daughter Ireton, will perhaps surprise the reader: "Your sister Claypole is (I trust in mercye) exercised with some perplexed thoughts, shee sees her owne vanitye and carnal minde, bewailinge itt, shee seeks after (as I hope alsoe) that wch will satisfie, and thus to bee a seeker, is to be of the best sect next a finder, and such an one shall every faythfull humble seeker bee at the end. Happie seeker, happie finder. Who ever tasted that the Lord is gracious, without some sense of self-vanitye and badness? Who ever tasted that graciousness of his, and could goe lesse in desier, and lesse than pressinge after full enjoyment? Deere hart presse on: lett not husband, lett not anythinge coole thy affections after Christ." But she was now dying of a most painful and internal complaint, imperfectly understood by her physicians; and her grief for the loss of her infant child added to the poignancy of her sufferings. Cromwell abandoned the business of state that he might hasten to Hampton Court, to console his favourite daughter. He frequently visited her, remained long in her apartment, and, whenever he quitted it, seemed to be absorbed in the deepest melancholy. It is not probable that the subject of their private conversation was exposed to the profane ears of strangers. We are, however, told by Clarendon[m] that she expressed to him her doubts of the justice of the good old cause, that she exhorted him to restore the sovereign authority to the rightful owner, and that, occasionally, when her mind was wandering, she alarmed him by uttering cries of "blood," and predictions of vengeance.

Elizabeth died August 6th. The protector was already confined to his bed with the gout, and, though he had anticipated the event, some days elapsed before he recovered from the shock. A slow fever still remained, which was pronounced a bastard tertian. One of his physicians whispered to another (Aug. 17th), that his pulse was intermittent; the words caught the ears of the sick man; he turned pale, a cold perspiration covered his face; and, requesting to be placed in bed, he executed his private will. The next morning he had recovered his usual composure; and when he received the visit of his physician, ordering all his attendants to quit the room but his wife, whom he held by the hand, he said to him: "Do not think that I shall die; I am sure of the contrary." Observing the surprise which those words excited, he continued: "Say not that I have lost my reason: I tell you the truth. I know it from better authority than any which you can have from

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Galen or Hippocrates. It is the answer of God himself to our prayers; not to mine alone, but to those of others who have a more intimate interest in him than I have." The same communication was made to Thurloe, and to the different members of the protector's family; nor did it fail to obtain credit among men who believed that "in other instances he had been favoured with similar assurances, and that they had never deceived him." Hence his chaplain Goodwin exclaimed, "O Lord, we pray not for his recovery; that thou hast granted already; what we now beg is his *speedy* recovery."

In a few days, however, their confidence was shaken. For change of air he had removed to Whitehall, till the palace of St. James's should be ready for his reception. There on August 28th his fever became a double tertian, and his strength rapidly wasted away. Who, it was asked, was to succeed him? On the day of his inauguration he had written the name of his successor within a cover sealed with the protectorial arms; but that paper had been lost, or purloined, or destroyed. Thurloe undertook to suggest to him a second nomination; but the condition of the protector, who, if we believe him, was always insensible or delirious, afforded no opportunity. A suspicion, however, existed, that he had private reasons for declining to interfere in so delicate a business.

The 30th of August was a tempestuous day: during the night the violence of the wind increased till it blew a hurricane. Trees were torn from their roots in the park, and houses unroofed in the city. This extraordinary occurrence at a moment when it was thought that the protector was dying, could not fail of exciting remarks in a superstitious age; and, though the storm reached to the coasts of the Mediterranean, in England it was universally referred to the deathbed of the protector. His friends asserted that God would not remove so great a man from this world without previously warning the nation of its approaching loss; the cavaliers more maliciously maintained that the devils, "the princes of the air," were congregating over Whitehall, that they might pounce on the protector's soul.[1]

On the third night afterwards (Sept. 2nd), Cromwell had a lucid interval of considerable duration. It might have been expected that a man of his religious disposition would have felt some compunctious visitings, when from the bed of death he looked back on the strange, eventful career of his past life. But he had adopted a doctrine admirably calculated to lull and tranquillise the misgivings of conscience. "Tell me," said he to Sterry, one of his chaplains, "Is it possible to fall from grace?" "It is not possible," replied the minister. "Then," exclaimed the dying man, "I am safe; for I know that I was once in grace." Under this impression he prayed, not for himself, but for God's people. "Lord," he said, "though a miserable and wretched creature, I am in covenant with thee through thy grace, and may and will come to thee for thy people. Thou hast made me a mean instrument to do them some good, and thee service. Many of them set too high a value upon me, though others would be glad of my death. Lord, however thou disposest of me, continue, and go on to do good for them. Teach those who look too much upon thy instruments, to depend more upon thyself, and pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are thy people too."

Early in the following morning, he relapsed into a state of insensibility. It was his fortunate day, the 3rd of September, a circumstance from which his sorrowing relatives derived a new source of consolation. It was, they observed, on the 3rd of September that he overcame the Scots at Dunbar;

[1 Von Ranke[b] notes that when the news of Cromwell's death reached Amsterdam, people danced in the streets crying, "The devil is dead!"]

on that day, he also overcame the royalists at Worcester; and on the same day, he was destined to overcome his spiritual enemies, and to receive the crown of victory in heaven. About four in the afternoon he breathed his last, amidst the tears and lamentations of his attendants. "Cease to weep," exclaimed the fanatical Sterry, "you have more reason to rejoice. He was your protector here; he will prove a still more powerful protector, now that he is with Christ at the right hand of the Father." With a similar confidence in Cromwell's sanctity, though in a somewhat lower tone of enthusiasm, the grave and cautious Thurloe announced the event by letter to Henry Cromwell the deputy of Ireland. "Never was there any man so prayed for as he was during his sickness, solemn assemblies meeting every day to beseech the Lord for the continuance of his life; so that he is gone to heaven, embalmed with the tears of his people, and upon the wings of the prayers of the saints."

VARIOUS ESTIMATES OF CROMWELL; HIS DISSIMULATION: LINGARD

Till the commencement of the century, when that wonderful man arose, who, by the splendour of his victories and the extent of his empire, cast all preceding adventures into the shade, the name of Cromwell stood without a parallel in the history of civilised Europe. Men looked with a feeling of awe on the fortunate individual who, without the aid of birth, or wealth, or connections, was able to seize the government of three powerful kingdoms, and to impose the yoke of servitude on the necks of the very men who had fought in his company to emancipate themselves from the less arbitrary sway of their hereditary sovereign. That he who accomplished this was no ordinary personage, all must admit; and yet, on close investigation, we shall discover little that was sublime or dazzling in his character. Cromwell was not the meteor which surprises and astounds by the rapidity and brilliancy of its course. Cool, cautious, calculating, he stole on with slow and measured pace; and, while with secret pleasure he toiled up the ascent to greatness, laboured to persuade the spectators that he was reluctantly borne forward by an exterior and resistless force, by the march of events, the necessities of the state, the will of the army, and even the decree of the Almighty. He seems to have looked upon dissimulation as the perfection of human wisdom, and to have made it the keystone of the arch on which he built his fortunes. The aspirations of his ambition were concealed under the pretence of attachment to "the good old cause"; and his secret workings to acquire the sovereignty for himself and his family were represented as endeavours to secure for his former brethren in arms the blessings of civil and religious freedom, the two great objects which originally called them into the field.

Thus his whole conduct was made up of artifice and deceit. He laid his plans long beforehand; he studied the views and dispositions of all from whose influence he had any thing to hope or fear; and he employed every expedient to win their affections, and to make them the blind unconscious tools of his policy. For this purpose he asked questions, or threw out insinuations in their hearing; now kept them aloof with an air of reserve and dignity; now put them off their guard by condescension, perhaps by buffoonery; at one time, addressed himself to their vanity or avarice; at another, exposed to them with tears (for tears he had at will), the calamities of the nation; and then, when he found them moulded to his purpose, instead of assenting to the advice which he had himself suggested, feigned reluctance, urged objections, and pleaded scruples of conscience. At length he yielded; but it was not till he had acquired by his resistance the praise of moderation, and the

right of attributing his acquiescence to the importunity of others instead of his own ambition.

Exposed as he was to the continued machinations of the royalists and levellers, both equally eager to precipitate him from the height to which he had attained, Cromwell made it his great object to secure to himself the attachment of the army.[1] To it he owed the acquisition, through it alone could he ensure the permanence, of his power. Now, fortunately for this purpose, that army, composed as never was army before or since, revered in the lord-protector what it valued mostly in itself, the cant and practice of religious enthusiasm. The superior officers, the subalterns, the privates, all held themselves forth as professors of godliness. Among them every public breach of morality was severely punished; the exercises of religious worship were of as frequent recurrence as those of military duty; in council, the officers always opened the proceedings with extemporary prayer; and to implore with due solemnity the protection of the Lord of Hosts, was held an indispensable part of the preparation for battle. Their cause they considered the cause of God; if they fought, it was for his glory; if they conquered, it was by the might of his arm. Among these enthusiasts, Cromwell, as he held the first place in rank, was also pre-eminent in spiritual gifts. The fervour with which he prayed, the unction with which he preached, excited their admiration and tears. They looked on him as the favourite of God, under the special guidance of the Holy Spirit, and honoured with communications from heaven; and he, on his part, was careful, by the piety of his language, by the strict decorum of his court, and by his zeal for the diffusion of godliness, to preserve and strengthen such impressions. In minds thus disposed, it was not difficult to create a persuasion that the final triumph of "their cause" depended on the authority of the general under whom they had conquered; while the full enjoyment of that religious freedom which they so highly prized rendered them less jealous of the arbitrary power which he occasionally assumed.

On the subject of civil freedom, the protector could not assume so bold a tone. He acknowledged, indeed, its importance; it was second only to religious freedom; but if second, then, in the event of competition, it ought to yield to the first. He contended that, under his government, every provision had been made for the preservation of the rights of individuals, so far as was consistent with the safety of the whole nation. He had reformed the chancery, he had laboured to abolish the abuses of the law, he had placed learned and upright judges on the bench, and he had been careful in all ordinary cases that impartial justice should be administered between the parties. This indeed was true; but it was also true that by his orders men were arrested and committed without lawful cause; that juries were packed; that prisoners, acquitted at their trial, were sent into confinement beyond the jurisdiction of the courts; that taxes had been raised without the authority of parliament; that a most unconstitutional tribunal, the high court of justice, had been established; and that the major-generals had been invested with powers the most arbitrary and oppressive. These acts of despotism put him on his defence; and in apology he pleaded, as every despot will plead, reasons of state, the necessity of sacrificing a part to preserve the whole, and his conviction, that a "people blessed by God, the regenerated ones of several judgments forming the flock and lambs of Christ, would prefer their safety to their passions, and their real security to forms." Nor was this reasoning addressed

[1 The Venetian ambassador Sagredo[a] observes that during the protectorate, London wore the appearance of a garrison town, where nothing was to be seen but the marching of soldiers, nothing to be heard but the sound of drums and trumpets.]

in vain to men who had surrendered their judgments into his keeping, and who felt little for the wrongs of others, as long as such wrongs were represented necessary for their own welfare.

Some writers have maintained that Cromwell dissembled in religion as well as in politics; and that, when he condescended to act the part of the saint, he assumed for interested purposes a character which he otherwise despised. But this supposition is contradicted by the uniform tenor of his life. Long before he turned his attention to the disputes between the king and the parliament, religious enthusiasm had made a deep impression on his mind; it continually manifested itself during his long career, both in the senate and the field; and it was strikingly displayed in his speeches and prayers on the last evening of his life. It should, however, be observed, that he made his religion harmonise with his ambition. If he believed that the cause in which he had embarked was the cause of God, he also believed that God had chosen him to be the successful champion of that cause. Thus the honour of God was identified with his own advancement, and the arts, which his policy suggested, were sanctified in his eyes by the ulterior object at which he aimed — the diffusion of godliness, and the establishment of the reign of Christ among mankind.[e]

The Opinion of a Contemporary Royalist, Lord Clarendon

He was one of those men, *quos vituperare ne inimici quidem possunt, nisi ut simul laudent;* "whom his very enemies could not condemn without commending him at the same time"; for he could never have done half that mischief without great parts of courage, industry, and judgment. He must have had a wonderful understanding in the natures and humours of men, and as great a dexterity in applying them; who, from a private and obscure birth (though of a good family) without interest or estate, alliance or friendship could raise himself to such a height, and compound and knead such opposite and contradictory tempers, humours, and interests into a consistence, that contributed to his designs, and to their own destruction; whilst himself grew insensibly powerful enough to cut off those by whom he had climbed, in the instant that they projected to demolish their own building. What was said of Cinna may very justly be said of him: "He attempted those things which no good man durst have ventured on; and achieved those in which none but a valiant and great man could have succeeded." Without doubt, no man with more wickedness ever attempted anything, or brought to pass what he desired more wickedly, more in the face and contempt of religion, and moral honesty; yet wickedness as great as his could never have accomplished those designs, without the assistance of a great spirit, an admirable circumspection, and sagacity, and a most magnanimous resolution.

When he appeared first in the parliament, he seemed to have a person in no degree gracious, no ornament of discourse, none of those talents which use to conciliate the affections of the stander by: yet as he grew into place and authority, his parts seemed to be raised, as if he had concealed faculties, till he had occasion to use them; and when he was to act the part of a great man, he did it without any indecency, notwithstanding the want of custom. In all other matters, which did not concern the life of his jurisdiction, he seemed to have great reverence for the law, rarely interposing between party and party. As he proceeded with this kind of indignation, and haughtiness, with those who were refractory, and durst contend with his greatness, so towards all who complied with his good pleasure, and courted his protection, he used great civility, generosity, and bounty.

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To reduce three nations, which perfectly hated him, to an entire obedience to all his dictates; to awe, and govern those nations by an army that was indevoted to him, and wished his ruin, was an instance of a very prodigious address. But his greatness at home, was but a shadow of the glory he had abroad. It was hard to discover, which feared him most, France, or Spain, or the Low Countries, where his friendship was current at the value he put upon it. As they did all sacrifice their honour and their interest, to his pleasure, so there is nothing he could have demanded, that either of them would have denied him.

To conclude his character, Cromwell was not so far a man of blood, as to follow Machiavel's method; which prescribes upon a total alteration of government, as a thing absolutely necessary, to cut off all the heads of those, and extirpate their families, who are friends to the old one. It was confidently reported, that, in the council of officers, it was more than once proposed, "that there might be a general massacre of all the royal party, as the only expedient to secure the government, but that Cromwell would never consent to it"; it may be, out of too great a contempt of his enemies. In a word, as he was guilty of many crimes against which damnation is denounced, and for which hell-fire is prepared, so he had some good qualities which have caused the memory of some men in all ages to be celebrated; and he will be looked upon by posterity as a brave, wicked man.[m]

A German Estimate of Cromwell's Influence on Europe (Von Ranke)

The next generation execrated Cromwell as a monster of villainy: but posterity has declared him one of the greatest of the race of man. To him was given the marvellous honour of breaking through the sacred circle which restricts the common citizen of European countries. Clothed with royal authority, and needing no superior's approval — for unlike Richelieu he was not forced to persuade a royal master or burrow in cabinet plots — Cromwell forced his way into the history of the world. He had the self control to refuse the very crown. He felt the necessity of coercing all the forces of the nation into obedience to his will; yet the supreme power for its own sake was not his end. It was the means to establishment of those ideals of religious liberty as conceived by the Protestants, of civil order and national independence which filled his whole soul.

If we inquire what remained of Cromwell's work, we shall not find our answer in specific national and constitutional institutions. We are not sure that he planned the continuance of his own powers; neither his house of lords nor his commons was fated to survive: neither the army he organised nor the separatist movement he began. Time swept all this away. None the less his influence was rich in results of importance.

The dream of uniting the three kingdoms in Protestantism had floated before his predecessor, the earl of Somerset; Cromwell realised it brilliantly.

For general European history nothing is more important than Cromwell's direction of English energies against Spain. It was peculiarly his own idea: the commonwealth would hardly have done it. As a result the European system developed from the dynastic sway of the Burgundo-Austrian family dominant for nearly two centuries, was driven from their field. Thus the English people and their navy won a place of importance. Cromwell did not create the English navy; indeed its chiefs were opposed to him; yet he gave it its most powerful impulse. We have seen how stoutly it gained power in all parts of the world. The coasts of Europe felt the weight of English

weapons. Settlements were frequently suggested for the Italian and even the German coasts, and actually gained in the Netherlands. They said that the key of the continent hung at Cromwell's girdle. Holland against her will was forced to bow to English policy. Portugal yielded for the sake of her very existence. England could wait with calm any future developments on the continent. The influence of France had saved Protestantism from destruction, yet kept it subordinate. It was through Cromwell that Protestantism rose to independence among the world powers. Like most extraordinary natures Cromwell died little understood, and rather hated than loved.[b]

Cromwell as the Typical Englishman

"Whatever may be our opinion of some of Cromwell's isolated actions," says Gardiner,[n] "he stands forth as the typical Englishman of the modern world. It is time for us to regard him as he really was, with all his moral and physical audacity, with all his tenderness and spiritual yearnings, in the world of action what Shakespeare was in the world of thought, the greatest because the most typical Englishman of all time."

Nicholson,[w] speaking in similar vein, declares that "Cromwell's own prophetic hope is attaining fulfilment. 'I know God has been above all ill reports, and will in his own time vindicate me.'" He cites with approval the words of Milton: "In speaking of a man so great, and who has deserved so signally of this commonwealth, I shall have done nothing if I merely acquit him of having committed any crime, especially since it concerns, not only the commonwealth, but myself individually, as one so closely conjoined in the same infamy, to show to all nations and ages, as far as I can, the supreme excellence of his character, and his supreme worthiness of all praise." Modern estimates uphold this verdict of a contemporary. John Morley[o] is indeed disposed to regard the comparison of Cromwell with Charles V., or Louis XIV., or Napoleon, as "a hyperbole which does him both less than justice and more"; but he agrees with Guizot,[f] that we are near to the truth if we count "Cromwell, William III., and Washington as chiefs and representatives of sovereign crises that have settled the destinies of nations." And perhaps in all history it would be difficult to find three names better fitted to stand together than these.[a] There is no severer test of a man's character than the use he makes of absolute power. Tried by this test Cromwell bears comparison favourably with any of the greatest names in history. Elevated into supremacy, regal save only in name, he still preserved the plain simplicity of his former life. Armed with more than regal power, he limited himself within the strict bounds of necessity. Personally he cared little for the outward shows of royalty, but he stinted no pomp or ceremony so far as it seemed to involve the nation's dignity. Too great to be jealous or vindictive for himself, he was swift and stern in crushing the enemies of public tranquillity. He was truly a terror to all evil-doers, a praise to them that did well. He fostered learning, though himself not learned, and allied with some to whom learning was profanity. "If there was a man in England who excelled in any faculty or science, the Protector would find him out, and reward him according to his merit." The head of a triumphant cause, he was so little of a fanatic that he tolerated all sects, so long as they meddled not to disturb the state. His large and healthy spirit was bound by no party sympathies, but yearned towards all good men, of whatever name. At an era when toleration was looked upon by many as foolish in politics and criminal in religion, he stood out in

glorious prominence as the earnest advocate of the rights of conscience, and proclaimed all men answerable to God alone for their faith. Popery and prelacy he proscribed, on grounds political rather than religious; to the adherents of both he showed private lenity; under his rule men no more suffered at the stake or the pillory.

So far did his thoughts reach beyond his age that he desired, and earnestly attempted, to extend the rights of citizenship to the outcast and persecuted Jews. Himself the greatest, "the most English of Englishmen" —he was determined that England should be the greatest of states. He encouraged trade, planted colonies, made wise peace with whom he would, or waged just and successful war. All Europe trembled at his voice, and the flag of Britain thenceforth waved triumphant over every sea. In fine, considering the comparative position of Britain in the times that preceded and followed him, the circumstances of his life and the difficulties with which he had to contend, making all allowance for his errors and his failings, he was a man for all ages to admire, for all Britons to honour in proud remembrance. No royal name, at least since Alfred's, is more worthy of our veneration than that of the "Usurper," Oliver Cromwell.

Lord Macaulay's Comparison of Cromwell with Cæsar and Napoleon

At Naseby, in the very crisis of his fortune, Charles I's want of self-possession spread a fatal panic through his army. A Scotch nobleman, it seems, begged the king not to run upon his death, took hold of his bridle, and turned his horse round. No man who had much value for his life would have tried to perform the same friendly office on that day for Oliver Cromwell.

The death of Charles and the strong measures which led to it raised Cromwell to a height of power fatal to the infant commonwealth. No men occupy so splendid a place in history as those who have founded monarchies on the ruins of republican institutions. Their glory, if not of the purest, is assuredly of the most seductive and dazzling kind. In nations broken to the curb, in nations long accustomed to be transferred from one tyrant to another, a man without eminent qualities may easily gain supreme power. The defection of a troop of guards, a conspiracy of eunuchs, a popular tumult, might place an indolent senator or a brutal soldier on the throne of the Roman world. But a community which has heard the voice of truth and experienced the pleasures of liberty, in which the merits of statesmen and of systems are freely canvassed, in which obedience is paid, not to persons but to laws, in which magistrates are regarded, not as the lords, but as the servants of the public, in which the excitement of party is a necessary of life, in which political warfare is reduced to a system of tactics; such a community is not easily reduced to servitude. Beasts of burden may easily be managed by a new master. But will the wild ass submit to the bonds? Will the unicorn serve and abide by the crib? Will leviathan hold out his nostrils to the hook? The mythological conqueror of the east, whose enchantments reduced wild beasts to the tameness of domestic cattle, and who harnessed lions and tigers to his chariot, is but an imperfect type of those extraordinary minds which have thrown a spell on the fierce spirits of nations unaccustomed to control, and have compelled raging factions to obey their reins and swell their triumph. The enterprise, be it good or bad, is one which requires a truly great man. It demands courage, activity, energy, wisdom, firmness, conspicuous virtues, or vices so splendid and alluring as to resemble virtues.

Those who have succeeded in this arduous undertaking form a very small

and a very remarkable class. Parents of tyranny, heirs of freedom, kings among citizens, citizens among kings, they unite in themselves the characteristics of the system which springs from them, and those of the system from which they have sprung. Their reigns shine with a double light, the last and dearest ray of departing freedom mingled with the first and brightest glories of the empire in its dawn.

In this class three men stand pre-eminent, Cæsar, Cromwell, and Bonaparte. The highest place in this remarkable triumvirate belongs undoubtedly to Cæsar. He united the talents of Bonaparte to those of Cromwell; and he possessed also, what neither Cromwell nor Bonaparte possessed, learning, taste, wit, eloquence, the sentiments and the manners of an accomplished gentleman.

Between Cromwell and Napoleon Hallam[p] has instituted a parallel, scarcely less ingenious than that which Burke[q] has drawn between Richard Cœur de Lion and Charles XII of Sweden. In this parallel, however, and indeed throughout his work, we think that he hardly gives Cromwell fair measure. "Cromwell," says he, "far unlike his antitype, never showed any signs of a legislative mind, or any desire to place his renown on that noblest basis, the amelioration of social institutions." The difference in this respect, we conceive, was not in the character of the men, but in the character of the revolutions by means of which they rose to power. The civil war in England had been undertaken to defend and restore; the republicans of France set themselves to destroy. In England, the principles of the common law had never been disturbed, and most even of its forms had been held sacred. In France, the law and its ministers had been swept away together. In France, therefore, legislation necessarily became the first business of the first settled government which rose on the ruins of the old system. The admirers of Inigo Jones have always maintained that his works are inferior to those of Sir Christopher Wren, only because the great fire of London gave Wren such a field for the display of his powers as no architect in the history of the world ever possessed. Similar allowance must be made for Cromwell. If he erected little that was new, it was because there had been no general devastation to clear a space for him. As it was, he reformed the representative system in a most judicious manner. He rendered the administration of justice uniform throughout the island. We will quote a passage from his speech to the parliament in September, 1656, which contains, we think, simple and rude as the diction is, stronger indications of a legislative mind, than are to be found in the whole range of orations delivered on such occasions before or since.

"There is one general grievance in the nation. It is the law. I think, I may say it, I have as eminent judges in this land as have been had, or that the nation has had for these many years. Truly, I could be particular as to the executive part, to the administration; but that would trouble you. But the truth of it is, there are wicked and abominable laws that will be in your power to alter. To hang a man for sixpence, threepence, I know not what — to hang for a trifle, and pardon murder, is in the ministration of the law through the ill framing of it. I have known in my experience abominable murders quitted; and to see men lose their lives for petty matters! This is a thing that God will reckon for; and I wish it may not lie upon this nation a day longer than you have an opportunity to give a remedy; and I hope I shall cheerfully join with you in it."

Hallam truly says that, though it is impossible to rank Cromwell with Napoleon as a general, yet "his exploits were as much above the level of his contemporaries, and more the effects of an original uneducated capacity."

Bonaparte was trained in the best military schools; the army which he led to Italy was one of the finest that ever existed. Cromwell passed his youth and the prime of his manhood in a civil situation. He never looked on war till he was more than forty years old. He had first to form himself, and then to form his troops. Out of raw levies he created an army, the bravest and the best disciplined, the most orderly in peace, and the most terrible in war, that Europe had seen. He called this body into existence. He led it to conquest. He never fought a battle without gaining it. He never gained a battle without annihilating the force opposed to him. Yet his victories were not of the highest glory of his military system. The respect which his troops paid to property, their attachment to the laws and religion of their country, their submission to the civil power, their temperance, their intelligence, their industry, are without parallel. It was after the Restoration that the spirit which their great leader had infused into them was most signally displayed. At the command of the established government, an established government which had no means of enforcing obedience, fifty thousand soldiers, whose backs no enemy had ever seen, either in domestic or in continental war, laid down their arms, and retired into the mass of the people, thenceforward to be distinguished only by superior diligence, sobriety, and regularity in the pursuits of peace, from the other members of the community which they had saved.

In the general spirit and character of his administration, we think Cromwell far superior to Napoleon. "In civil government," says Hallam, "there can be no adequate parallel between one who had sucked only the dregs of a besotted fanaticism, and one to whom the stores of reason and philosophy were open." These expressions, it seems to us, convey the highest eulogium on our great countryman. Reason and philosophy did not teach the conqueror of Europe to command his passions, or to pursue, as a first object, the happiness of his people. They did not prevent him from risking his fame and his power in a frantic contest against the principles of human nature and the laws of the physical world, against the rage of the winter and the liberty of the sea. They did not exempt him from the influence of that most pernicious of superstitions, a presumptuous fatalism. They did not preserve him from the inebriation of prosperity, or restrain him from indecent querulousness in adversity. On the other hand, the fanaticism of Cromwell never urged him on impracticable undertakings, or confused his perception of the public good.

Our countryman, inferior to Bonaparte in invention, was far superior to him in wisdom. The French emperor is among conquerors what Voltaire is among writers, a miraculous child. His splendid genius was frequently clouded by fits of humour as absurdly perverse as those of the pet of the nursery, who quarrels with his food, and dashes his playthings to pieces. Cromwell was emphatically a man. He possessed, in an eminent degree, that masculine and full-grown robustness of mind, that equally diffused intellectual health, which, if our national partiality does not mislead us, has peculiarly characterised the great men of England.

Never was any ruler so conspicuously born for sovereignty. The cup which has intoxicated almost all others sobered him. His spirit, restless from its own buoyancy in a lower sphere, reposed in majestic placidity as soon as it had reached the level congenial to it. Rapidly as his fortunes grew, his mind expanded more rapidly still. Insignificant as a private citizen, he was a great general; he was a still greater prince. Napoleon had a theatrical manner, in which the coarseness of a revolutionary guard-room was blended with the ceremony of the old court of Versailles. Cromwell, by the confession even of his enemies, exhibited in his demeanour the simple and natural nobleness of a

man neither ashamed of his origin nor vain of his elevation, of a man who had found his proper place in society, and who felt secure that he was competent to fill it. Easy, even to familiarity, where his own dignity was concerned, he was punctilious only for his country. His own character he left to take care of itself; he felt it to be defended by his victories in war, and his reforms in peace. But he was a jealous and implacable guardian of the public honour. He suffered a crazy Quaker to insult him in the gallery of Whitehall, and revenged himself only by liberating him and giving him a dinner. But he was prepared to risk the chances of war to avenge the blood of a private Englishman.

No sovereign ever carried to the throne so large a portion of the best qualities of the middling orders, so strong a sympathy with the feelings and interests of his people. He was sometimes driven to arbitrary measures; but he had a high, stout, honest, English heart. Hence it was that he loved to surround his throne with such men as Hale and Blake. Hence it was that he allowed so large a share of political liberty to his subjects, and that, even when an opposition dangerous to his power and to his person almost compelled him to govern by the sword, he was still anxious to leave a germ from which, at a more favourable season, free institutions might spring. We firmly believe that, if his first parliament had not commenced its debates by disputing his title, his government would have been as mild at home as it was energetic and able abroad. He was a soldier; he had risen by war. Had his ambition been of an impure or selfish kind, it would have been easy for him to plunge his country into continental hostilities on a large scale, and to dazzle the restless factions which he ruled, by the splendour of his victories. Some of his enemies have sneeringly remarked, that in the successes obtained under his administration he had no personal share; as if a man who had raised himself from obscurity to empire solely by his military talents could have any unworthy reason for shrinking from military enterprise. This reproach is his highest glory. In the success of the English navy he could have no selfish interest. Its triumphs added nothing to his fame; its increase added nothing to his means of overawing his enemies; its great leader was not his friend. Yet he took a peculiar pleasure in encouraging that noble service which, of all the instruments employed by an English government, is the most impotent for mischief, and the most powerful for good. He placed England at the head of the Protestant interests, and in the first rank of Christian powers. But he did not squander her resources in a vain attempt to invest her with that supremacy which no power, in the modern system of Europe, can safely affect, or can long retain.

This noble and sober wisdom had its reward. If he did not carry the banners of the commonwealth in triumph to distant capitals, if he did not adorn Whitehall with the spoils of the Stadthouse and the Louvre, if he did not portion out Flanders and Germany into principalities for his kinsmen and his generals, he did not, on the other hand, see his country overrun by the armies of nations which his ambition had provoked. He did not drag out the last years of his life an exile and a prisoner, in an unhealthy climate and under an ungenerous gaoler, raging with the impotent desire of vengeance, and brooding over visions of departed glory. He went down to his grave in the fulness of power and fame; and he left to his son an authority which any man of ordinary firmness and prudence would have retained.

But for the weakness of that foolish Ishbosheth, the opinions which we have been expressing would, we believe, now have formed the orthodox creed of good Englishmen. We might now be writing under the government of his

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highness Oliver the Fifth or Richard the Fourth, protector, by the grace of God, of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereto belonging. The form of the great founder of the dynasty, on horseback, as when he led the charge at Naseby, or on foot, as when he took the mace from the table of the commons, would adorn our squares and overlook our public offices from Charing Cross; and sermons in his praise would be duly preached on his lucky day, the third of September, by court-chaplains, guiltless of the abomination of the surplice.

But, though his memory has not been taken under the patronage of any party, though every device has been used to blacken it, though to praise him would long have been a punishable crime, truth and merit at last prevail. Cowards who had trembled at the very sound of his name, tools of office who, like Downing, had been proud of the honour of lacqueying his coach, might insult him in loyal speeches and addresses. Venal poets might transfer to the king the same eulogies, little the worse for wear, which they had bestowed on the protector. A fickle multitude might crowd to shout and scoff round the gibbeted remains of the greatest prince and soldier of the age. But when the Dutch cannon startled an effeminate tyrant in his own palace, when the conquests which had been won by the armies of Cromwell were sold to pamper the harlots of Charles, when Englishmen were sent to fight under foreign banners, against the independence of Europe and the Protestant religion, many honest hearts swelled in secret at the thought of one who had never suffered his country to be ill used by any but himself. It must indeed have been difficult for any Englishman to see the salaried viceroy of France, at the most important crisis of his fate, sauntering through his harem, yawning and talking nonsense over a dispatch, or beslobbering his brother and his courtiers in a fit of maudlin affection, without a respectful and tender remembrance of him before whose genius the young pride of Louis and all the veteran craft of Mazarin had stood rebuked, who had humbled Spain on the land and Holland on the sea, and whose imperial voice had arrested the sails of the Libyan pirates and the persecuting fires of Rome.[r]

Carlyle's Eulogium

As things became gradually manifest, the character of the Puritans began to clear itself. Their memories were, one after another, taken down from the gibbet; nay a certain portion of them are now, in these days, as good as canonised. Eliot, Hampden, Pym, nay Ludlow, Hutchinson, Vane himself, are admitted to be a kind of Heroes; political Conscript Fathers, to whom in no small degree we owe what makes us a free England: it would not be safe for anybody to designate these men as wicked now. Few Puritans of note but find their apologists somewhere, and have a certain reverence paid them by earnest men. One Puritan, I think, and almost he alone, our poor Cromwell, seems to hang yet on the gibbet, and finds no hearty apologist anywhere. Him neither saint nor sinner will acquit of great wickedness. A man of ability, infinite talent, courage, and so forth; but he betrayed the Cause. Selfish ambition, dishonesty, duplicity; a fierce, coarse, hypocritical Tartuffe; turning all that noble Struggle for constitutional Liberty into a sorry farce played for his own benefit: this and worse is the character they give of Cromwell. And then there come contrasts with Washington and others; above all, with these noble Pyms and Hampdens, whose noble work he stole for himself, and ruined into a futility and deformity.

For my own share, far be it from me to say or insinuate a word of disparage-

ment against such characters as Hampden, Eliot, Pym; whom I believe to have been right worthy and useful men. They are very noble men, these; step along in their stately way, with their measured euphemisms, philosophies, parliamentary eloquences, Ship-moneys, *Monarchies of Man;* a most constitutional, unblamable, dignified set of men. But the heart remains cold before them; the fancy alone endeavours to get-up some worship of them. One leaves all these Nobilities standing in their niches of honour : the rugged outcast Cromwell, he is the man of them all in whom one still finds human stuff. The great savage Baresark: he could write no euphemistic *Monarchy of Man;* did not speak, did not work with glib regularity; had no straight story to tell for himself anywhere. But he stood bare, not cased in euphemistic coat-of-mail; he grappled like a giant, face to face, heart to heart, with the naked truth of things! That, after all, is the sort of man for one. I plead guilty to valuing such a man beyond all other sorts of men. Smoothshaven Respectabilities not a few one finds, that are not good for much. Small thanks to a man for keeping his hands clean, who would not touch the work but with gloves on!

From of old, I will confess, this theory of Cromwell's falsity has been incredible to me. Nay I cannot believe the like, of any Great Man whatever. Multitudes of Great Men figure in History as false, selfish men; but if we will consider it, they are but figures for us, unintelligible shadows; we do not see into them as men that could have existed at all. Can a great soul be possible without a conscience in it, the essence of all real souls, great or small? No, we cannot figure Cromwell as a Falsity and Fatuity; the longer I study him and his career, I believe this the less. Why should we? There is no evidence of it. Is it not strange that, after all the mountains of calumny this man has been subject to, after being represented as the very prince of liars, who never, or hardly ever, spoke truth, but always some cunning counterfeit of truth, there should not yet have been one falsehood brought clearly home to him? A prince of liars, and no lie spoken by him. Not one that I could yet get sight of.

Looking at the man's life with our own eyes, it seems to me, a very different hypothesis suggests itself. What little we know of his earlier obscure years, distorted as it has come down to us, does it not all betoken an earnest, affectionate, sincere kind of man? His nervous melancholic temperament indicates rather a seriousness too deep for him. His successes in Parliament, his successes through the war, are honest successes of a brave man; who has more resolution in the heart of him, more light in the head of him than other men. His prayers to God; his spoken thanks to the God of Victory, who had preserved him safe, and carried him forward so far, through the furious clash of a world all set in conflict, through desperate-looking envelopments at Dunbar; through the death-hail of so many battles; mercy after mercy; to the "crowning mercy" of Worcester fight: all this is good and genuine for a deep-hearted Calvinistic Cromwell. Only to vain unbelieving Cavaliers, worshipping not God but their own "lovelocks," frivolities and formalities, living quite apart from contemplations of God, living without God in the world, need it seem hypocritical.

Nor will his participation in the king's death involve him in condemnation with us. It is a stern business killing of a King! But if you once go to war with him, it lies there; this and all else lies there. Once at war, you have made wager of battle with him: it is he to die, or else you. Reconciliation is problematic; may be possible, or, far more likely, is impossible. It is now pretty generally admitted that the parliament, having vanquished Charles

First, had no way of making any tenable arrangement with him. The large Presbyterian party, apprehensive now of the Independents, were most anxious to do so; anxious indeed as for their own existence; but it could not be. The unhappy Charles, in those final Hampton Court negotiations, shows himself as a man fatally incapable of being dealt with.

The Presbyterians, in their despair, were still for believing Charles, though found false, unbelievable again and again. Not so Cromwell: "For all our fighting," says he, "we are to have a little bit of paper?" No!

In fact, everywhere we have to note the decisive practical eye of this man; how he drives towards the practical and practicable; has a genuine insight into what is fact. Such an intellect, I maintain, does not belong to a false man.

Cromwell's Ironsides were the embodiment of this insight of his; men fearing God; and without any other fear. No more conclusively genuine set of fighters ever trod the soil of England, or of any other land.

Neither will we blame greatly that word of Cromwell's to them; which was so blamed: "If the King should meet me in battle, I would kill the King." Why not? These words were spoken to men who stood as before a Higher than Kings. They had set more than their own lives on the cast.

Poor Cromwell — great Cromwell! The inarticulate Prophet; Prophet who could not speak. Rude, confused, struggling to utter himself, with his savage depth, with his wild sincerity; and he looked so strange, among the elegant Euphemisms, dainty little Falklands, didactic Chillingworths, diplomatic Clarendons! Consider him. An outer hull of chaotic confusion, visions of the Devil, nervous dreams, almost semi-madness; and yet such a clear determinate man's-energy in the heart of that. A kind of chaotic man. The ray as of pure starlight and fire, working in such an element of boundless hypochondria, unformed black of darkness! And yet withal this hypochondria, what was it but the very greatness of the man? The depth and tenderness of his wild affections: the quantity of sympathy he had with things — the quantity of insight he would yet get into the heart of things, the mastery he would yet get over things: this was his hypochondria. The man's misery, as man's misery always does, came of his greatness.

In fact there are two errors, widely prevalent, which pervert to the very basis our judgments formed about such men as Cromwell; about their "ambition," "falsity," and suchlike. The first is what I might call substituting the goal of their career for the course and starting-point of it. The vulgar Historian of a Cromwell fancies that he had determined on being Protector of England, at the time when he was ploughing the marsh lands of Cambridgeshire. His career lay all mapped-out: a program of the whole drama; which he then step by step dramatically unfolded, with all manner of cunning, deceptive dramaturgy, as he went on — the hollow, scheming ὑποκριτής or play-actor, that he was! This is a radical perversion; all but universal in such cases. And think for an instant how different the fact is! How much does one of us foresee of his own life? Short way ahead of us it is all dim; an unwound skein of possibilities, of apprehensions, attemptabilities, vague-looming hopes. This Cromwell had not his life lying all in that fashion of Program, which he needed then, with that unfathomable cunning of his, only to enact dramatically, scene after scene! Not so. We see it so; but to him it was in no measure so. What absurdities would fall away of themselves, were this one undeniable fact kept honestly in view by History!

But a second error, which I think the generality commit, refers to this same "ambition" itself. We exaggerate the ambition of great men; we mistake what the nature of it is. Great Men are not ambitious in that sense; he

is a small poor man that is ambitious so. Examine the man who lives in misery because he does not shine above other men; who goes about producing himself, pruriently anxious about his gifts and claims; struggling to force everybody, as it were begging everybody for God's sake, to acknowledge him a great man, and set him over the heads of men! Such a creature is among the wretchedest sights seen under this sun.

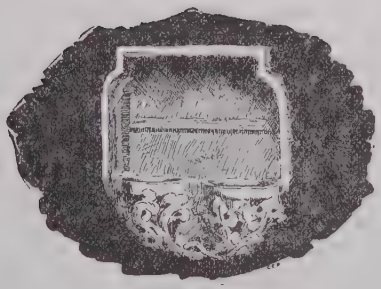
But with regard to Cromwell and his purposes: Hume,[s] and a multitude following him, come upon me here with an admission that Cromwell was sincere at first; a sincere "Fanatic" at first, but gradually became a "Hypocrite" as things opened round him. This of the Fanatic-Hypocrite is Hume's theory of it; extensively applied since — to Mahomet and many others. Think of it seriously, you will find something in it; not much, not all, very far from all. Sincere hero hearts do not sink in this miserable manner. I will venture to say that such never befell a great deep Cromwell; I think, never. Nature's own lion-hearted Son; Antæus-like, his strength is got by touching the Earth, his Mother; lift him up from the Earth, lift him up into Hypocrisy, Inanity, his strength is gone. We will not assert that Cromwell was an immaculate man; that he fell into no faults, no insincerities among the rest. He was no dilettante professor of "perfections," "immaculate conducts." He was a rugged Orson, rending his rough way through actual true work — doubtless with many a fall therein. Insincerities, faults, very many faults daily and hourly: it was too well known to him; known to God and him! Cromwell's last words, as he lay waiting for death, are those of a Christian heroic man. Broken prayers to God, that He would judge him and this Cause, He since man could not, in justice yet in pity. They are most touching words. He breathed out his wild, great soul, its toils and sins all ended now, into the presence of his Maker, in this manner.

I, for one, will not call the man a Hypocrite! Hypocrite, mummer, the life of him a mere theatricality; empty barren quack, hungry for the shouts of mobs? The man had made obscurity do very well for him till his head was gray; and now he was, there as he stood recognised unblamed, the virtual King of England. Cannot a man do without King's Coaches and Cloaks? Is it such a blessedness to have clerks forever pestering you with bundles of papers in red tape? A simple Diocletian prefers planting of cabbages; a George Washington, no very immeasurable man, does the like. One would say, it is what any genuine man could do; and would do. The instant his real work were out in the matter of Kingship — away with it!

One is sorry for Cromwell in his old days. His complaint is incessant of the heavy burden Providence has laid on him. Heavy; which he must bear till death. Old Colonel Hutchinson,[t] as his wife relates it, Hutchinson, his old battlemate, coming to see him on some indispensable business much against his will. Cromwell "follows him to the door," in a most fraternal, domestic, conciliatory style; begs that he would be reconciled to him, his old brother in arms; says how much it grieves him to be misunderstood, deserted by true fellow-soldiers, dear to him from old: the rigorous Hutchinson, cased in his Republican formula, sullenly goes his way. And the man's head now white; his strong arm growing weary with its long work! I think always too of his poor Mother, now very old, living in that Palace of his; a right, brave woman; as indeed they lived all an honest God-fearing Household there: if she heard a shot go-off, she thought it was her son killed. He had to come to her at least once a day, that she might see with her own eyes that he was yet living. The poor old Mother! What had this man gained; what had he gained? He had a life of sore strife and toil, to his last day. Fame,

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ambition, place in History? His dead body was hung in chains; his "place in History" — place in History forsooth! has been a place of ignominy, accusation, blackness and disgrace; and here, this day, who knows if it is not rash in me to be among the first that ever ventured to pronounce him not a knave and liar, but a genuinely honest man! Peace to him. Did he not, in spite of all, accomplish much for us? We walk smoothly over his great rough heroic life; step-over his body sunk in the ditch there. We need not spurn it, as we step on it! Let the Hero rest. It was not to men's judgment that he appealed; nor have men judged him very well.[2]





CHAPTER VI

THE END OF THE COMMONWEALTH

[1658–1660 A.D.]

When revolutions are verging towards their decline, it is a melancholy, but most instructive study to watch the disappointment and anguish of those men who have long been powerful and triumphant, but have at length reached the period when, in just retribution of their faults, their dominion escapes from their grasp, leaving them still subject to the sway of their enlightened and invincible obstinacy. Not only are they divided among themselves, like all rivals who have once been accomplices, but they are detested as oppressors and decried as visionaries by the nation; and, stricken at once with powerlessness and bitter surprise, they burn with indignation against their country, which they accuse of cowardice and ingratitude. Such after the death of Cromwell, was the condition of all those parties which, since the execution of Charles I, had been contending for the government of England as established by the revolution: republicans and partisans of the protector, parliamentarians and soldiers, fanatics and political intriguers, — all, whether sincere or corrupt, were involved in the same fate. — GUIZOT.[b]

By his wife, Elizabeth Bourchier, Cromwell left two sons, Richard and Henry. There was a remarkable contrast in the opening career of these young men. During the civil war, Richard lived in the Temple, frequented the company of the cavaliers, and spent his time in gaiety and debauchery. Henry repaired to his father's quarters, and so rapid was his promotion, that at the age of twenty he held the commission of captain in the regiment of guards belonging to Fairfax, the lord-general. After the establishment of the commonwealth, Richard married, and, retiring to the house of his father-in-law, at Hursley in Hampshire, devoted himself to the usual pursuits of a country gentleman. Henry accompanied his father in the reduction of Ireland, which country he afterwards governed, first with the rank of major-general, afterwards with that of lord-deputy. It was not till the second year

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of the protectorate that Cromwell seemed to recollect that he had an elder son. He made him a lord of trade, then chancellor of the university of Oxford, and lastly a member of the new house of peers. As these honours were far inferior to those which he lavished on other persons connected with his family, it was inferred that he entertained a mean opinion of Richard's abilities. A more probable conclusion is, that he feared to alarm the jealousy of his officers, and carefully abstained from doing that which might confirm the general suspicion, that he designed to make the protectorship hereditary in his family.

The moment he expired, the council assembled, and the result of their deliberation was an order to proclaim Richard Cromwell protector, on the ground that he had been declared by his late highness his successor in that dignity. Not a murmur of opposition was heard; the ceremony was performed in all places after the usual manner of announcing the accession of a new sovereign; and addresses of condolence and congratulation poured in from the army and navy, from one hundred congregational churches, and from the boroughs, cities, and counties. It seemed as if free-born Britons had been converted into a nation of slaves. These compositions were drawn up in the highest strain of adulation, adorned with forced allusions from Scripture, and with all the extravagance of oriental hyperbole. "Their sun was set, but no night had followed. They had lost the nursing father, by whose hand the yoke of bondage had been broken from the necks and consciences of the godly. Providence by one sad stroke had taken away the breath from their nostrils, and smitten the head from their shoulders; but had given them in return the noblest branch of that renowned stock, a prince distinguished by the lovely composition of his person, but still more by the eminent qualities of his mind. The late protector had been a Moses to lead God's people out of the land of Egypt; his son would be a Joshua to conduct them into a more full possession of truth and righteousness. Elijah had been taken into heaven: Elisha remained on earth, the inheritor of his mantle and his spirit!"

The royalists, who had persuaded themselves that the whole fabric of the protectorial power would fall in pieces on the death of Cromwell, beheld with amazement the general acquiescence in the succession of Richard; and the foreign princes, who had deemed it prudent to solicit the friendship of the father, now hastened to offer their congratulations to his son. Yet, fair and tranquil as the prospect appeared, an experienced eye might easily detect the elements of an approaching storm. Meetings were clandestinely held by the officers; doubts were whispered of the nomination of Richard by his father; and an opinion was encouraged among the military that, as the commonwealth was the work of the army, so the chief office in the commonwealth belonged to the commander of the army. On this account the protectorship had been bestowed on Cromwell; but his son was one who had never drawn his sword in the cause; and to suffer the supreme power to devolve on him was to disgrace, to disinherit, the men who had suffered so severely, and bled so profusely, in the contest. These complaints had probably been suggested, they were certainly fomented, by Cromwell's son-in-law, Fleetwood, and his friends, the colonels Cooper, Berry, and Sydenham. Fleetwood was brave in the field; but irresolute in council; eager for the acquisition of power, but continually checked by scruples of conscience; attached by principle to republicanism, but ready to acquiesce in every change, under the pretence of submission to the decrees of Providence. Cromwell, who knew the man, had raised him to the second command in the army, and fed his ambition with distant and delusive hopes of succeeding to the supreme magistracy.

The protector died, and Fleetwood, instead of acting, hesitated, prayed,

and consulted; the propitious moment was suffered to pass by; he assented to the opinion of the council in favour of Richard; and then, repenting of his weakness, sought to indemnify himself for the loss by confining the authority of the protector to the civil administration, and procuring for himself the sole, uncontrolled command of the army. Under the late government, the meetings of military officers had been discountenanced and forbidden; now they were encouraged to meet and consult; and, in a body of more than two hundred individuals, they presented to Richard a petition, by which they demanded that no officer should be deprived, but by sentence of a court-martial, and that the chief command of the forces, and the disposal of commissions, should be conferred on some person whose past services had proved his attachment to the cause. There were not wanting those who advised the protector to extinguish the hopes of the factious at once by arresting and imprisoning the chiefs; but more moderate counsels prevailed, and in a firm but conciliatory speech, the composition of Secretary Thurloe, he replied that, to gratify their wishes, he had appointed his relative, Fleetwood, lieutenant-general of all the forces; but that to divest himself of the chief command, and of the right of giving or resuming commissions, would be to act in defiance of the Humble Petition and Advice, the instrument by which he held the supreme authority.

For a short time they appeared satisfied; but the chief officers continued to hold meetings in the chapel at St. James's, ostensibly for the purpose of prayer, but in reality for the convenience of deliberation. Fresh jealousies were excited; it was said that another commander (Henry Cromwell was meant) would be placed above Fleetwood; Thurloe, Pierrepoint, and St. John were denounced as evil counsellors; and it became evident to all attentive observers that the two parties must soon come into collision. The protector could depend on the armies in Ireland and Scotland. In Ireland, his brother Henry governed without an opponent; in Scotland, Monk, by his judicious separation of the troops, and his vigilance in the enforcement of discipline, had deprived the discontented of the means of holding meetings and of corresponding with each other. In England he was assured of the services of eight colonels, and therefore, as it was erroneously supposed, of their respective regiments, forming one half of the regular force. But his opponents were masters of the other half, constituted the majority in the council, and daily augmented their numbers by the accession of men who secretly leaned to republican principles, or sought to make an interest in that party which they considered the more likely to prevail in the approaching struggle.

From the notice of these intrigues the public attention was withdrawn by the obsequies of the late protector. It was resolved that they should exceed in magnificence those of any former sovereign, and with that view they were conducted according to the ceremonial observed at the interment of Philip II of Spain. Somerset House was selected for the first part of the exhibition. The spectators, having passed through three rooms hung with black cloth, were admitted into the funereal chamber; where, surrounded with wax-lights, was seen an effigy of Cromwell clothed in royal robes, and lying on a bed of state, which covered, or was supposed to cover, the coffin. On each side lay different parts of his armour: in one hand was placed the sceptre, in the other the globe; and behind the head an imperial crown rested on a cushion in a chair of state. But, in defiance of every precaution it became necessary to inter the body before the appointed day; and the coffin was secretly deposited at night in a vault at the west end of the middle aisle of Westminster Abbey, under a gorgeous cenotaph which had recently been erected.

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The effigy was now removed to a more spacious chamber; it rose from a recumbent to an erect posture; and stood before the spectators not only with the emblems of royalty in its hands, but with the crown upon its head. For eight weeks this pageant was exhibited to the public. Thus did Fortune sport with the ambitious prospects of Cromwell. The honours of royalty which she refused to him during his life, she lavished on his remains after death; and then, in the course of a few months, resuming her gifts, exchanged the crown for a halter, and the royal monument in the abbey for an ignominious grave at Tyburn.[1]

RICHARD CROMWELL AND HIS UNRULY PARLIAMENT

In a few days after the funeral of his father, to the surprise of the public, the protector summoned a parliament. How, it was asked, could Richard hope to control such an assembly, when the genius and authority of Oliver had proved unequal to the attempt? The difficulty was acknowledged; but the arrears of the army, the exhaustion of the treasury, and the necessity of seeking support against the designs of the officers, compelled him to hazard the experiment; and he flattered himself with the hope of success, by avoiding the rock on which, in the opinion of his advisers, the policy of his father had split. Oliver had adopted the plan of representation prepared by the Long Parliament before its dissolution, a plan which, by disfranchising the lesser boroughs, and multiplying the members of the counties, had rendered the elections more independent of the government: Richard, under the pretence of a boon to the nation, reverted to the ancient system[2]; and, if we may credit the calculation of his opponents, no fewer than one hundred and sixty members were returned from the boroughs by the interest of the court and its supporters. But to adopt the same plan in the conquered countries of Scotland and Ireland would have been dangerous; thirty representatives were therefore summoned from each; and, as the elections were conducted under the eyes of the commanders of the forces, the members, with one solitary exception, proved themselves the obsequious servants of government.

It was, however, taken as no favourable omen, that when the protector, at the opening of parliament (Jan. 27th, 1659), commanded the attendance of the commons in the house of lords, nearly one-half of the members refused to obey. They were unwilling to sanction by their presence the existence of an authority, the legality of which they intended to dispute: or to admit the superior rank of the new peers, the representatives of the protector, over themselves, the representatives of the people. As soon as the lower house was constituted, it divided itself into three distinct parties. 1. The protectorists formed about one-half of the members. They had received instructions to adhere inviolably to the provisions of the Humble Petition and Advice, and to consider the government by a single person, with the aid of two houses, as the unalterable basis of the constitution. 2. The republicans, who did not amount to fifty, but compensated for deficiency in number by their energy and eloquence. Vane, Haslerig, Lambert, Ludlow, Neville, Bradshaw, and Scott, were ready debaters. With them voted Fairfax, who, after a long

[1] The charge for black cloth alone on this occasion was six thousand nine hundred and twenty-nine pounds, six shillings, and fivepence.

[2] The old representative system was to be restored. Small and decayed boroughs, which had been disfranchised, were again to elect burgesses. Commercial towns, such as Manchester, which had grown into importance, were again to cease to have members. The loss of ancient privileges by petty communities had given more offence than the gain of new franchises by large sections of the people had afforded satisfaction. — KNIGHT.[c]

retirement, appeared once more on the stage. So artfully did he act his part that, though a royalist at heart, he was designed by them for the office of lord-general, in the event of the expulsion or the abdication of Richard. 3. The "moderates or neuters" held in number the medium between the protectorists and republicans. Of these, some wavered between the two parties; but many were concealed cavaliers, who, in obedience to the command of Charles, had obtained seats in the house, or young men who, without any fixed political principles, suffered themselves to be guided by the suggestions of the cavaliers.

To the latter, Hyde had sent instructions that they should embarrass the plans of the protector, by denouncing to the house the illegal acts committed under the late administration; by impeaching Thurloe and the principal officers of state; by fomenting the dissension between the courtiers and the republicans; and by throwing their weight into the scale, sometimes in favour of one, sometimes of the other party, as might appear most conducive to the interests of the royal exile. The lords, aware of the insecure footing on which they stood, were careful not to provoke the hostility of the commons. They sent no messages; they passed no bills; but exchanging matters of state for questions of religion, contrived to spend their time in discussing the form of a national catechism, the sinfulness of theatrical entertainments, and the papal corruptions supposed to exist in the Book of Common Prayer.

In the lower house, the first subject which called forth the strength of the different parties was a bill which, under the pretence of recognising Richard Cromwell for the rightful successor to his father, would have pledged the parliament to an acquiescence in the existing form of government. The men of republican principles instantly took the alarm. Each day the debate grew more animated and personal; charges were made, and recriminations followed: the republicans enumerated the acts of misrule and oppression under the government of the late protector; the courtiers balanced the account with similar instances from the proceedings of their adversaries during the sway of the Long Parliament. Weariness at last induced the combatants to listen to a compromise, that the recognition of Richard as protector should form part of a future bill, but that at the same time, his prerogative should be so limited as to secure the liberties of the people. From the office of protector, the members proceeded to inquire into the constitution and powers of the other house; and this question, as it was intimately connected with the former, was debated with equal warmth and pertinacity.

The new lords had little reason to be gratified with the result. They were acknowledged, indeed, as a house of parliament for the present; but there was no admission of their claim of the peerage, or of a negative voice, or of a right to sit in subsequent parliaments. The commons consented "to transact business with them" (a new phrase of undefined meaning), pending the parliament, but with a saving of the rights of the ancient peers, who had been faithful to the cause; and, in addition, a few days later (April 8th), they resolved that, in the transaction of business, no superiority should be admitted in the other house, nor message received from it, unless brought by the members themselves. On all questions, whenever there was a prospect of throwing impediments in the way of the ministry, or of inflaming the discontent of the people, the royalists zealously lent their aid to the republican party. It was proved that, while the revenue had been doubled, the expenditure had grown in a greater proportion; complaints were made of oppression, waste, embezzlement, and tyranny in the collection of the excise: the inhumanity of selling obnoxious individuals for slaves to the West India planters was severely

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reprobated; instances of extortion were daily announced to the house by the committee of grievances.

THE DISCONTENT IN THE ARMY

But, while these proceedings awakened the hopes and gratified the resentments of the people, they at the same time spread alarm through the army; every man conscious of having abused the power of the sword began to tremble for his own safety; and an unusual ferment, the sure presage of military violence, was observable at the head-quarters of the several regiments.

Hitherto the general officers had been divided between Whitehall and Wallingford House, the residences of Richard and of Fleetwood. At Whitehall, the Lord Fauconberg, brother-in-law to the protector, Charles Howard, whom Oliver had created a viscount, Ingoldsby, Whalley, Goffe, and a few others, formed a military council for the purpose of maintaining the ascendancy of Richard in the army. At Wallingford House, Fleetwood and his friends consulted how they might deprive him of the command, and reduce him to the situation of a civil magistrate; but now a third and more numerous council appeared at St. James's, consisting of most of the inferior officers, and guided by the secret intrigues of Lambert, who, holding no commission himself, abstained from sitting among them, and by the open influence of Desborough, a bold and reckless man, who began to despise the weak and wavering conduct of Fleetwood. Here originated the plan of a general council of officers, which was followed by the adoption of The Humble Representation and Petition, an instrument composed in language too moderate to give reasonable cause of offence, but intended to suggest much more than it was thought prudent to express. It made no allusion to the disputed claim of the protector, or the subjects of strife between the two houses; but it complained bitterly of the contempt into which the good old cause had sunk.

This paper, with six hundred signatures, was presented to Richard, who received it with an air of cheerfulness, and forwarded it to the lower house. There it was read, laid on the table, and scornfully neglected. But the military leaders treated the house with equal scorn; having obtained the consent of the protector, they established a permanent council of general officers; and then, instead of fulfilling the expectations with which they had lulled his jealousy, successively voted, that the common cause was in danger, that the command of the army ought to be vested in a person possessing its confidence, and that every officer should be called upon to testify his approbation of the death of Charles I, and of the subsequent proceedings of the military; a measure levelled against the meeting at Whitehall, of which the members were charged with a secret leaning to the cause of royalty. This was sufficiently alarming; but, in addition, the officers of the trained bands signified their adhesion to the Representation of the army; and more than six hundred privates of the regiment formerly commanded by Colonel Pride published their determination to stand by their officers in the maintenance "of the old cause."

The friends of the protector saw that it was time to act with energy; and, by their influence in the lower house, carried the following votes (April 18th): that no military meetings should be held without the joint consent of the protector and the parliament, and that every officer should forfeit his commission who would not promise, under his signature, never to disturb the sitting, or infringe the freedom of parliament. These votes met, indeed, with a violent opposition in the "other house," in which many of the members had

been chosen from the military; but the courtiers, anxious to secure the victory, proposed another and declaratory vote in the commons, that the command of the army was vested in the three estates, to be exercised by the protector. By the officers this motion was considered as an open declaration of war: they instantly met; and Desborough, in their name, informed Richard that the crisis was at last come; the parliament must be dissolved, either by the civil authority, or by the power of the sword. He might make his election. If he chose the first, the army would provide for his dignity and support; if he did not, he would be abandoned to his fate, and fall friendless and unpitied. The protector called a council of his confidential advisers. Whitelocke opposed the dissolution, on the ground that a grant of money might yet appease the discontent of the military. Thurloe, Broghill, Fiennes and Wolseley maintained, on the contrary, that the dissension between the parliament and the army was irreconcilable; and that on the first shock between them, the cavaliers would rise simultaneously in the cause of Charles Stuart.

A commission was accordingly signed by Richard, and the usher of the black rod repeatedly summoned the commons to attend in the other house. But true to their former vote of receiving no message brought by inferior officers, they refused to obey; some members proposed to declare it treason to put force on the representatives of the nation, others to pronounce all proceedings void whenever a portion of the members should be excluded by violence; at last they adjourned for three days, and accompanied the speaker to his carriage in the face of the soldiery assembled at the door. These proceedings, however, did not prevent Fiennes, the head commissioner, from dissolving the parliament; and the important intelligence was communicated to the three nations by proclamation in the same afternoon of April 22nd. Whether the consequences of this measure, so fatal to the interests of Richard, were foreseen by his advisers, may be doubted. By the dissolution Richard had signed his own deposition; though he continued to reside at Whitehall, the government fell into abeyance; even the officers, who had hitherto frequented his court, abandoned him, some to appease, by their attendance at Wallingford House, the resentment of their adversaries, the others, to provide by their absence, for their own safety. If the supreme authority resided any where, it was with Fleetwood, who now held the nominal command of the army; but he and his associates were controlled both by the meeting of officers at St. James's, and by the consultations of the republican party in the city; and therefore contented themselves with depriving the friends of Richard of their commissions, and with giving their regiments to the men who had been cashiered by his father.

Unable to agree on any form of government among themselves, they sought to come to an understanding with the republican leaders. These demanded the restoration of the Long Parliament, on the ground that, as its interruption by Cromwell had been illegal, it was still the supreme authority in the nation; and the officers, unwilling to forfeit the privileges of their new peerage, insisted on the reproduction of the other house, as a co-ordinate authority, under the less objectionable name of a senate. But the country was now in a state of anarchy; the intentions of the armies in Scotland and Ireland remained uncertain; and the royalists, both Presbyterians and cavaliers, were exerting themselves to improve the general confusion to the advantage of the exiled king. As a last resource, the officers, by an instrument in which they regretted their past errors and backsliding, invited the members of the Long Parliament to resume the trust of which they had been unrighteously deprived. With some difficulty, two-and-forty were privately collected in

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the Painted Chamber; Lenthall, the former speaker, after much entreaty, put himself at their head, and the whole body passed into the house through two lines of officers, some of whom were the very individuals by whom, six years before, they had been ignominiously expelled.

THE RECALL OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT: THE RUMP (MAY 7TH, 1659)

The reader will recollect that, on a former occasion, in the year 1648, the Presbyterian members of the Long Parliament had been excluded by the army. Of these, one hundred and ninety-four were still alive, eighty of whom actually resided in the capital. That they had as good a right to resume their seats as the members who had been expelled by Cromwell could hardly be doubted; but they were royalists, still adhering to the principles which they professed during the treaty in the Isle of Wight, and from their number, had they been admitted, would have instantly outvoted the advocates of republicanism.

They assembled in Westminster Hall; and a deputation of fourteen, with Sir George Booth, Prynne, and Annesley at their head, proceeded to the house. The doors were closed in their faces; a company of soldiers, the keepers, as they were sarcastically called, of the liberties of England, filled the lobby; and a resolution was passed (May 9th) that no former member who had not subscribed the Engagement, should sit till further order of parliament. The attempt, however, though it failed of success, produced its effect. It served to countenance a belief that the sitting members were mere tools of the military, and supplied the royalists with the means of masking their real designs under the popular pretence of vindicating the freedom of parliament. By gradual additions, the house at last amounted to seventy members, who, while they were ridiculed by their adversaries with the appellation of the "Rump," constituted themselves the supreme authority in the three kingdoms. They appointed, first, a committee of safety, and then a council of state, notified the foreign ministers of restoration to power, and, to satisfy the people, promised by a printed declaration to establish a form of government, which should secure civil and religious liberty without a single person, or kingship, or house of lords. The farce of addresses was renewed; the "children of Zion," the asserters of the good old cause, clamorously displayed their joy; and heaven was fatigued with prayers for the prosperity and permanence of the new government.

That government at first depended for its existence on the good-will of the military in the neighbourhood of London; gradually it obtained promises of support from the forces at a distance. Monk, with his officers, wrote to the speaker, congratulating him and his colleagues on their restoration to power, and hypocritically thanking them for their condescension in taking up so heavy a burthen; but, at the same time, reminding them of the services of Oliver Cromwell, and of the debt of gratitude which the nation owed to his family. Lockhart hastened to tender the services of the regiments in Flanders, and received in return a renewal of his credentials as ambassador, with a commission to attend the conferences between the ministers of France and Spain at Fuenterrabia. Montague followed with a letter from the fleet; but his professions of attachment were received with distrust. To balance his influence with the seamen, Lawson received the command of a squadron destined to cruise in the Channel; and, to watch his conduct in the Baltic, three commissioners, with Algernon Sydney at their head, were joined with him in his mission to the two northern courts.

THE RETIREMENT OF THE CROMWELLS (1659 A.D.)

There still remained the army in Ireland. From Henry Cromwell, a soldier possessing the affections of the military, and believed to inherit the abilities of his father, an obstinate, and perhaps successful, resistance was anticipated. But he wanted decision. Three parties had presented themselves to his choice; to earn, by the promptitude of his acquiescence, the gratitude of the new government; or to maintain by arms the right of his deposed brother; or to declare, as he was strongly solicited to declare, in favour of Charles Stuart. Much time was lost in consultation. While he thus wavered from project to project, some of his officers ventured to profess their attachment to the commonwealth, the privates betrayed a disinclination to separate their cause from that of their comrades in England, and Sir Hardress Waller, in the interest of the parliament, surprised the castle of Dublin (June 15th). The last stroke reduced Henry at once to the condition of a suppliant; he signified his submission by a letter to the speaker, obeyed the commands of the house to appear before the council, and on July 6th, having explained to them the state of Ireland, was graciously permitted to retire into the obscurity of private life.[1] The civil administration of the island devolved on five commissioners, and (July 18th) the command of the army was given to Ludlow, with the rank of lieutenant-general of the horse.



English House, Fifteenth Century

But the republican leaders soon discovered that they had not been called to repose on a bed of roses. The officers at Wallingford House began to dictate to the men whom they had made their nominal masters, and forwarded to them fifteen demands, under the modest title of "the things which they had on their minds," when they restored the Long Parliament. The house took them successively into consideration. A committee was appointed to report the form of government the best calculated to secure the liberties of the people; the duration of the existing parliament was limited to twelve months; freedom of worship was extended to all believers in the Scriptures and the doctrine of the Trinity, with the usual exception of prelatists and papists; and an act of oblivion, after many debates, was passed, but so encumbered with provisoes and exceptions, that it served rather to irritate than appease. The officers had requested (July 12th) that lands of inheritance, to the annual value of £10,000, should be settled on Richard Cromwell, and a yearly pension of £8,000 on "her highness dowager," his mother. But it was observed in the house that, though Richard exercised no authority, he continued to occupy the state apartments at Whitehall; and a suspicion existed that he was kept

[1] Henry Cromwell resided on his estate of Swinney Abbey, near Soham, in Cambridgeshire, till his death in 1674.

there as an object of terror, to intimate to the members that the same power could again set him up, which had so recently brought him down.

By repeated messages, he was ordered to retire; and, on his promise to obey, the parliament granted him the privilege of freedom from arrest during six months; transferred his private debts, amounting to £29,640, to the account of the nation, gave him £2,000 as a relief to his present necessities, and voted that a yearly income of £10,000 should be settled on him and his heirs, a grant easily made on paper, but never carried into execution.

Ludlow[d] makes the present £20,000; but the sum of £2,000 is written at length in the Journals; May 25. While he was at Whitehall, he entertained proposals from the royalists according to Clarendon,[e] consented to accept a title and £20,000 a year, and designed to escape to the fleet under Montague, but was too strictly watched to effect his purpose.[f]

Of Richard Cromwell's character W. H. S. Aubrey has written:[a] "He was an amiable, accomplished, but somewhat indolent country gentleman; with no capacity for ruling, no special force of character, and no taste for public affairs; though he had been a member of parliament and of the upper house. Strictly speaking, he never possessed supreme authority; for he was supplanted before acquiring it. He could not bend the bow of Odysseus. If he was timid, inert, and irresolute, he was also disinterested and patriotic. He did not use his high position for his own advantage, nor secure a competence prior to his own retirement, as he might have done. He quietly stepped aside, May 29th, 1659, into the private life and the rural pursuits that he loved. The men who profited by his self-abnegation afterwards wrote of him as a milksop, a poor creature, a poltroon, and as Tumble-down Dick. In Dryden's trenchant satire of 'Absalom and Achitophel,' he stands for Ishbosheth; as his father is represented by Saul.

"Such epithets and such a characterisation of Richard are wholly undeserved. True, he had not a scintilla of his father's genius, nor any of his firmness of purpose and resolute action; but he was by no means a fool or a coward."[g]

After his quiet abdication, Richard retired to his family estate at Hursley, Hampshire; but the necessity of paying the enormous public funeral expenses of his father, which parliament had promised to defray, so embarrassed his resources that he withdrew to Paris where he spent most of his life until 1680, when he returned to England, and died at Cheshunt, in 1712, aged eighty-six. Dr. Isaac Watts, who was his intimate friend, said that he never alluded to his former glory but once, and then indirectly.[a]

THE COMMONWEALTH RESTORED

The great object of the parliament was now, as Ludlow[d] expresses it, to provide "that for the future no man might have an opportunity to pack an army to serve his ambition." For this purpose two bills were passed; the one nominating a committee of seven persons to recommend officers to the house; the other making Fleetwood commander-in-chief, but only for the present session, or till they should take further order therein, and directing that the officers approved of by the parliament should receive their commissions not from him but from the speaker. These restrictions were opposed by Ludlow, Vane, and Salloway, as needless and only tending to disgust the army, but the fervent zeal of Haslerig, Sidney, and Neville, would hearken to no suggestions of prudence. Notice being given to the officers that it was expected they would take new commissions from the speaker, a council was

held at Desborough's house, at which Ludlow and Haslerig, who now had regiments, attended. The officers were very high; Desborough even said, that he thought the commission he had as good as any the parliament could give, and that he would not take another. But the next morning (June 8th) Colonel Hacker and his officers came at the persuasion of Haslerig, and took their commissions from the speaker, and the ice being now broken, others followed. Fleetwood took his the day following, and Lambert soon after. It was voted at this time (June 6th) "that this parliament shall not continue longer than May 7th, 1660."

While the republican oligarchs were thus employed, the royalists were by no means idle. Negotiations had been carried on with the leading Presbyterians, and they were now all pledged to the royal cause. Richard Cromwell had been offered a title and 20,000*l.* a year; his brother was also solicited, and he at one time, as we have seen, is said to have meditated declaring for the king. Fleetwood, Lambert, and Monk also were applied to. A general rising on the 1st of August was arranged, and the king and his brothers were at the same time to pass over with the troops which they had assembled.

BOOTH'S RISING, AND THE WALLINGFORD HOUSE PETITIONS

Willis still kept up his correspondence with Thurloe, and the parliament was thus put in possession of their secrets. His treachery however was at this time discovered through Morland, the secretary of Thurloe, who forwarded to the court at Bruges some of Willis's communications in his own hand-writing. Willis, after his usual manner, when the government had been put on its guard by himself, represented to the Knot that the project was now hopeless, and persuaded them to write circulars forbidding the rising (July 29).

Accordingly, it was only in Cheshire that it took place, where Sir George Booth called on the people, without mentioning the king, to rise and demand a free parliament. He took possession of Chester, where he was joined by the earl of Derby, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Sir Thomas Middleton, and other royalists. But their spirits were damped when they learned that their friends all remained inactive, and that Lambert was advancing against them with four regiments of horse and three of foot. They moved to Nantwich, intending to dispute the passage of the Weever; but Lambert easily forced it, and their men broke and fled at his approach (Aug. 16). Colonel Morgan and about thirty men were killed, and three hundred were made prisoners. The earl of Derby was taken in the disguise of a servant, and Booth, as he was on his way to London, dressed as a woman, was discovered at Newport Pagnel in Buckinghamshire.

Lambert hastened up to London, leaving his army to follow by slow marches. A sum of 1,000*l.* which was voted him, he distributed among his officers, and shortly after (Sept. 14th) they sent up from Derby a petition (secretly transmitted to them from Wallingford House), requiring that there should be no limitation of time in Fleetwood's commission, that Lambert should be major-general, that no officer should be deprived of his commission except by sentence of a court-martial, etc. This petition having been shown to Haslerig by Fleetwood (22nd), he hastened into the house, and having caused the doors to be locked, moved that Lambert and two other officers should be taken into custody. But on Fleetwood's asserting that Lambert knew nothing of it, they contented themselves with passing a vote expressive of their dislike of the petition; and it was resolved "that to augment the number of general officers was needless, chargeable, and dangerous."

[1659 A.D.]

Several meetings were now held at Wallingford House, and another petition was drawn up, which was presented (Oct. 5th) by Desborough and other officers. It was in substance the same as the former, but it further demanded that those who groundlessly informed the house against their servants should be brought to justice. This was aimed at Haslerig and his friends. The house in the usual manner returned them thanks for their good expressions, but soon after (on the 11th) a vote was passed, making it treason to raise money without consent of parliament. Next day Lambert, Desborough, and seven other colonels were deprived of their commissions for having sent a copy of the petition to Colonel Okey, and by another vote Fleetwood's office was taken away, and he and six other persons were nominated to form a board for the direction of the forces. Haslerig having thus thrown down the gauntlet, prepared for defence. He reckoned on the armies of Scotland and Ireland, the regiments of Hacker, Morley, and Okey; and some others about London had assured him of their fidelity, and the parliament had a guard of chosen horse, under Major Evelyn. Orders were given for these troops to move to Westminster, and early in the morning of the 13th the regiments of Morley and Moss, with some troops of horse, occupied the palace-yard and the avenues of the house. Lambert, on the other hand, drew together his men, and posted them in King street and about the abbey.

The two parties faced each other, but the men were loath to fight against their brothers in arms, and their officers did not urge them. When Lenthall the speaker [who claimed to be the chief commander] came up in his coach, Lambert sneeringly ordered one of his officers to conduct the "lord-general" to Whitehall, but he was suffered to return to his own house. The council of state then met, and after a good deal of altercation it was agreed that the parliament was not to sit, that the council of officers should keep the public peace, and cause a form of government to be drawn up, which should be laid before a new parliament speedily to be summoned.[1] Fleetwood was declared to be commander-in-chief, with full powers, Lambert major-general, and a committee of safety was appointed. To ascertain the feelings of the armies in Ireland and Scotland, Colonel Barrow was sent to the former country, and Colonel Cobbet to the latter. Barrow found the officers and men wavering and divided; Cobbet was imprisoned by Monk, who declared for the parliament.

GENERAL MONK TAKES THE REINS

The conduct of Monk, who now becomes the principal object of attention, is ambiguous beyond example. He had early served under Goring in the Netherlands; he was in the royal army in Ireland, and was made a prisoner at Nantwich; he remained in the Tower till the end of the war, when he got a command in Ireland; he attached himself strongly to Cromwell, by whom the government of Scotland was confided to him; he continued his attachment to Cromwell's family, and he wrote to Richard a most judicious letter, pointing out the best modes of securing his power. Monk was no speculative republican, he was no fanatic in religion, though much influenced by his wife, who was a Presbyterian. He was a man of a phlegmatic temper, and of impenetrable secrecy. The royalists always had hopes of him; and it is not improbable, that now seeing the power of Cromwell's house gone, his secret

[1 "By an agreement between mutual weaknesses the Long Parliament retired noiselessly from that hall from which Cromwell six years before, had driven it so ignominiously; and Lambert, the paltry imitator of Cromwell, remained master of the field without having achieved a victory."— GUYOT.[b]]

plan was to aid, if it could be done with safety, in restoring the king. The first care of Monk was to secure Edinburgh castle and Leith fort, and to occupy Berwick. When this was known in London, it was resolved that Lambert should march against him; and he set out forthwith for the north (Nov. 3rd), having previously exacted a promise from Fleetwood, that he would come to no agreement with either the king or Haslerig without his approbation.

Monk meantime went on re-modelling his army: those of his officers who were of the Wallingford House party having resigned their commissions, he supplied their places with such as he could depend on; he also displaced many who had been put in by the parliament. As his treasury and magazines were well supplied, and he knew that his opponents wanted money, he sought to procrastinate; he therefore sent deputies to London, and on their return pretending that the agreement which they had concluded was somewhat obscure, he opened a negotiation with Lambert, who was at Newcastle, in order to have it explained. Meanwhile he went on re-forming his army, dismissing even the privates of whom he was not certain, and supplying their place with Scots. He held a convention of the Scottish estates at Berwick, and having commended the peace of the country to them during his absence, and obtained a grant of money (Dec. 6th), he fixed his headquarters at Coldstream, where he still continued to amuse Lambert with negotiations.

Meantime the cause of the army was losing ground in city and country. The apprentices in London had frequent scuffles with the soldiers; an attempt was made to seize the Tower; Admiral Lawson declared for the parliament, and brought his fleet up to Gravesend; Whetham, governor of Portsmouth, admitted Haslerig and Morley into the town, and the troops sent against them went over to them; the Isle of Wight declared for the parliament. At length the soldiers themselves abandoned their officers, and putting themselves under the command of Okey and Alured, they assembled (Dec. 24th) in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and having declared for the parliament, marched by Lenthall's house, in Chancery Lane, and saluted him as their general. On the 26th, the speaker and those members who were in town walked to the house, the soldiers shouting and cheering them as they passed. Haslerig returned in triumph, and the Rump once more flourished. Fleetwood had on his knees surrendered his commission to the speaker; Lambert, Desborough, and others, made their submissions in the humblest manner, but they were all confined to their houses at a distance from London. The army was re-modelled; not less than fifteen hundred officers being discharged. The Rump proceeded to punish such members as had been of the late committee of safety; Vane was expelled, and ordered to retire to his house at Raby; Salloway was sent to the Tower; Whitelocke had to resign the great seal, and narrowly escaped being committed also. Charges of treason were made against Ludlow and others.

A new council of state was appointed, and an oath, renouncing kingship and the Stuarts in the strongest terms, was imposed on all members of the parliament. Meantime, Lord Fairfax and Monk had arranged that on the same day (Jan. 1st, 1660), the latter should cross the Tweed, and the former should seize the city of York. The engagement was punctually performed; the royalists in York opened the gates and admitted Fairfax. Though the weather was severe, Monk continued his march; Lambert's troops having obeyed the orders sent to them to disperse, no opposition was encountered; and having stayed five days to consult with Fairfax at York, Monk resumed his march for the capital (16th), the invitation to do so being now arrived. It was Fairfax's advice that he should remain in the north, and there proclaim the king, but he said it would be dangerous in the present temper of his officers; in fact,

at York he caned one of them for charging him with this design. At Nottingham on the 21st they were near signing an engagement to obey the parliament in all things "except the bringing in of Charles Stuart." At Leicester, on the 23rd, Monk was obliged to sign an answer to a petition from his native county, Devon, giving it as his opinion, that monarchy could not be restored, that it would be dangerous to recall the secluded members, and advising submission to the present parliament. At this town he was joined by Scott and Robinson, two of the members sent, as it were, to do him honour, but in reality to discover his intentions. He treated them with great respect, and always referred to them the bearers of the numerous addresses that were presented to him, for the restoration of the secluded members and "a free parliament."

The troops which Monk had brought with him did not exceed five thousand men, and those in and about London were more numerous; he therefore wrote from St. Albans, on the 28th, requiring, to prevent quarrels or seduction, that five regiments should be removed. An order was made to that effect (Feb. 2nd), but the men refused to obey; the royalists of the city tried to gain them over; they remained, however, faithful to the parliament, and, on being promised their arrears, marched out quietly the next morning. Monk led in his troops the following day, and took up his quarters at Whitehall. On the 6th Monk received the thanks of the house. In his reply, he noticed the numerous addresses for a free and full parliament which he had received, expressed his dislike of oaths and engagements, and his hopes that neither cavaliers nor fanatics would be entrusted with civil or military power. By some his speech was thought too dictatorial. "The servant," said Scott, "has already learned to give directions to his masters." Monk also excited suspicion, by demurring to the oath abjuring the Stuarts to be taken by members of the council of state. Seven of the other members, he observed, had not yet taken it, and he should like to know their reasons; experience had shown that such oaths were of little force; he had proved his devotion to the parliament, and would do so again.

The tide of loyalty still continued to swell in the city. The secluded members held frequent meetings there, and some even of the king's judges who were in parliament entered into communications with them. The last elections had given a common council zealous for a full and free parliament; they set the present one at naught, refused to pay the taxes imposed by it, and received and answered addresses from the counties. To check these proceedings, it was resolved by the council of state that eleven of the common council should be arrested, the posts and chains which had been fixed in the streets be taken away, and the city gates be destroyed. In the dead of night of February 9th, Monk received orders to carry this resolution into effect. He obeyed, though his officers and soldiers murmured; the citizens received him with groans and hisses, but made no opposition. When the posts and chains were removed, Monk sent to say that he thought enough had been done; but he was directed to complete the demolition, and he therefore destroyed the gates and portcullises. He then led his men back to Whitehall, and, having there coolly considered the whole matter, he thought he saw a design to embroil him with the citizens, and, finally, lay him aside. In concert with his officers, he wrote next morning to the speaker, requiring that by the following Friday every vacancy in the house should be filled up, preparatory to a dissolution and the calling of a new parliament. He then marched his troops into Finsbury Fields, caused a common council to be summoned, and told them that he was come to join with them in procuring a full and free parliament.[k]

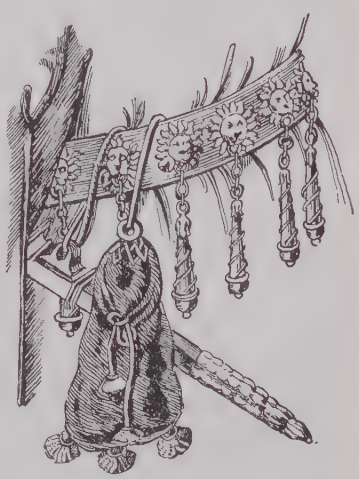
Monk went to the common council and told them what he had done. Guildhall resounded with cries of "God bless your excellency!" The soldiers were feasted. The cry went forth throughout London of "Down with the Rump." Pepys[h] has described, as none but an eye-witness could describe, the scene of that night: "In Cheapside there were a great many bonfires, and Bow bells and all the bells in all the churches as we went home were a-ringing. Hence we went homewards, it being about ten at night. But the common joy that was everywhere to be seen! The number of bonfires, there being fourteen between St. Dunstan's and Temple Bar, and at Strand Bridge I could at one time tell thirty-one fires. In King street seven or eight; and all along burning and roasting, and drinking for rumps. There being rumps tied upon sticks and carried up and down. The butchers at the May-pole in the Strand rang a peal with their knives when they were going to sacrifice their rump. On Ludgate Hill there was one turning of the spit that had a rump tied upon it, and another basting of it. Indeed it was past imagination, both the greatness and the suddenness of it. At one end of the street you would think there was a whole lane of fire, and so hot that we were fain to keep on the further side."

Charles and his court were at Brussels when the news reached them of these events in London. "They thought all their sufferings over," says Clarendon.[i] And yet the best informed men in London, whether republican or royalist, could not penetrate the thick veil of Monk's real intentions. Aubrey[j] who lived a gossiping life in places of public resort, and had access to persons of influence, says of certain friends, "they were satisfied that he [Monk] no more intended or designed the king's restoration, when he came into England, or first came to London, than his horse did." Sir Henry Vane, after the menacing letter had been written to the parliament, said to Ludlow,[d] that "unless he were much mistaken, Monk had yet several masks to put off." Ludlow went to see him in the city, and after much discourse Monk exclaimed, "Yea, we must live and die together for a commonwealth." Whatever were his real intentions, he maintained his ascendancy by the most earnest professions of fidelity to the republican party and their opinions. Yet his actions were more than doubtful. The house had twice resolved that the secluded members should not be admitted. Monk had determined the contrary. The infusion of so many of these who had been originally thrust out of parliament for the moderation of their opinions, was the surest way to neutralise the power of the republican faction, who clung to authority with a tenacity that indicated their real weakness.

Monk, on the 21st of February, sent an escort of his soldiers to accompany a body of the secluded members to the house of commons, he having previously read them a speech, in which he formally declared for a commonwealth. When they took their seats the greatest heats were exhibited; and some of the republicans withdrew from the house. Seventeen of them went in a body to Monk, to demand his reasons for these proceedings. He protested his zeal to a commonwealth government; "and they then pressed him more home by demanding, if he would join with them against Charles Stuart and his party?" He took off his glove, and putting his hand within Sir Arthur Haslerig's hand, he said, "I do here protest to you, in the presence of all these gentlemen, that I will oppose to the utmost the setting-up of Charles Stuart, a single person, or a house of peers." Ludlow[d] who records this, says that Monk then expostulated with them touching their suspicions, saying, "What is it that I have done in bringing these members into the house? Are they not the same that brought the king to the block? though others cut off his head, and that justly." The members thus restored by Monk were chiefly

of that great Presbyterian body who had been ejected by the Independents; and who now expected that they should be strong enough, in the event of the restoration of the monarchy, to make terms for the establishment of their form of church government.

They immediately became a majority in parliament; appointed Monk general-in-chief; formed a new council of state; and superseded sheriffs, justices of the peace and militia officers, who were supporters of republican institutions. The covenant was again to be promulgated; the confession of faith of the assembly of divines to be adopted; the penal laws against Catholics, which Cromwell rarely put in force, were to be called into full vigour. The tendencies of some of the members towards monarchy were still very feebly indicated. Uncertainty everywhere prevailed, whilst the man who had the power of the sword was well known to have no fixed principles of politics or religion — was more greedy of wealth than excited by any daring ambition — and would only declare himself by some irrevocable action when he had made up his mind as to the probable success and permanency of king or commonwealth. Admiral Montague had been apointed "general at sea," the republican admiral Lawson being put aside. He was the patron of Pepys, and told him, on the 6th of March, that there were great endeavours to bring in the protector again, but that he did not think it would last long if he were brought in. Montague added, "No, nor the king neither — though he seems to think he will come in — unless he carry himself very soberly and well."



PURSE AND DAGGER OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

How Charles carried himself was perfectly well known to his most zealous friends — even to those who themselves lived "soberly and well." When a proposal was made to Oliver Cromwell that Charles should marry his daughter, the protector objected his "debauched life" as an insuperable difficulty. The royalists, Presbyterian or Episcopalian, saw no such objection in the marriage of Charles with the state of England. Very curious combinations of men long separated were now forming. Old faithful friends of his house were flocking to the king at Breda. Amongst them now and then appeared some country gentleman, whose clothes were of a soberer hue and a more English cut, than those of Charles's habitual courtiers. These had discarded the love-locks of the cavaliers, their slashed doublets and flowing mantles, for the hideous periwigs and embroidered surtouts of the Parisian fashion. Very tarnished were the gold and silver embroideries of the courtiers at Brussels, or Breda, or the Hague, in the early spring of 1660, when Englishmen from home gathered about them. "Their clothes were not worth forty shillings, the best of them," says Pepys. London soon sent money to the exiles, and Paris was ready to provide fineries of which the Louvre might have been proud. For there was a growing confidence that the commonwealth was fast coming to an end. Men, by a sort of instinctive feeling, were setting up the king's arms; and drinking the king's health, though Monk and his bands were still dominating in the City and at Whitehall.

END OF THE RUMP PARLIAMENT, MARCH 16, 1660

The Long Parliament was to terminate its sittings on the 16th of March. On the 13th, that once formidable republican assembly voted that the oath of a member of parliament — to be "true and faithful to the commonwealth of England, as the same is now established, without a king or house of lords," — should be abolished. On the 15th of March the popular sentiment was manifested at the royal exchange. A statue of Charles I had been removed after the tragedy of the 30th of January; and in the niche where it stood was written, "*Exit tyrannus, regum ultimus, anno libertatis Angliæ restitutæ primo, annoque Domini 1648.*" For twelve years few had ventured to affirm that "tyrant and the last of kings" were words of offence; or had asserted that the year 1648 was not the first year of the restored liberty of England. On the evening of the 15th of March, a ladder was placed against this niche; soldiers stood around; a house painter mounted the ladder, painted out the inscription, and waving his cap, shouted "God bless King Charles II!" Again bonfires blazed in the streets.

On the 16th of March, the parliament met to vote their own dissolution, and England hoped that a long term of rest and security had been earned by the sufferings and changes of twenty years. Some few uplifted their voices against the inevitable event; and still clung to their faith in a commonwealth; to their assured belief that liberty and peace would be best maintained by the absolute authority of a "grand or general council of the nation." This was Vane's opinion, having no misgiving for his past actions and no dread of his future lot, even though it were the hardest: "He had all possible satisfaction of mind as to those actions God had enabled him to do for the commonwealth, and hoped the same God would fortify him in his sufferings, how sharp soever, to bear a faithful and constant testimony thereto." This was also his friend Milton's[b] opinion: "What I have spoken is the language of that which is not called amiss, the good old cause: if it seem strange to any, it will not seem more strange, I hope, than convincing to backsliders: thus much I should, perhaps, have said, though I were sure I should have spoken only to trees and stones, and had none to cry to but with the prophet, 'O earth, earth, earth!' to tell the very soil itself what her perverse inhabitants are deaf to. Nay, though what I have spoke should happen (which Thou suffer not who didst create mankind free! nor Thou next who didst redeem us from being servants of men!) to be the last words of our expiring liberty."[c]

Nineteen years and a half had now elapsed since the Long Parliament first assembled — years of revolution and bloodshed, during which the nation had made the trial of almost every form of government, to return at last to that form from which it had previously departed. On the 16th of March, one day later than was originally fixed, its existence, which had been illegally prolonged since the death of Charles I, was terminated by its own act. The reader is already acquainted with its history. For the glorious stand which it made against the encroachments of the crown, it deserves both admiration and gratitude; its subsequent proceedings assumed a more ambiguous character; ultimately they led to anarchy and military despotism. But, whatever were its merits or demerits, of both posterity has reaped the benefit. To the first, the English are indebted for many of the rights which they now enjoy; by the second, they are warned of the evils which result from political changes effected by violence, and in opposition to the habits and predilections of the people.[d]

The clouded determinations of Monk were very soon becoming more trans-

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parent. He had secretly received his cousin, Sir John Grenville, who had long sought an interview in vain, to deliver a letter from the king. He would send no letter in answer. [He wrote one, read it to Grenville, then burned it and told Grenville to remember the contents.] He entrusted Grenville to promise Charles that he would be his devoted servant. Monk made no conditions, but he tendered some advice — that there should be a general amnesty, with only four exceptions; that the possessors of confiscated property should not be disturbed; that there should be liberty of conscience. Grenville repaired to the king at Brussels, where they met in secret. A more formal body of envoys from England now presented themselves to the king — a deputation of Presbyterians, who came to offer the same terms which had been proposed to his father in the Isle of Wight. The parliament was to have the control of the army; the civil war was to be declared lawful; new patents of nobility were to be annulled. Charles laughed in his sleeve. "Little do they think," he said, "that General Monk and I are upon so good terms."

The Presbyterians believed that they alone had any chance of success. "Leave the game in our hands," they said to the cavaliers. They probably thought correctly that Charles was indifferent as to the form of worship under which England should be when he came to be king. But they knew that Hyde was devoted to the restoration of the Anglican church, as a necessary consequence of the restoration of the monarchy. They wished that Hyde should be expelled from power or influence, and used the strongest arguments to induce the belief that the restoration could not be accomplished whilst he was a royal counsellor. In spite of their conviction of Monk's adhesion to their cause, the few to whom Charles had entrusted the secret of his correspondence with him, still sometimes doubted. The French ambassador tried to obtain Monk's confidence. He would give no opinion as to the future government of England. That must be settled by the next parliament. Monk's real opinions were the less necessary to be disclosed; for all England was becoming impatient for the restoration. Old servants of the commonwealth — Broghill, and Thurloe, and Lenthall — offered to Charles their submission and their advice. The king, from mixed motives of indolence and prudence, suffered matters to proceed without committing himself to any party, or making any engagements for his future conduct. He yielded to Monk's advice in one particular. He left the Spanish Netherlands, and established himself at Breda.[1]

LAMBERT'S INSURRECTION AND THE "FREE PARLIAMENT"

In the midst of the apparent certainty of the restoration being at hand, a new cause of alarm suddenly arose. Lambert had been committed to the Tower, when Monk's interest became predominant. He escaped on the 9th of April, and was speedily at the head of some soldiers, who had revolted; and, marching through the midland counties, he called upon all to join him who would preserve the commonwealth. Monk sent Ingoldsby to encounter Lambert; and declared to Grenville that, if Lambert met with any success, he would no longer have any reservation, but act in the king's name and under his commission, to summon the royalists to arms. On the 22nd of April, Lambert and his men were met at Daventry by Ingoldsby's troops. A parley was proposed; but Ingoldsby refused any accommodation. The two armies had advanced close to each other, and the conflict seemed imminent, when

[1 It is said to have been the intention of the Spaniards to detain Charles till Jamaica and Dunkirk should be restored. According to Clarendon [e] he narrowly escaped detention.[f]]

Lambert's cavalry threw away their pistols; and their leader was quickly a prisoner.

The last battle of the commonwealth had now to be fought at the hustings. The elections took place. A few of the old republicans were returned. Some members were elected who believed that the restoration of the monarchy could be effected, without losing any of the liberties which had been won since the days of Laud and Strafford. The greater number were men who were either led away by a fever of loyalty, or were indifferent to any re-action which would end the struggles and uncertainties of twenty years. It was impossible that a king thus restored amidst a conflict of passions and prejudices — of old hatreds and new ambitions — should be forward to make any professions of public duty, or cherish any deep affection for the people he was to govern. It was fortunate that Charles was only a heartless voluptuary, and was too selfish in his craving for ease and pleasure, to add the personal energy of the tyrant to the almost inevitable tyranny of those who believed that the king and the people could return to the same condition in which they were before Hampden refused to pay ship-money. The king's position with regard to the church was, in a similar degree, under the control of the same spirit of indifference. Secretly a papist, openly a scoffer, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, or Independent might harass each other, so that Charles was quiet. He fancied himself most safe with those who professed to believe that his authority was divine; and that "Render unto Cæsar" meant, if rightly interpreted, let Cæsar's will be the one law.

Five hundred and fifty-six members had been elected[1] to the house of commons, the greater number of whom took their seats on the 26th of April. Ten peers only met in the house of lords on that day. Presbyterians and cavaliers looked suspiciously at each other; but the Presbyterians, more accustomed to act in union, manœuvred that one of their party should be elected speaker. The first business of both houses was to return thanks to Monk for his services, and the lords voted that a statue should be erected in his honour. Colonel Ingoldsby also received the thanks of the commons for his prompt action against Lambert. The house was not yet in the humour to forget the sound advice of Monk to the lords when he returned them his thanks — "to look forward and not backward in transacting affairs." The cavaliers soon made the house and the nation understand that the day of a triumphant reaction was fast approaching. Their spirit spread amongst the moderate and independent: "Every one hoped in this change to change their condition, and disowned all things they had before advised," says Mrs. Hutchinson.[m] "Every ballad singer sang up and down the streets ribald rhymes, made in reproach of the late commonwealth."

The day after parliament met, Sir John Grenville went to the sitting of the council of state, and asked to speak with the lord general. To his hands he delivered a packet sealed with the royal arms. Monk affected surprise and alarm, and it was decided that Grenville should be called in. He said that the packet had been entrusted to him by the king, his master, at Breda. The council resolved that the letters which Grenville brought should be delivered to the parliament. On the first of May, Grenville appeared at the door of the lower house, and being called to the bar presented a letter addressed "To our

[1] If ever there was a parliament freely chosen, it was the present one: there was no court or army now to control the elections; the territorial aristocracy was enfeebled, and could use none but its legitimate influence; the royalists (the Catholics of course excepted) were no longer deprived of the right of voting; all parties therefore put forth their strength, and the royalists (the moderate Presbyterians included) had a most decided majority. The republicans obtained few seats, and their only hopes lay now in the army. — KEIGHTLEY.[k]

[1660 A.D.]

trusty and well beloved the speaker of the house of commons." He then went through the same formality at the house of lords. With each letter was enclosed a document addressed to the whole nation — the Declaration from Breda. Grenville then proceeded to the city, and presented a letter from the king addressed to the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council, which also contained the Declaration.

CHARLES' DECLARATION FROM BREDA, AND THE AMNESTY (1660 A.D.)

In all these papers, the composition of Hyde, there was little to alarm, and much to propitiate, the prudent and peaceful. The commons were assured "upon our royal word — that none of our predecessors have had a greater esteem for parliaments than we have;" — parliaments were "so vital a part of the constitution of the kingdom, and so necessary for the government of it, that, we well know, neither prince nor people can be, in any tolerable degree, happy without them." The Declaration professed the king's desire "that all our subjects may enjoy what by law is theirs, by a full and entire administration of justice throughout the land." It declared "a free and general pardon to all our subjects" — excepting only such persons "as shall hereafter be excepted by act of parliament." All are invited to a perfect union amongst themselves.

Deploring the existence of religious animosities, "We do declare a liberty to tender consciences; and that no man shall be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom." All matters relating to the possession of estates "shall be determined in parliament." Both houses immediately applied themselves to prepare answers to the royal letters; declared that, "according to the ancient and fundamental laws of this kingdom, the government is, and ought to be, by king, lords, and commons"; voted 50,000*l.* to the king as a gift; and presented Grenville with 500*l.* to buy a jewel. Commissioners from both houses were chosen to convey their answers to the king. Grenville preceded them with the best proof of loyalty and affection—4,500*l.* in gold, and a bill of exchange for 25,000*l.* Pepys[h] tells us that Charles, when Grenville brought him the money, was "so joyful, that he called the princess royal and duke of York, to look upon it, as it lay in the portmanteau before it was taken out."

On the 8th of May the two houses of parliament proclaimed Charles II king of England, Scotland, and Ireland, at Westminster, at Whitehall, and in the city. Although the king had not arrived, the restoration of the monarchy was completed. In a delirium of loyalty the Convention Parliament never thought of making conditions for the liberties of the country. Hale, the great judge, and Prynne, the learned lawyer, had ventured to propose a committee for considering what propositions should be made to Charles, before the destinies of the country were irrevocably committed to his guidance. Monk opposed this: "I cannot answer for the peace either of the nation or of the army, if any delay is put to the sending for the king. What need is there of sending propositions to him? Might we not as well prepare them, and offer them to him when he shall come over? He will bring neither army nor treasure with him, either to fright or corrupt us." The house assented by acclamation. It rested the conservancy of all that the nation had won since the opening of the Long Parliament upon the flimsy foundation of the Declaration from Breda. Bills were prepared, which were to be presented for the acceptance of the king, "when he shall come over."

Magna Charta and the Petition of Right; privilege of parliament; pardon, indemnity and oblivion, were words glibly used as if they were things of course. Bills were prepared for confirming purchases of property during the times of trouble; and for the abolition of knight service, the feudal tenure which was most obnoxious. But the real temper of this parliament was to be subjected to a severer test — the question of amnesty had yet to be settled. Monk had just protested that if he were to suffer any one to be excluded from such amnesty, he would be the arrantest rogue that ever lived. Ashley Cooper had said to Hutchinson, "If the violence of the people should bring the king upon us, let me be damned, body and soul, if ever I see a hair of any man's head touched, or a penny of any man's estate, upon this quarrel."

Ingoldsby had received the thanks of the commons for recent services. He, and others who had signed the warrant for the king's execution, were members of the commons. On the 9th of May, the debate on the Amnesty Bill came on in both houses. The earl of Northumberland said, that though he had no part in the death of the king, he was against questioning those concerned; "that the example may be more useful to posterity, and profitable to future kings, by deterring them from the like exorbitances." Fairfax, in a noble spirit of generosity, exclaimed, "If any man must be excepted, I know no man that deserves it more than myself; for I was general of the army at that time, and had power sufficient to prevent the proceedings against the king; but I did not think fit to make use of it to that end." Lenthall, the son of the famous speaker, provoked the house to tumult by boldly saying, "He that first drew his sword against the king committed as high an offence as he that cut off the king's head."

The house at last voted as to the number of regicides to be excluded from the amnesty, and decided that seven should be excepted. But it also resolved that every one should be arrested who had sat upon the king's trial, and their property seized. Other arrests took place. Some who had laboured best with Cromwell to uphold the honour of England, such as Thurloe, were impeached. The titles bestowed by the two protectors were annulled. Upon all great questions, political or religious, which affected the future safety and liberties of these nations, postponement was the ruling policy of the cavaliers. The Presbyterians, who were the first to aim at religious supremacy, began clearly to see that the day was fast approaching, when they would regret the tranquillity they had enjoyed under the toleration of that ruler whom they had now agreed to declare a traitor.

The fortunes of Charles had so decidedly changed in the course of a little month, that the foreign courts who had looked adversely or coldly upon him, now embarrassed him with their rival professions of friendship. He was wisely advised not to be too forward to receive such civilities from France or from Spain as might compromise him in the future policy of England. The states of Holland invited him to take his departure from the Hague; and he arrived there from Breda on the 15th of May. Thither came the commissioners of the parliament; the town-clerk of London, with aldermen and lesser dignitaries; deputations of the Presbyterian clergy; and a swarm of Englishmen of every variety of opinion, who wanted to prostrate themselves at the feet of power. Holles, who had been one of the earliest leaders, in the battle of the Long Parliament was the orator on the part of the house of commons. Their hearts, he said, were filled with veneration and confidence; their longings for their king, their desires to serve him, expressed the opinions of the whole nation — "lettings out of the soul, expressions of transported

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minds." Other lords had had dominion over them; but their hearts and souls did abhor such rulers, and ever continued faithful to their king. Anthony Ashley Cooper had civil words from Charles. Fairfax was received with kindness.

The king made smooth speeches to the Presbyterians; but they obtained no satisfaction as to the future of England in the great question of religious union. No one, however, pressed hardly upon him. There were no strong words spoken, as the earlier race of Puritans would have spoken. Burnet,[n] describing the general character of Charles, says, "He was affable and easy, and loved to be made so by all about him. The great art of keeping him long, was the being easy, and the making everything easy to him." The modern phrase is "to make things pleasant"; and both phrases mean that there should be a large ingredient of falsehood in human affairs. Admiral Montague, who was to have the honour of receiving the king on board his ship, had long been in communication with him. The ship which carried the admiral's flag had an ugly name, the "*Naseby*." On the 23rd, the king, with the dukes of York and Gloucester, and a large train, came on board. "After dinner," says Pepys,[h] who was now Montague's secretary, "the king and duke altered the name of some of the ships, viz.: the *Naseby* became the *Charles;* the *Richard, James;* the *Speaker, Mary,* the *Dunbar* (which was not in company with us), the *Henry*."

Lady Fanshawe,[o] who was on board, is in ecstacies: "Who can express the joy and gallantry of that voyage; to see so many great ships, the best in the world; to hear the trumpets and all other music; to see near a hundred brave ships sail before the wind with vast cloths and streamers; the neatness and cleanness of the ships, the gallantry of the commanders, the vast plenty of all sorts of provisions; but, above all, the glorious majesties of the king and his two brothers, were so beyond man's expectation and expression." The sky was cloudless, the sea was calm, the moon was at the full. Charles walked up and down the quarter-deck, telling all the wonders of his escape from Worcester — his green coat and his country breeches — the miller stopping his night walk — the inn-keeper bidding God bless him. "He was an everlasting talker," writes Burnet,[n] and his gossip amongst his new friends in this moonlight voyage gave some better promise than the cold dignity of his father, which many must have remembered. It was a merry trip — and Pepys chuckles over "the brave discourse." On the morning of the 25th they were close to land at Dover, and every one was preparing to go ashore. "The king and the two dukes," says Pepys, "did eat their breakfast before they went, and there being set some ship's diet, they ate of nothing else but pease and pork, and boiled beef" — a politic appetite, which no doubt won the favour of Blake's old sailors.

When Charles landed at Dover, Monk was at hand to kneel before him — "to receive his majesty as a malefactor would his pardon,"—says Gumble,[p] a biographer of the wary general. With a feeling that belonged to another time the mayor of Dover presented the king with a Bible. "It is the thing that I love above all things in the world," said the ready actor who knew his part without much study. The royal train went on to Canterbury. There Monk ventured beyond his usual caution, by presenting the king a list of seventy persons that he recommended for employments — men whose names stunk in the nostrils of all cavaliers. Hyde, through Monk's confidential adviser, Morrice, made the general understand that such interference was unpleasant, and Monk quickly apologised after a very awkward attempt at explanation. Hyde was at Charles's side, and prevented him being too easy.

Monk received a lesson; but he was consoled by the order of the Garter being bestowed upon him.

On the 28th of May, King Charles set out from Canterbury, and slept that night at Rochester. At Blackheath the royal cavalcade had to pass the army of the commonwealth. Thirty thousand men were there marshailed. Many of these veterans had fought against the family and the cause which was now triumphant. The name of Charles Stuart had been with them a name of hatred and contempt. They had assisted in building up and pulling down governments, which had no unity but in their determination to resist him who was now called to command them, with no sympathy for their courage, no respect for their stern enthusiasm. The great soldier and prince who had led them to so many victories had now his memory profaned, by being proclaimed a traitor by a parliament that when he was living would have been humbled at his slightest frown. The procession passed on in safety; for the old discipline, that no enemy was ever able to prevail against in the battle-field, was still supreme in this pageant — this last harmless exhibition of that might through which the liberties of England had been won; through whose misdirection they were now imperilled.

Charles went on in the sight of all London to Whitehall — a wearisome procession, which lasted until nine at night, amidst streets strewn with flowers, past tapestried houses and wine-spouting fountains; with civic authorities wearing chains of gold, and nobles covered with embroidered velvets; trumpets braying, mobs huzzaing. In this delirium of joy there was something beyond the idle shouts of popular intoxication. It was the expression of the nation's opinion that the government of England had at length a solid foundation upon which peace and security, liberty and religion, might be established.[c] It was late in the evening before the ceremonies of this important day were concluded; when Charles observed to some of his confidants, "It must surely have been my fault that I did not come before; for I have met with no one to-day who did not protest that he always wished for my restoration." The re-establishment of royalty presented perhaps the only means of restoring public tranquillity amidst the confusion and distrust, the animosities and hatreds, the parties and interests, which had been generated by the events of the civil war, and by a rapid succession of opposite and ephemeral governments. "To Monk," says Lingard, *f* "belongs the merit of having, by his foresight, and caution, effected this object without bloodshed or violence: but to his dispraise it must also be recorded,[1] that he effected it without any previous stipulation on the part of the exiled monarch.

"Never had so fair an opportunity been offered of establishing a compact between the sovereign and the people, of determining, by mutual consent, the legal rights of the crown, and of securing from future encroachment the freedom of the people. That Charles would have consented to such conditions, we have sufficient evidence; but, when the measure was proposed, the lord-general declared himself its most determined opponent. It may have been, that his cautious mind figured to itself danger in delay; it is more probable that he sought to give additional value to his services in the eyes of the new sovereign. But, whatever were the motives of his conduct, the result was, that the king ascended the throne unfettered with conditions, and thence inferred that he was entitled to all the powers claimed by his father at the commencement of the civil war. In a few years the consequence became manifest. It was found that, by the negligence or perfidy of Monk, a door

[1 On the question of the possibility or desirability of such a stipulation, historians have differed radically. See the following chapter.]

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had been left open to the recurrence of dissension between the crown and the people; and that very circumstance which Charles had hailed as the consummation of his good fortune, served only to prepare the way for a second revolution, which ended in the permanent exclusion of his family from the government of the kingdom."[1]

With the Restoration the historic interest of Monk's career ceases. The rude soldier of fortune had played the game with incomparable dexterity, and had won the stakes. He was made gentleman of the bedchamber, knight of the Garter, master of the horse, commander-in-chief, and duke of Albemarle, and had a pension of £7,000 a year allotted to him. His utmost desires were satisfied, and he made no attempt to compete further in a society in which neither he nor his vulgar wife could ever be at home, and which he heartily despised. As long as the army existed of which he was the idol, and of which the last service was to suppress Venner's revolt, he was a person not to be displeased. But he entirely concurred in the measure for disbanding it, and thenceforward his influence was small, though men's eyes turned naturally to him in emergency. In the trial of the regicides he was on the side of moderation, and his interposition saved Haslerig's life; but his action at the time of Argyll's trial will always be regarded as the most dishonourable episode in his career.[2]

COMMERCE AND LITERATURE OF THE REPUBLICAN PERIOD

The most instructive period in English history is the interval from 1640 to 1660. Its various occurrences, however, are found to suggest very different lessons according to the political bias of the persons who make them an object of attention. Those who regard that struggle as assuming its more objectionable character, not so much from any love of change and spoliation incident to the people, as from the want of timely and amicable concessions on the part of their rulers, are naturally disposed to look with forbearance on a good deal in the temper and manners of the party deemed to have been least in the wrong. It is not to be doubted that the parliamentarians, particularly such as served in the army, were remarkable for the sobriety and regularity of their conduct. Profanity, drunkenness, debauchery of every description, may be said to have been unknown among them to a degree unparalleled in history; nor did they allow themselves to participate in any of those games or amusements which are the favourite relaxations of the people in most countries. Horse-racing, bear-baiting, the sport of the cockpit, and the representations of the theatre, all were condemned.

Instead of giving their leisure to such things, they sought their enjoyments in religious meetings, and in discussions on points of theology or civil government; and when such points were the matters contended for, whether by means of argument or of the sword, it became manifest that the roundhead, while despising the sensual riot of the cavalier, had a region of his own, where, in his turn, he became susceptible of the highest degree of excitement. As the difficulty of acquiring and maintaining this ascendancy of the mental over the physical sympathies of human nature must have been great, it was natural that it should be viewed with some feeling of pride; and it is not surprising that their enemies, obliged to acknowledge their freedom from the vices of the appetites, should accuse them of being much greater offenders than themselves in everything relating to the vices of the mind.

According to the cavalier, those habits of profane swearing, of drunkenness, and of sensual excess in all respects, by which not a few of his party

studied to testify their abhorrence of all Puritan grimace, and to proclaim their undoubted attachment to the church and the king, were only the vices of men — but spiritual pride, hypocrisy, rebellion, and tyranny, these were the vices of devils, and these were the chosen passions of his enemies. Concerning the charge of insincerity it is more difficult to speak, inasmuch as, from its connection with strong religious impressions, it would often be least suspected in the case of those persons who were most influenced by it. The suppression of all amusements considered as tending to produce dissoluteness among the populace, was a great object with the Presbyterians, and led to some impolitic interferences with popular feeling. It was no uncommon thing to see players conducted through the streets of the metropolis in their theatrical costume, having been seized by the police while in the act of strutting their hour away upon the stage.

We have had occasion to note the manner in which the Presbyterians and royalists obtained supplies of money during the period of the civil war. When that contest was decided, four sources remained from which aids of this nature were derived — the customs, the excise, the monthly assessments, and the estates of political delinquents. The two former branches of revenue were farmed in 1657 at £1,100,000 a year, and with monthly assessments made an income of somewhat more than £2,000,000. The church lands and the estates of delinquents were rarely sold at more than ten years' purchase. About £200,000 a year are supposed to have been obtained from these sources. During Richard's protectorate, the expenditure was declared to be above £2,200,000, the revenue falling short more than £300,000 of that amount.

In 1652 the army of the commonwealth was not less than fifty thousand. Cromwell subsequently reduced the number nearly one-half, but was obliged, on occasions, to increase it again. The general pay of the foot soldiers was a shilling a day, the cavalry, as of a superior order, and liable to greater expense, received two shillings and sixpence. When the army consisted of forty thousand, which was the case in 1648, its pay was estimated at £80,000 a month. Beside the regular force in the pay of the government, there was the volunteer corps, in every county, under the name of militia. At the time of the battle of Worcester, the militia appears to have been nearly as numerous as the standing army, and both together are said to have numbered about eighty thousand men.

Commerce, which made considerable progress during the early part of the reign of Charles I, experienced some check from the civil war, but assumed an importance under the commonwealth unknown in our previous history. This arose, principally, from the war carried on by the English republic with the Dutch, and from the new navigation laws. Families of pretension and long-standing began to direct the attention of their sons to commerce, and such pursuits became more reputable from that time in England than in any of the old monarchical states in Europe. The chartered companies, having derived their exclusive privileges from an exercise of the prerogative, which had often called forth the complaints of parliament, found their power of monopoly thus assigned to them of small value at this juncture, and the free competition which sprung up proved a great benefit to the community at large.

The fine arts obtained but small patronage during this period. Charles I possessed considerable taste in architecture, furniture, pictures, and music, and had the circumstances of his reign afforded him the means and the opportunities of bestowing encouragement on such pursuits, great advances would, no doubt, have been made in them. But the causes which prevented the

indulgence of such tastes on the part of the monarch, tended to prevent the formation of them on the part of his people. Both were called to engage in a struggle for existence, and both deemed it necessary that all matters having respect only to the luxury and ornament of life should be placed for a while in abeyance. So far was this spirit carried under the commonwealth, that some of the royal palaces were put up for sale, and not a few of the pictures and curiosities which had been collected by the king, with much taste and judgment, and at a great expense, were sold to foreigners.

It is hardly possible that an Englishman should glance at this barbarian conduct on the part of men possessing the supreme power in his country less than two centuries ago, and not blush at the remembrance. It is vain to say that these things were the baubles of royalty, and that this reason, beside the necessities of the government, concurred to make the disposal of them desirable — since nothing could be a greater libel on republican institutions, or a more manifest untruth, than to describe them as repugnant to the splendour of national edifices, or to the most costly adornment of them by the aid of the fine arts. But the feeling which consented to these acts of rude spoliation was not that of the nation, nor is it the only point to be considered in the character of the faction upon which this disgrace is certainly chargeable. In regard to the great interests of the community, their views were large and generous, and to the nature of the questions with which they were chiefly occupied, and to the earnestness and talent which they brought to the discussion of them, we have to attribute a marked improvement in the character of the literature.

In the literary character of the works on theology which belong to this period, the taste of the present age will find little to admire, and often much with which to be offended. But notwithstanding the tedious scholastic form in which divines continued to treat of the subjects within their province, and the frequent confusion and obscurity of thought observable in their lengthened and parenthetical sentences, an increasing mastery of the language may be perceived even in such works, particularly in the smaller controversial pieces of the age, which were generally characterised by a natural directness and earnestness suited to the immediate occasion. Baxter is a favourable specimen of this class of writers. We do not advert to the eloquence of Bishop Taylor, because his style, in whatever age he had lived, would have been more that of the man than of his times.

Prose Writers

The fault mentioned as belonging to the theological literature of this period attaches, in a great degree, to its prose literature generally. We find, for example, both in Mrs. Hutchinson[m] and in Clarendon,[i] a crowd of thoughts pressed together into one long sentence, which an author of a later period, with less power, but more skilled in the art of composition, would have separated into small lucid apportionments, and by giving completeness to the parts, and presenting them in succession, would have communicated the whole more clearly, and with much less demand on the reader's power of attention. The writers of this period moved the more slowly, in consequence of moving at every step amidst such a procession of ideas; but this stately march comported well with the expansion and vigour of their understanding. Such writers are fine examples of the majestic compass of our language in that age, but the best specimens of its lucid energy, and bounding capabilities, will be found in the smaller pieces called forth by the political strifes of the hour — productions in which the writers evidently intend to state their case

with a clearness not to be mistaken, and with a force not to be resisted. Ludlow,[d] though a soldier rather than an author, has less, perhaps, of the fault so observable in Clarendon, than any other considerable writer whose mind was formed during the period of the civil war.

But notwithstanding the frequent obscurity, from the cause mentioned, in the works of this period, and the weariness, in consequence, which is so often felt in reading them, they nearly all evince a singular degree of freedom from those pedantic allusions and studied conceits by which the literature of the age of Elizabeth and James had been so greatly disfigured. In this later period, every man was constrained to be more or less in earnest in regard to the great interests which were then at stake. The English language, accordingly, had never afforded such specimens of oratorical and argumentative efficiency as were produced during this period. The eloquence of strong partisan feeling will ever demand — as in the case of a Dante and a Milton — the loftiest forms of speech in which to express itself; and the language, in consequence, began to display new freedom, copiousness, and power.

The Poets

Cowley the poet flourished during this period, and died in 1667. Charles II, on hearing of his decease, said that England had not a better man; and the testimony of contemporaries to his character is uniformly favourable, notwithstanding his known attachment to the court, and the spirit of faction which continued to prevail to the end of his days. He has been described as the last, or nearly the last, in our old school of metaphysical poets — writers in whom there were stronger indications of pedantry than of the inspiration proper to their art, and who often appear to have mistaken verses for poetry, and singularity for excellence. They indulged much in the personification of the passions; but the general effect of their works is to produce reflection rather than emotion, their strength consisting in an occasional acuteness and playfulness of imagination, much more than in force or pathos of sentiment. Cowley was distinguished from his predecessors by more of the latter quality, by greater sprightliness when the subject was of a nature to demand it, and by a more frequent command of those thoughts which strike at once by their grandeur or their propriety. Suckling and Cleveland were contemporaries and imitators of Cowley, but did not disturb his sovereignty as the fashionable poet of his day.

Denham was three years older than Cowley, and his elegy on the death of that writer was his last performance. His *Cooper's Hill*, on which his fame principally rests, was published in 1643. Its subject, which was in a great degree a novelty in our literature, embraces a description of natural scenery, elevated by historical allusions, and reflections on human character. Pope commends the strength and majesty of this author, and he is generally regarded as one of the fathers of English poetry. His versification, in its smoothness, vigour, and harmony, makes a near approach to that which has been since made familiar to us by the pen of Dryden and his successors. Waller, who was contemporary with Cowley and Denham, survived them both. He is entitled to much of the praise bestowed on Denham. But though he discovers a similar independence of the old models, and even more refinement, his works have little of that compressed power of expression which characterised the *Cooper's Hill*. The polished dress, however, in which he clothed conceptions little removed from commonplace, possessed

the charm of novelty in his own age, and must be allowed to secure the name of Waller a conspicuous place in the history of English literature.

Concerning the genius of Milton, and the dignity conferred by him on his native tongue, and on the mind of his country, there is now little need to expatiate. Critics who know not how to pardon his republicanism, have in general extended their enmity to the character of the man, and the productions of the author. But when every fair concession shall have been made with regard to the imperfections of his temper and his writings, the excellence which remains will be found to place him so far above his assailants as to render their puny efforts to lower his pretensions a matter more calculated to amuse than irritate the friends of his memory. His attainments as a classical scholar were extensive and profound. In Latin composition he had scarcely a rival. Every European language possessing a literature to recommend it was known to him; and few divines possessed the same intimate acquaintance with the Hebrew scriptures and all rabbinical learning. Indications of these various acquisitions break upon us in almost every page of his works, imparting to his style a grace, a comprehensiveness, and a wonderful power, which must be perceived and felt in the greatest degree by those who have studied him the most.

It is true, in his prose works we are never allowed to forget that it is the prose of a poet, and some critics, whom the stars never destined to be poets, affect to regret that the author's taste with regard to the style proper to performances of that nature should have been so defective and erroneous. But the man who can read the *Areopagitica*, or the *Eikonoclastes*, and not feel a strange awe produced within him by the surpassing greatness of the spirit which has been in converse with his own, so as to be charmed out of all wish that the author had spoken otherwise than he has done, must be a person incapable of sympathising with great eloquence and lofty argument. His style, indeed, in those works is not to be recommended as a model. On the contrary, an attempt to imitate it must betray a want of judgment incompatible with real excellence in anything. It is a sort of costume, which, like that assumed by Jeremy Taylor, must always be peculiar to the individual, and can never become the badge of a class. Modes of expression and illustration which with such men have all the freshness and vigour of nature, become cold and feeble, or, at best, inflated by an artificial warmth, when produced by the mechanic process of the imitator.

In his poetry, the mind of Milton is found open to all the beauties and sublimities of nature, and seems to portray with equal truth the good and evil of the rational universe — the heavens above, and hell beneath. That upon a theme so difficult and so comprehensive, and prosecuted to so great an extent, he should sometimes fail, was perhaps inevitable. But if something less than one-third of the *Paradise Lost* be excepted, the remainder may be safely declared to consist of such poetry as the world had never before seen. In his happier moments, his descriptions of physical existence are the most perfect supplied by human language; but it is when employed in exhibiting the moral energies of the perfect or the fallen, that he rises most above all who preceded him.

WILLIAM HARVEY

Harvey, whose discovery with respect to the circulation of the blood effected so great a revolution in medical science, died in 1657. He was much encouraged in his experiments and studies by Charles I. But it was

remarked that no physician in Europe, who had reached forty years of age when Harvey's discovery was made public, was known to adopt it. His maintaining it is even said to have diminished his own practice and celebrity. So general is the force of prejudice even on matters of the most practical nature, and so liable is it to become fixed beyond all hope of removal after a certain period of life![r]

GUIZOT ON THE RESTORATION

On the 29th of May, 1660, the royalist party, which had not conquered, had not even fought, was nevertheless national and all-powerful. It was England. England might justly think herself entitled to trust in her hopes; she was not unreasonable in her requirements; weary of great ambitions and disgusted with innovations, she only asked for security for her religion, and for the enjoyment of her ancient rights under the rule of her old laws. This the king promised her. The advisers who then possessed his confidence — Hyde, Ormonde, Nicholas, Hertford, Southampton — were sincere Protestants and friends of legal government. They had defended the laws during the reign of the late king. They had taken no part in any excessive assumptions of power on the part of the crown. They had even co-operated in promoting the first salutary measures of reform which had been carried by the Long Parliament. They expressed themselves resolved, and so did the king, to govern in concert with the two houses of parliament. The great council of the nation would therefore be always by the side of royalty, to enlighten and, if necessary, to restrain its action. Everything seemed to promise England the future to which her desires were limited. But when great questions have strongly agitated human nature and society, it is not within the power of men to return, at their pleasure, into a state of repose; and the storm still lowers in their hearts, when the sky has again become serene over their heads. In the midst of this outburst of joy, confidence, and hope, in which England was indulging, two camps were already in process of formation, ardent in their hostility to each other, and destined ere long to renew, at first darkly, but soon openly, the war which seemed to be at an end.

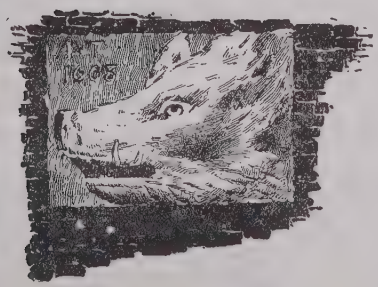
During the exile of the sons of Charles I, one fear had constantly preyed upon the minds of their wisest counsellors and most faithful friends; and that was lest, led astray by example and seduced by pleasure, they might adopt a creed, ideas, and manners foreign to their country — the creed, ideas, and manners of the great courts of the Continent. This was a natural fear, and one fully justified by the events. Charles II and his brother the duke of York returned, in fact, into England, the one an infidel libertine, who falsely gave himself out to be a Protestant, and the other a blindly sincere Catholic; both imbued with the principles of absolute power; both dissolute in morals, the one with elegant and heartless cynicism, the other with shocking inconsistency; both addicted to those habits of mind and life, to those tastes and vices, which render a court a school of arrogant and frivolous corruption, which rapidly spreads its contagious influence through the higher and lower classes who hasten to the court to imitate or serve it.

Afar from the court, among the laborious citizens of the towns, and in the families of the landowners, farmers, and labourers of the country districts, the zealous and rigid Protestantism of the nation, with its severe strictness of manners, and that stern spirit of liberty which cares neither for obstacles nor consequences, hardens men towards themselves as well as towards their enemies, and leads them to disdain the evils which they suffer or inflict

[1660 A.D.]

provided they can perform their duty and satisfy their passion by maintaining their right, now took refuge.

The Restoration had scarcely given any glimpse of its tendencies, and yet the Puritans were already preparing to withstand it, feeling they were despised, and expecting soon to be proscribed, but earnestly devoted no matter at what risk or with what result, to the service of their faith and of their cause; unyielding and frequently factious sectaries, but indomitable defenders, even to martyrdom, of the Protestant religion, the moral austerity, and the liberties of their country. On the very day after the restoration, the court and the Puritans were the two hostile forces which appeared at the two opposite extremities of the political arena. Entirely monopolised by its joy, the nation either did not see this, or did not care to notice it. Because it had recovered the king and the parliament, it believed that it had reached the termination of its trials, and attained the summit of its wishes. Peoples are short-sighted. But their want of foresight changes neither their inmost hearts nor the course of their destiny; the national interests and feelings which in 1640 had caused the revolution, still subsisted in 1660, in the midst of the reaction against that revolution. The period of civil war was passed; that of parliamentary conflicts and compromises was beginning. The sway of the Protestant religion, and the decisive influence of the country in its own government — these were the objects which revolutionary England had pursued. Though cursing the revolution, and calling it the rebellion, royalist England nevertheless prepared still to pursue these objects, and not to rest until she had attained them.[b]





CHAPTER VII

THE RESTORATION OF THE STUARTS

[1660–1668 A.D.]

The history of the Stuart restoration is wearisome, nauseous, and disgraceful. The debauches of Commodus and of Heliogabalus were revived under the disguise of rustling silks and waving plumes. Painted harlots flaunted in the palace and squandered money for lack of which soldiers and sailors starved. By seventeen known mistresses, Charles was reputed to have had thirteen children; several of whom were created earls or dukes, with ample incomes, charged in perpetuity and still paid, where not recently commuted, on a generous scale. Defoe[b] satirises such results of the "lazy, long, lascivious reign." — W. H. S. AUBREY.[c]

MACAULAY'S PICTURE OF THE TIMES AND OF THE NEW KING

THE history of England, during the seventeenth century, is the history of the transformation of a limited monarchy, constituted after the fashion of the middle ages, into a limited monarchy suited to that more advanced state of society in which the public charges can no longer be borne by the estates of the crown, and in which the public defence can no longer be entrusted to a feudal militia.

It has been too much the practice of writers zealous for freedom to represent the restoration as a disastrous event, and to condemn the folly or baseness of that convention which recalled the royal family without exacting new securities against maladministration.[1] Those who hold this language do not

[1 Among those who have censured the lack of a stipulation stands Lingard[d] as cited in the previous chapter, but Hallam[e] says: "It has been a frequent reproach to the conductors of this great revolution, that the king was restored without those terms and limitations which might secure the nation against his abuse of their confidence; it has become almost regular to cast on the convention parliament, and more especially on Monk, the imputation of having

comprehend the real nature of the crisis which followed the deposition of Richard Cromwell. England was in imminent danger of sinking under the tyranny of a succession of small men raised up and pulled down by military caprice. To deliver the country from the domination of the soldiers was the first object of every enlightened patriot: but it was an object which, while the soldiers were united, the most sanguine could scarcely expect to attain. On a sudden a gleam of hope appeared. General was opposed to general, army to army. On the use which might be made of one auspicious moment depended the future destiny of the nation. Our ancestors used that moment well. They forgot old injuries, waved petty scruples, adjourned to a more convenient season all dispute about the reforms which our institutions needed, and stood together, cavaliers and roundheads, Episcopalians and Presbyterians, in firm union, for the old laws of the land against military despotism. The exact partition of power among king, lords, and commons, might well be postponed till it had been decided whether England should be governed by king, lords, and commons, or by cuirassiers and pikemen. Had the statesmen of the convention taken a different course, had they held long debates on the principles of government, had they drawn up a new constitution and sent it to Charles, had conferences been opened, had couriers been passing and repassing during some weeks between Westminster and the Netherlands, with projects and counterprojects, replies by Hyde and rejoinders by Prynne, the coalition on which the public safety depended would have been dissolved: the Presbyterians and royalists would certainly have quarrelled: the military factions might possibly have been reconciled: and the misjudging friends of liberty might long have regretted, under a rule worse than that of the worst Stuart, the golden opportunity which had been suffered to escape.

Abolition of Tenures by Knight Service and Disbanding of the Army

The old civil polity was, therefore, by the general consent of both the great parties, re-established. It was again exactly what it had been when Charles the First, eighteen years before, withdrew from his capital. All those acts of the Long Parliament which had received the royal assent were admitted to be still in full force. One fresh concession, a concession in which the cavaliers were even more deeply interested than the roundheads, was easily obtained from the restored king. The military tenure of land had been originally created as a means of national defence. But in the course of ages whatever was useful in the institution had disappeared; and nothing was left but ceremonies and grievances. A landed proprietor who held an estate under the crown by knight service — and it was thus that most of the soil of England was held — had to pay a large fine on coming to his property. He could not alienate one acre without purchasing a license. When he died, if his domains descended to an infant, the sovereign was guardian, and was not only entitled to great part of the rents during the minority, but could require the ward, under heavy penalties, to marry any person of suitable rank. The chief bait which attracted a needy sycophant to the court was the hope of obtaining as

abandoned public liberty, and brought on, by their inconsiderate loyalty, or self-interested treachery, the misgovernment of the two last Stuarts, and the necessity of their ultimate expulsion. We may remark, in the first place, that the unconditional restoration of Charles the Second is sometimes spoken of in too hyperbolical language, as if he had come in as a sort of conqueror, with the laws and liberties of the people at his discretion. Yet he was restored to nothing but the bounded prerogatives of a king of England; bounded by every ancient and modern statute, including those of the Long Parliament, which had been enacted for the subject's security."]

the reward of servility and flattery, a royal letter to an heiress. These abuses had perished with the monarchy. That they should not revive with it was the wish of every landed gentleman in the kingdom. They were, therefore, solemnly abolished by statute; and no relic of the ancient tenures in chivalry was suffered to remain, except those honorary services which are still, at a coronation, rendered to the person of the sovereign by some lords of manors.

The troops were now to be disbanded. Fifty thousand men, accustomed to the profession of arms, were at once thrown on the world; and experience seemed to warrant the belief that this change would produce much misery and crime, that the discharged veterans would be seen begging in every street, or that they would be driven by hunger to pillage. But no such result followed. In a few months there remained not a trace indicating that the most formidable army in the world had just been absorbed into the mass of the community. The royalists themselves confessed that, in every department of honest industry, the discarded warriors prospered beyond other men, that none was charged with any theft or robbery, that none was heard to ask an alms, and that, if a baker, a mason, or a waggoner attracted notice by his diligence and sobriety, he was in all probability one of Oliver's old soldiers.

The military tyranny passed away; but it left deep and enduring traces in the public mind. The name of a standing army was long held in abhorrence, and it is remarkable that this feeling was even stronger among the cavaliers than among the roundheads. It ought to be considered as a most fortunate circumstance that, when the country was, for the first and last time, ruled by the sword, the sword was in the hands, not of her legitimate princes, but of those rebels who slew the king and demolished the church. Had a prince, with a title as good as that of Charles, commanded an army as good as that of Cromwell, there would have been little hope indeed for the liberties of England. A century after the death of Cromwell, the tories still continued to clamour against every augmentation of the regular soldiery, and to sound the praise of a national militia. So late as the year 1786, a minister who enjoyed no common measure of their confidence found it impossible to overcome their aversion to his scheme of fortifying the coast; nor did they ever look with entire complacency on the standing army, till the French Revolution gave a new direction to their apprehensions.

Disputes between the Roundheads and Cavaliers Renewed

The coalition which had restored the king terminated with the danger from which it had sprung; and two hostile parties again appeared ready for conflict. Both indeed were agreed as to the propriety of inflicting punishment on some unhappy men who were, at that moment, objects of almost universal hatred. Cromwell was no more; and those who had fled before him were forced to content themselves with the miserable satisfaction of digging up, hanging, quartering, and burning the remains of the greatest prince that has ever ruled England. Other objects of vengeance, few indeed, yet too many, were found among the republican chiefs. Soon, however, the conquerors, glutted with the blood of the regicides, turned against each other. The roundheads, while admitting the virtues of the late king, and while condemning the sentence passed upon him by an illegal tribunal, yet maintained that his administration had been, in many things, unconstitutional, and that the houses had taken arms against him from good motives and on strong grounds. The monarchy, these politicians conceived, had no worse enemy than the flatterer who exalted the prerogative above the law, who condemned

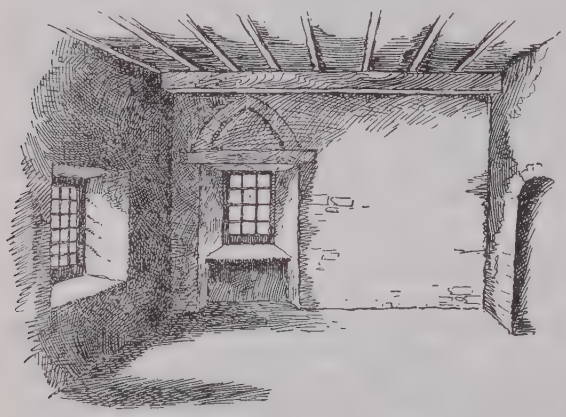
all opposition to regal encroachments, and who reviled, not only Cromwell and Harrison, but Pym and Hampden, as traitors. If the king wished for a quiet and prosperous reign, he must confide in those who, though they had drawn the sword in defence of the invaded privileges of parliament, had yet exposed themselves to the rage of the soldiers in order to save his father, and had taken the chief part in bringing back the royal family.

The feeling of the cavaliers was widely different. During eighteen years they had, through all vicissitudes, been faithful to the crown. Having shared the distress of their prince, were they not to share his triumph? Was no distinction to be made between them and the disloyal subject who had fought against his rightful sovereign, who had adhered to Richard Cromwell, and who had never concurred in the restoration of the Stuarts, till it appeared that nothing else could save the nation from the tyranny of the army? Grant that such a man had, by his recent services, fairly earned his pardon. Yet were his services, rendered at the eleventh hour, to be put in comparison with the toils and sufferings of those who had borne the burden and heat of the day? Above all, was he to be suffered to retain a fortune raised out of the substance of the ruined defenders of the throne? Was it not enough that his head and his patrimonial estate, a hundred times forfeited to justice, were secure, and that he shared, with the rest of the nation, in the blessings of that mild government of which he had long been the foe? Some violent members of the party went further, and clamoured for large categories of proscription.

Religious Dissension

The political feud was, as usual, exasperated by a religious feud. The king found the church in a singular state. A short time before the commencement of the civil war, his father had given a reluctant assent to a bill, strongly supported by Falkland, which deprived the bishops of their seats in the house of lords: but Episcopacy and the liturgy had never been abolished by law. The Long Parliament, however, had passed ordinances which had made a complete revolution in church government and in public worship. The new system was, in principle, scarcely less Erastian than that which it displaced. The houses, guided chiefly by the counsels of the accomplished Selden, had determined to keep the spiritual power strictly subordinate to the temporal power. They had refused to declare that any form of ecclesiastical polity was of divine origin; and they had provided that, from all the church courts, an appeal should lie in the last resort to parliament. With this highly important reservation it had been resolved to set up in England a hierarchy closely resembling that of Scotland. The authority of councils, rising one above another in regular gradation, was substituted for the authority of bishops and archbishops. The liturgy gave place to the Presbyterian directory. But scarcely had the new regulations been framed, when the Independents rose to supreme influence in the state. The Independents had no disposition to enforce the ordinances touching classical, provincial, and national synods. Those ordinances, therefore, were never carried into full execution. The Presbyterian system was fully established nowhere but in Middlesex and Lancashire. In the other fifty counties, almost every parish seems to have been unconnected with the neighbouring parishes. In some districts, indeed, the ministers formed themselves into voluntary associations, for the purpose of mutual help and counsel; but these associations had no coercive power. The patrons of livings, being now checked by neither bishop nor Presbytery,

would have been at liberty to confide the cure of souls to the most scandalous of mankind, but for the arbitrary intervention of Oliver. He established, by his own authority, a board of commissioners, called triers. Most of these persons were Independent divines; but a few Presbyterian ministers and a few laymen had seats. The certificate of the triers stood in the place both of institution and of induction; and without such a certificate no person could hold a benefice. This was undoubtedly one of the most despotic acts ever done by any English ruler. Yet, as it was generally felt that, without some such precaution, the country would be overrun by ignorant and drunken reprobates bearing the name and receiving the pay of ministers, some highly respectable persons, who were not in general friendly to Cromwell, allowed that, on this occasion, he had been a public benefactor. The presentees whom the triers had approved took possession of the rectories, cultivated the glebe lands, collected the tithes, prayed without book or surplice, and administered the eucharist to communicants seated at long tables.



BRICK TOWER

Thus the ecclesiastical polity of the realm was in inextricable confusion. Episcopacy was the form of government prescribed by the old law which was still unrepealed. The form of government prescribed by parliamentary ordinance was Presbyterian. But neither the old law nor the parliamentary ordinance was practically in force. The church actually established may be described as an irregular body made up of a few Presbyteries, and of many Independent congregations, which were all held down and held together by the authority of the government.

Of those who had been active in bringing back the king, many were zealous for synods and for the directory, and many were desirous to terminate by a compromise the religious dissensions which had long agitated England. Between the bigoted followers of Laud and the bigoted followers of Calvin there could be neither peace nor truce: but it did not seem impossible to effect an accommodation between the moderate Episcopalians of the school of Usher and the moderate Presbyterians of the school of Baxter. The moderate Episcopalians would admit that a bishop might lawfully be assisted by a council. The moderate Presbyterians would not deny that each provincial assembly might lawfully have a permanent president, and that this president might lawfully be called a bishop. There might be a revised liturgy which should not exclude extemporaneous prayer, a baptismal service in which the sign of the cross might be used or omitted at discretion, a communion service at which the faithful might sit if their consciences forbade them to kneel.

But to no such plan could the great body of the cavaliers listen with patience. The religious members of that party were conscientiously attached to the whole system of their church. She had been dear to their murdered king. She had consoled them in defeat and penury. Her service, so often whispered

in an inner chamber during the season of trial, had such a charm for them that they were unwilling to part with a single response. Other royalists, who made little pretence to piety, yet loved the Episcopal church because she was the foe of their foes. They valued a prayer or a ceremony, not on account of the comfort which it conveyed to themselves, but on account of the vexation which it gave to the roundheads, and were so far from being disposed to purchase union by concession that they objected to concession chiefly because it tended to produce union.

Unpopularity of the Puritans

Such feelings, though blamable, were natural and not wholly inexcusable. The Puritans in the day of their power had undoubtedly given cruel provocation. They ought to have learned, if from nothing else, yet from their own discontents, from their own struggles, from their own victory, from the fall of that proud hierarchy by which they had been so heavily oppressed, that, in England, and in the seventeenth century, it was not in the power of the civil magistrate to drill the minds of men into conformity with his own system of theology. They proved, however, as intolerant and as meddling as ever Laud had been. They interdicted under heavy penalties the use of the Book of Common Prayer, not only in churches, but even in private houses. It was a crime in a child to read by the bedside of a sick parent one of those beautiful collects which had soothed the griefs of forty generations of Christians. Severe punishments were denounced against such as should presume to blame the Calvinistic mode of worship. Clergymen of respectable character were not only ejected from their benefices by thousands, but were frequently exposed to the outrages of a fanatical rabble.

Churches and sepulchres, fine works of art, and curious remains of antiquity, were brutally defaced. The parliament resolved that all pictures in the royal collection which contained representations of Jesus or of the Virgin Mother should be burned. Sculpture fared as ill as painting. Nymphs and graces, the work of Ionian chisels, were delivered over to Puritan stonemasons to be made decent. Against the lighter vices the ruling faction waged war with a zeal little tempered by humanity or by common sense. Sharp laws were passed against betting. It was enacted that adultery should be punished with death. The illicit intercourse of the sexes, even where neither violence nor seduction was imputed, where no public scandal was given, where no conjugal right was violated, was made a misdemeanour. Public amusements, from the masques which were exhibited at the mansions of the great down to the wrestling matches and grinning matches on village greens, were vigorously attacked. One ordinance directed that all the May-poles in England should forthwith be hewn down. Another proscribed all theatrical diversions. The playhouses were to be dismantled, the spectators fined, the actors whipped at the cart's tail. Rope-dancing, puppet shows, bowls, horse-racing, were regarded with no friendly eye. But bear-baiting, then a favourite diversion of high and low, was the abomination which most strongly stirred the wrath of the austere sectaries. It is to be remarked that their antipathy to this sport had nothing in common with the feeling which has, in our own time, induced the legislature to interfere for the purpose of protecting beasts against the wanton cruelty of men. The Puritan hated bear-baiting, not because it gave pain to the bear, but because it gave pleasure to the spectators. Indeed, he generally contrived to enjoy the double pleasure of tormenting both spectators and bear.

Perhaps no single circumstance more strongly illustrates the temper of the precisians than their conduct respecting Christmas day. Christmas had been, from time immemorial, the season of joy and domestic affection, the season when families assembled, when children came home from school, when quarrels were made up, when carols were heard in every street, when every house was decorated with evergreens, and every table was loaded with good cheer. At that season all hearts not utterly destitute of kindness were enlarged and softened. At that season the poor were admitted to partake largely of the overflowings of the wealth of the rich, whose bounty was peculiarly acceptable on account of the shortness of the days and of the severity of the weather. At that season the interval between landlord and tenant, master and servant, was less marked than through the rest of the year. Where there is much enjoyment there will be some excess: yet, on the whole, the spirit in which the holiday was kept was not unworthy of a Christian festival. The Long Parliament gave orders, in 1644, that the twenty-fifth of December should be strictly observed as a fast, and that all men should pass it in humbly bemoaning the great national sin which they and their fathers had so often committed on that day by romping under the mistletoe, eating boar's head, and drinking ale flavoured with roasted apples.

No public act of that time seems to have irritated the common people more. On the next anniversary of the festival formidable riots broke out in many place. The constables were resisted, the magistrates insulted, the houses of noted zealots attacked, and the proscribed service of the day openly read in the churches.

Such was the spirit of the extreme Puritans, both Presbyterian and Independent. Oliver, indeed, was little disposed to be either a persecutor or a meddler. But Oliver, the head of a party, and consequently, to a great extent, the slave of a party, could not govern altogether according to his own inclinations. Even under his administration many magistrates, within their own jurisdiction, made themselves as odious as *Sir Hudibras*, interfered with all the pleasures of the neighbourhood, dispersed festive meetings, and put fiddlers in the stocks. Still more formidable was the zeal of the soldiers. In every village where they appeared there was an end of dancing, bell-ringing, and hockey. In London they several times interrupted theatrical performances at which the protector had the judgment and good nature to connive.

With the fear and hatred inspired by such a tyranny contempt was largely mingled. The peculiarities of the Puritan, his look, his dress, his dialect, his strange scruples, had been, ever since the time of Elizabeth, favourite subjects with mockers. But these peculiarities appeared far more grotesque in a faction which ruled a great empire than in obscure and persecuted congregations. The cant which had moved laughter when it was heard on the stage from Tribulation Wholesome, and Zeal-of-the-Land Busy, was still more laughable when it proceeded from the lips of generals and councillors of state.

It is also to be noted that during the civil troubles several sects had sprung into existence, whose eccentricities surpassed anything that had before been seen in England. A mad tailor, named Lodowick Muggleton, wandered from pothouse to pothouse, tippling ale, and denouncing eternal torments against those who refused to believe, on his testimony, that the Supreme Being was only six feet high, and that the sun was just four miles from the earth. George Fox had raised a tempest of derision by proclaiming that it was a violation of Christian sincerity to designate a single person by a plural pronoun, and that it was an idolatrous homage to Janus and Woden to talk about January and Wednesday. His doctrine, a few years later, was embraced by some eminent

men, and rose greatly in the public estimation. But at the time of the Restoration the Quakers were popularly regarded as the most despicable of fanatics. By the Puritans they were treated with severity here, and were persecuted to the death in New England. Nevertheless the public, which seldom makes nice distinctions, often confounded the Puritan with the Quaker. Both were schismatics. Both hated Episcopacy and the liturgy. Both had what seemed extravagant whimsies about dress, diversions, and postures. Widely as the two differed in opinion, they were popularly classed together as canting schismatics; and whatever was ridiculous or odious in either increased the scorn and aversion which the multitude felt for both.

Before the civil wars, even those who most disliked the opinions and manners of the Puritan were forced to admit that his moral conduct was generally, in essentials, blameless; but this praise was now no longer bestowed, and, unfortunately, was no longer deserved. The general fate of sects is to obtain a high reputation for sanctity while they are oppressed, and to lose it as soon as they become powerful: and the reason is obvious. It is seldom that a man enrolls himself in a proscribed body from any but conscientious motives. Such a body, therefore, is composed, with scarcely an exception, of sincere persons. The most rigid discipline that can be enforced within a religious society is a very feeble instrument of purification, when compared with a little sharp persecution from without. We may be certain that very few persons, not seriously impressed by religious convictions, applied for baptism while Diocletian was vexing the church, or joined themselves to Protestant congregations at the risk of being burned by Bonner. But, when a sect becomes powerful, when its favour is the road to riches and dignities, worldy and ambitious men crowd into it, talk its language, conform strictly to its ritual, mimic its peculiarities, and frequently go beyond its honest members in all the outward indications of zeal. No discernment, no watchfulness, on the part of ecclesiastical rulers, can prevent the intrusion of such false brethren. The tares and the wheat must grow together. Soon the world begins to find out that the godly are not better than other men, and argues, with some justice, that, if not better they must be much worse. In no long time all those signs which were formerly regarded as characteristic of a saint are regarded as characteristic of a knave.

Thus it was with the English nonconformists. They had been oppressed; and oppression had kept them a pure body. They then became supreme in the state. No man could hope to rise to eminence and command but by their favour. Their favour was to be gained only by exchanging with them the signs and passwords of spiritual fraternity. One of the first resolutions adopted by Barebone's Parliament, the most intensely Puritanical of all our political assemblies, was that no person should be admitted into the public service till the house should be satisfied of his real godliness. What were then considered as the signs of real godliness, the sad coloured dress, the sour look, the straight hair, the nasal whine, the speech interspersed with quaint texts, the abhorrence of comedies, cards, and hawking, were easily counterfeited by men to whom all religions were the same. The sincere Puritans soon found themselves lost in a multitude, not merely of men of the world, but of the very worst sort of men of the world. For the most notorious libertine who had fought under the royal standard might justly be thought virtuous when compared with some of those who, while they talked about sweet experiences and comfortable scriptures, lived in the constant practice of fraud, rapacity, and secret debauchery. The people, with a rashness which we may justly regret, but at which we cannot wonder, formed their estimate of the whole body from these hypocrites. The theology, the

manners, the dialect of the Puritan were thus associated in the public mind with the darkest and meanest vices. As soon as the Restoration had made it safe to avow enmity to the party which had so long been predominant in the state, a general outcry against Puritanism arose from every corner of the kingdom, and was often swollen by the voices of those very dissemblers whose villany had brought disgrace on the Puritan name.

Thus two great parties, which, after a long contest, had for a moment concurred in restoring monarchy, were, both in politics and in religion, again opposed to each other. The great body of the nation leaned to the royalists. The crimes of Strafford and Laud, the excesses of the Star Chamber and of the High Commission, the great services which the Long Parliament had, during the first year of its existence, rendered to the state, had faded from the minds of men. The execution of Charles the First, the sullen tyranny of the Rump, the violence of the army, were remembered with loathing; and the multitude was inclined to hold all who had withstood the late king responsible for his death and for the subsequent disasters.

The house of commons, having been elected while the Presbyterians were dominant, by no means represented the general sense of the people, and showed a strong disposition to check the intolerant loyalty of the cavaliers. One member, who ventured to declare that all who had drawn the sword against Charles the First were as much traitors as those who cut off his head, was called to order, placed at the bar, and reprimanded by the speaker. The general wish of the house undoubtedly was to settle the ecclesiastical disputes in a manner satisfactory to the moderate Puritans. But to such a settlement both the court and the nation were averse.

Character of Charles II

The restored king was at this time more loved by the people than any of his predecessors had ever been. The calamities of his house, the heroic death of his father, his own long sufferings and romantic adventures, made him an object of tender interest. His return had delivered the country from an intolerable bondage. Recalled by the voice of both the contending factions, he was in a position which enabled him to arbitrate between them; and in some respects he was well qualified for the task. He had received from nature excellent parts and a happy temper. His education had been such as might have been expected to develop his understanding, and to form him to the practise of every public and private virtue. He had passed through all varieties of fortune, and had seen both sides of human nature. He had, while very young, been driven forth from a palace to a life of exile, penury, and danger. He had, at the age when the mind and body are in their highest perfection, and when the first effervescence of boyish passions should have subsided, been recalled from his wanderings to wear a crown. He had been taught by bitter experience how much baseness, perfidy, and ingratitude may lie hid under the obsequious demeanour of courtiers. He had found, on the other hand, in the huts of the poorest, true nobility of soul. When wealth was offered to any who would betray him, when death was denounced against all who would shelter him, cottagers and serving men had kept his secret truly, and had kissed his hand under his mean disguises with as much reverence as if he had been seated on his ancestral throne. From such a school it might have been expected that a young man who wanted neither abilities nor amiable qualities would have come forth a great and good king.

Charles came forth from that school with social habits, with polite and

engaging manners, and with some talent for lively conversation, addicted beyond measure to sensual indulgence, fond of sauntering and of frivolous amusements, incapable of self-denial and of exertion, without faith in human virtue or in human attachment, without desire of renown, and without sensibility to reproach. According to him, every person was to be bought, but some people haggled more about their price than others; and when this haggling was very obstinate and very skilful it was called by some fine name. The chief trick by which clever men kept up the price of their abilities was called integrity. The chief trick by which handsome women kept up the price of their beauty was called modesty. The love of God, the love of country, the love of family, the love of friends, were phrases of the same sort, delicate and convenient synonyms for the love of self.[1] Thinking thus of mankind, Charles naturally cared very little what they thought of him. Honour and shame were scarcely more to him than light and darkness to the blind. His contempt of flattery has been highly commended, but seems, when viewed in connection with the rest of his character, to deserve no commendation. It is possible to be below flattery as well as above it. One who trusts nobody will not trust sycophants. One who does not value real glory will not value its counterfeit.

It is creditable to Charles's temper that, ill as he thought of his species, he never became a misanthrope. He saw little in men but what was hateful. Yet he did not hate them. Nay, he was so far humane that it was highly disagreeable to him to see their sufferings or to hear their complaints. This however is a sort of humanity which, though amiable and laudable in a private man whose power to help or hurt is bounded by a narrow circle, has in princes often been rather a vice than a virtue. More than one well disposed ruler has given up whole provinces to rapine and oppression, merely from a wish to see none but happy faces round his own board and in his own walks. No man is fit to govern great societies who hesitates about disobliging the few who have access to him for the sake of the many whom he will never see.

The facility of Charles was such as has perhaps never been found in any man of equal sense. He was a slave without being a dupe. Worthless men and women to the very bottom of whose hearts he saw, and whom he knew to be destitute of affection for him and undeserving of his confidence, could easily wheedle out of him titles, places, domains, state secrets and pardons. He bestowed much; yet he neither enjoyed the pleasure nor acquired the fame of beneficence. He never gave spontaneously; but it was painful to him to refuse. The consequence was that his bounty generally went, not to those who deserved it best, nor even to those whom he liked best, but to the most shameless and importunate suitor who could obtain an audience.

Charles, though incapable of love in the highest sense of the word, was the slave of any woman whose person excited his desires, and whose airs and prattle amused his leisure. Indeed a husband would be justly derided who

[1 The following character of this monarch is from a note on Burnet by Speaker Onslow: — "Charles had neither conscience, religion, honour, or justice, and he does not seem to have had even the feelings of them. He had no one truly public aim, as such, in the whole course of his reign. All he meant and sought, for which he tumbled and tossed from side to side, from one minister to another, and for which he was continually cheating his people, was to enjoy a lazy, thoughtless ease, in which the constant debauchery of amours, and in the pleasures of wit and laughter, with the most worthless, vicious, abandoned set of men that even that age afforded, and who often made him the subject of their jokes and mirth, sometimes to his face. He was corrupted in France, and had all the pleasantry and vices of his grandfather, Henry the Fourth, but not one of his virtues. Charles made the times here to be profligate; and, instead of ministers spoiling him, he spoiled most of his ministers, and did not love those whom he could not spoil."]

should bear from a wife of exalted rank and spotless virtue half the insolence which the king of England bore from concubines who, while they owed everything to his bounty, caressed his courtiers almost before his face. He patiently endured the termagant passions of Barbara Palmer and the pert vivacity of Eleanor Gwyn. Louis thought that the most useful envoy who could be sent to London, would be a handsome, licentious, and crafty Frenchwoman. Such a woman was Louisa, a lady of the house of Querouaille, whom our rude ancestors called Madam Carwell. She was soon triumphant over all her rivals, was created duchess of Portsmouth, was loaded with wealth, and obtained a dominion which ended only with the life of Charles.

The motives which governed the political conduct of Charles the Second differed widely from those by which his predecessor and his successor were actuated. He was not a man to be imposed upon by the patriarchal theory of government and the doctrine of divine right. He was utterly without ambition. He detested business, and would sooner have abdicated his crown than have undergone the trouble of really directing the administration. Such was his aversion to toil, and such his ignorance of affairs, that the very clerks who attended him when he sate in council could not refrain from sneering at his frivolous remarks, and at his childish impatience. Neither gratitude nor revenge had any share in determining his course; for never was there a mind on which both services and injuries left such faint and transitory impressions.

He wished merely to be a king such as Louis the Fifteenth of France afterwards was; a king who could draw without limit on the treasury for the gratification of his private tastes, who could hire with wealth and honours persons capable of assisting him to kill the time, and who, even when the state was brought by maladministration to the depths of humiliation and to the brink of ruin, could still exclude unwelcome truth from the purlieus of his own seraglio, and refuse to see and hear whatever might disturb his luxurious repose. For these ends, and for these ends alone, he wished to obtain arbitrary power, if it could be obtained without risk or trouble. In the religious disputes which divided his Protestant subjects his conscience was not at all interested. For his opinions oscillated in a state of contented suspense between infidelity and popery. But, though his conscience was neutral in the quarrel between the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians, his taste was by no means so.

His favourite vices were precisely those to which the Puritans were least indulgent. He could not get through one day without the help of diversions which the Puritans regarded as sinful. As a man eminently well bred, and keenly sensible of the ridiculous,[1] he was moved to contemptuous mirth by the Puritan oddities. He had indeed some reason to dislike the rigid sect. He had, at the age when the passions are most impetuous and when levity is most pardonable, spent some months in Scotland, a king in name, but in fact a state prisoner in the hands of austere Presbyterians. Not content with requiring him to conform to their worship and to subscribe their covenant, they had watched all his motions, and lectured him on all his youthful

[1 White says: "The witty epigram of his courtier may be quoted in serious faith as his epitaph:

'Here lies our sovereign lord, the king,
Whose word no man relies on;
Who never said a foolish thing,
And never did a wise one.'"

But it should be added that when Charles heard this epigram, he retorted that the explanation was easy; his discourse was his own, his actions were his ministry's.]

follies. He had been compelled to give reluctant attendance at endless prayers and sermons, and might think himself fortunate when he was not insolently reminded from the pulpit of his own frailities, of his father's tyranny, and of his mother's idolatry. Indeed he had been so miserable during this part of his life that the defeat which made him again a wanderer might be regarded as a deliverance rather than as a calamity. Under the influence of such feelings as these Charles was desirous to depress the party which had resisted his father.

Characters of the Duke of York, and Earl of Clarendon

The king's brother, James Duke of York, took the same side. Though a libertine, James was diligent, methodical, and fond of authority and business. His understanding was singularly slow and narrow, and his temper obstinate, harsh, and unforgiving. That such a prince should have looked with no good will on the free institutions of England, and on the party which was peculiarly zealous for those institutions, can excite no surprise. As yet the duke professed himself a member of the Anglican church: but he had already shown inclinations which had seriously alarmed good Protestants.

The person on whom devolved at this time the greatest part of the labour of governing was Edward Hyde, chancellor of the realm, who was soon created earl of Clarendon. The respect which we justly feel for Clarendon as a writer must not blind us to the faults which he committed as a statesman. Some of those faults, however, are explained and excused by the unfortunate position in which he stood. He had, during the first year of the Long Parliament, been honourably distinguished among the senators who laboured to redress the grievances of the nation. One of the most odious of those grievances, the council of York, had been removed in consequence chiefly of his exertions. When the great schism took place, when the reforming party and the conservative party first appeared marshalled against each other, he with many wise and good men took the conservative side. He thenceforward followed the fortunes of the court, enjoyed as large a share of the confidence of Charles the First as the reserved nature and tortuous policy of that prince allowed to any minister, and subsequently shared the exile and directed the political conduct of Charles the Second.

At the Restoration Hyde became chief minister. In a few months it was announced that he was closely related by affinity to the royal house. His daughter had become, by a secret marriage, duchess of York. His grandchildren might perhaps wear the crown. He was raised by this illustrious connection over the heads of the old nobility of the land, and was for a time supposed to be all powerful. In some respects he was well fitted for his great place. No man wrote abler state papers. No man spoke with more weight and dignity in council and in parliament. No man was better acquainted with general maxims of statecraft. No man observed the varieties of character with a more discriminating eye. It must be added that he had a strong sense of moral and religious obligations, a sincere reverence for the laws of his country, and a conscientious regard for the honour and interest of the crown. But his temper was sour, arrogant, and impatient of opposition. Above all, he had been long an exile; and this circumstance alone would have completely disqualified him for the supreme direction of affairs.

It is scarcely possible that a politician, who has been compelled by civil troubles to go into banishment, and to pass many of the best years of his life abroad, can be fit, on the day on which he returns to his native land, to be at

the head of the government. Clarendon was no exception to this rule. He had left England with a mind heated by a fierce conflict which had ended in the downfall of his party and of his own fortunes. From 1646 to 1660 he had lived beyond sea, looking on all that passed at home from a great distance, and through a false medium. His notions of public affairs were necessarily derived from the reports of plotters, many of whom were ruined and desperate men. Events naturally seemed to him auspicious, not in proportion as they increased the prosperity and glory of the nation, but in proportion as they tended to hasten the hour of his own return. His wish, a wish which he has not disguised, was that, till his countrymen brought back the old line, they might never enjoy quiet or freedom. At length he returned; and, without having a single week to look about him, to mix with society, to note the changes which fourteen eventful years had produced in the national character and feelings, he was at once set to rule the state.

In such circumstances, a minister of the greatest tact and docility would probably have fallen into serious errors. But tact and docility made no part of the character of Clarendon. To him England was still the England of his youth; and he sternly frowned down every theory and every practice which had sprung up during his own exile. Though he was far from meditating any attack on the ancient and undoubted power of the House of Commons, he saw with extreme uneasiness the growth of that power. The royal prerogative, for which he had long suffered, and by which he had at length been raised to wealth and dignity, was sacred in his eyes. The Roundheads he regarded both with political and with personal aversion. To the Anglican Church he had always been strongly attached, and had repeatedly, where her interests were concerned, separated himself with regret from his dearest friends. His zeal for Episcopacy and for the Book of Common Prayer was now more ardent than ever, and was mingled with a vindictive hatred of the Puritans, which did him little honour either as a statesman or as a Christian.[h]

THE CONVENTION PARLIAMENT (1660 A.D.)

After this review of the situation we may take up in detail the actual procedure.[a] The first care of the king had been to reward those who had been active in his restoration, and to form his council. Monk, as previously described, was created duke of Albemarle, and Montague, earl of Sandwich, and both had the Garter. Annesley was made earl of Anglesea; Denzil Holles, Lord Holles; and Ashley Cooper, Lord Ashley. The earl of Manchester was appointed lord chamberlain, and Lord Say, lord privy seal. Monk's friend Morrice was made one of the secretaries of state. Of the old royalists, Hyde, as we have seen, was made chancellor, Southampton, treasurer, Ormonde, steward of the household; Sir Edward Nicholas continued to be a secretary of state, and Lord Colpepper, master of the rolls.

The present parliament not having been summoned legally, was no more than a convention, and its Acts were therefore not binding. It, however, passed an Act declaring itself to be the parliament, and then proceeded to the consideration of the many weighty matters it had to determine.

The first was to provide a revenue for the crown. As it appeared that a chief cause of the late unhappy troubles had been the inadequacy of the revenue to the exigencies of the government, it was resolved to settle an income of 1,200,000*l.* a year on the king. In return, was required the abolition of tenures in chivalry, with all their incidents, such as wardships, marriages, etc., together with purveyance and pre-emption — all, for centuries, fruitful

sources of evil, and constant subjects of complaint and remonstrance. This being consented to, the next question was, whence the aforesaid revenue was to arise. A permanent tax on the lands thus relieved was the obvious and equitable course: but he knows little of parliaments, who thinks that this would be assented to by the owners of lands who sat in them, while any mode offered of shifting the burden. Some one mentioned the excise; the idea was at once embraced, and it was carried by a majority of two that a moiety of the excise on beer and other liquors should be settled on the crown; and thus this tax, originally so odious, was made permanent. By this Act (12 Car. II. ch. 24), a most important change was wrought in the constitution, the prerogative losing its most influential branch. We will here add that, at the close of the session, the remaining moiety of the excise was given also to the crown.

An army of fifty thousand men, whose pay required an assessment of £70,000 a month, was alike dangerous to the crown and burdensome to the nation. Symptoms of disaffection had already appeared among the soldiers, and Monk declared that he could no longer answer for the troops. It was therefore resolved to lose no time in disbanding them; money was procured to clear off their arrears, the regiments were reduced one after another, eulogies were lavished on the soldiers, and without mutiny or murmur they merged into the mass of peaceful citizens; and thus disappeared that wonderful army, only to be rivalled perhaps by those of the early days of the Roman republic and those of the first Khalifs, in the union of religion, discipline, and undaunted valour. The king was strongly urged by the duke of York to retain this army, or to raise another; to this course he was himself inclined, but he knew that it was useless to propose it to the parliament. Monk's regiment, named the Coldstream, was however retained, with one or two of horse, and one formed out of the troops at Dunkirk was afterwards added; the whole amounted to about five thousand men, and under the name of guards formed the germ of the present large standing army.

THE BILL OF INDEMNITY; THE REGICIDES

The Bill of Indemnity also occupied the attention of parliament. It had been engaged on this even before the arrival of the king. Monk had recommended the king not to except more than four persons; but the Commons at first (May 16th) excepted seven by name; they afterwards enumerated twenty persons, who, though not regicides, should for their share in the transactions of the last twelve years be affected with penalties short of death; they finally excepted such of the king's judges as had not surrendered themselves on the late proclamation. When the bill came to the Lords (July 11th), where the old royalists prevailed, it was judged to be far too lenient. They voted to except all the king's judges, and also Vane, Lambert, Haslerig, Hacker, and Axtel; they struck out the clause respecting the twenty persons, and then sent the bill back to the Commons. But here there were some feelings of honour and humanity. By the proclamation above-mentioned, the king's judges[1] were required to surrender themselves on pain of being excepted

[1] Five-and-twenty out of the original number had indeed been already removed by death beyond the reach of any earthly tribunal, and nineteen had crossed the sea to escape the fate which awaited them in their native country. Three of these, Whalley, Goff, and Dixwell, secreted themselves in New England, where they passed their lives in the constant fear of being discovered by the officers of government. There is an interesting account of their adventures by Hutchinson, and in the history of these "Most Illustrious and Heroic Defenders of Liberty," published by Ezra Styles, S.T.D., LL.D., President of the Yale College, Hartford, U. S., 1794. Three others, Corbet, Okey, and Berkstead, were apprehended in Holland, at the

from any pardon or indemnity as to their lives or estates. The obvious construction of this was, that the lives of those who came in would be in no danger, and accordingly nineteen had surrendered. It was contended that these should be set at liberty, and suffered to make their escape if they could.

A compromise at length was effected. Most of the king's judges were excepted, as also were Hacker, Axtel, and Hugh Peters; but the nineteen were not to suffer death without an act of parliament for that purpose. Vane and Lambert were also excepted; but by an address of both houses, the king was requested to spare their lives if they should be attainted. Haslerig, Lord Monson, and five others were to lose liberty and property, and Lenthall, St. John, Hutchinson, and sixteen more, all members of the high courts of justice, were to be ineligible to any office whatever. In this form the Bill of Indemnity received the royal assent.

After sitting about three months, the parliament adjourned, and during the recess the twenty-nine regicides who were in custody were brought to trial before a court of thirty-four commissioners, of whom some were old royalists; others, such as Manchester, Say, Holles, and Annesley, members of the Long Parliament; with these sat Monk, Montague, and Cooper, the associates of Cromwell, whom a feeling of delicacy should, perhaps, have withheld from the tribunal.

Most of the prisoners expressed sorrow for their crime; others said that they had borne the king no malice, that they thought his death an act of national justice, and that they had acted under the supreme authority of the nation. They were all found guilty; those who had surrendered were respited, with one exception, namely, Scroop; his having, after his surrender, expressed his real sentiments on the execution of Charles I, in reply to an insidious question, was the pretext for this breach of faith; ten were executed. These were six of the king's judges, Harrison, Scott, Carew, Jones, Clements, and Scroop; Cook, one of the counsel on the trial; Axtel and Hacker, who had commanded the guards; and Hugh Peters, the fanatic preacher. The place of execution was Charing Cross, where a gallows was erected for the purpose. General Harrison suffered first (Oct. 13). Supported here, as on his trial, by that fervid spirit of enthusiasm so perfectly free from all alloy of worldly motives, he gloried in the act for which he was brought to die as performed in the cause of God and his country, and expressed his confidence in the revival of the good cause in happier times. Carew was the next who suffered (15th); his conduct was similar. Cook and Peters were executed on the same day (16th); the latter alone, according to Burnet,[f] is said, showed want of courage, and was obliged to have recourse to cordials. Scott, Clement, Scroop, and Jones, also suffered on the same day (17th). Hacker and Axtel closed the scene at Tyburn (19th). All died with the constancy of martyrs. It is very remarkable, that not a single man of those who had a share in the death of the late king seems to have voluntarily repented of the deed.

The narratives in the state trials were drawn up by the friends of the sufferers, and are evidently partial. Who can believe that "after Harrison's body was opened, he mounted himself and gave the executioner a box in the ear"? At the same time, it is evident, that they were treated with a degree of cruelty and barbarity, for which the conduct of their party, when in power, offered no precedent.

The lives of the remaining regicides were spared; they spent the rest of

instance of Downing, and given up by the states, as an atonement for their former treatment of the king during his exile. They suffered under the act of attainder, on the 19th of April, 1662. Others sought refuge in Switzerland. — LINGARD.[d]]

their days in different prisons. The witty and licentious Harry Marten died at the age of seventy-eight, in Chepstow Castle. They surely had no just reason to complain of their fate, if they recollected how many royalists they had, as far as in them lay, subjected to a similar destiny.

REVENGE ON THE CORPSES OF CROMWELL AND BLAKE

Though one must admire the constancy and magnanimity of the sufferers, most of whom were gentlemen by birth and education, the justice of their sentence is not to be denied, even on their own principles; and it was impossible for Charles to suffer such a heinous deed as the solemn execution of his father to go unpunished. But there was another part of the royal vengeance which can be regarded with no other feelings than those of abhorrence and disgust. The bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, were taken from their tombs in the Abbey, drawn on hurdles to Tyburn on the anniversary of the death of Charles I, hung on the gallows till evening, then taken down, the heads cut off and fixed on Westminster Hall, and the trunks thrown into a pit. The bodies of about twenty persons (those of Blake, and Cromwell's respectable mother included) were afterwards taken out of the Abbey and buried in the adjoining church-yard. Yet Charles showed less enthusiasm for finding his father's body than for avenging the murder for, says Knight,[k] "Charles II caused a search to be made for the vault, when the parliament had voted a large sum for a public interment. The search was fruitless, and the king put the money in his pocket. George IV wished to gratify a reasonable curiosity, and the vault with its coffins was readily found. To our minds there is nothing in the whole course of this evil reign so prophetic of the coming national degradation, as the indignities offered to the remains of the greatest soldier and the greatest sailor that England had produced. Cromwell and Blake by their genius and their patriotism made their country the most honoured and dreaded of the nations. They bequeathed to the heir of the ancient kings, a national dignity which was more solid than the glories of the Edwards and Henries, and as dearly prized by the people as the triumphs of Elizabeth. This miserable heir of the grand English monarchy was utterly destitute of that nationality without which a sovereign is more degraded than the meanest of his subjects. The future pensioner of France was incapable of comprehending what England owed to the man whose corpse he hung up on the gallows at Tyburn."

Another important point for the parliament to decide on was the case of those who had purchased the crown and church lands and the estates of royalists, which had been sold by the public authority in the late times. A bill was introduced for an equitable adjustment, but it met with much opposition; and nothing having been done when the parliament was dissolved, the crown, the church, and the other proprietors entered on the lands in question, and the occupiers, having no legal titles to produce, were obliged to sit down contented with the loss of their purchase-money. But it was only the leading royalists that gained in this way; thousands of gentlemen who had sold their lands to support the royal cause, or to pay the sequestrations imposed on them for their loyalty, and had thus been reduced to poverty, remained without remedy. The sales having been legal, the present possessors were secured by the Bill of Indemnity, against which the disappointed cavaliers now exclaimed, saying it was indeed an act of oblivion and indemnity, but of indemnity for the king's enemies, and of oblivion for his friends. They taxed the king with ingratitude, and they conceived, on account of it, a mortal hatred to Hyde.

Their case was doubtless a severe one, but there was really no preventing it but at the risk of a civil war. It was observed that the most clamorous were those who had suffered least, and the petty services for which many claimed large rewards furnished matter for ridicule.

THE RESTORATION OF EPISCOPACY

The church was a difficult matter to arrange. Most of the livings were in the hands of the Presbyterians, and they had so mainly contributed to the restoration, that it would be both ungrateful and unsafe to attempt to disturb them. On the other hand, both the king and the chancellor were resolved to re-establish Episcopacy. There was also a difficulty about the livings, for such of the clergy as had been ejected for their loyalty, seemed now to have a just claim to recover what they had lost. This, however, was accommodated to a certain extent; but the vision of the jurisdiction of bishops, and the dreaded surplice, ring, and cross, alarmed the Presbyterians. They proposed Bishop Usher's model of Episcopacy, and prayed that the habits and ceremonies might not be imposed, and that the liturgy might be revised. The king issued a declaration, apparently granting all they required; but when an attempt was made to have this converted into a bill, it was frustrated by the efforts of the court party in the commons. It was quite plain from this that the royal declaration was only meant to be illusory.

At length (Dec. 29th) the Convention Parliament was dissolved, for it was urged that it was necessary to have a true parliament, to give the force of law to what it had enacted; and it was also expected that a new parliament would be more purely royalist.

In September of this year the duke of Gloucester died of small-pox, much lamented by the king his brother. Their sister, the princess of Orange, died of the same disorder in the winter. The king's other sister, the princess Henrietta, was married about this time to the duke of Orleans, brother to Louis XIV. Another marriage in the royal family was that of the duke of York to Anne Hyde, daughter of the chancellor, who had been maid of honour to the princess of Orange. She possessed wit and sense, though not beauty. The duke, whose taste on this last point was never very delicate, laid siege to her virtue, which was surrendered on a secret contract of marriage; when the consequences were becoming apparent, James kept his promise, and privately espoused her (Sept. 3rd). He informed the king and chancellor. The former, though annoyed, forgave him; the latter pretended the greatest rage against his daughter, advised the king to send her to the Tower, and that not being done, confined her to a room in his own house. The queen-mother and the princess of Orange were highly indignant; and Charles Berkeley, to recommend himself to favour, swore that Anne had been his mistress, and brought Lord Arran, Jermyn, Talbot, and Killegrew, as witnesses of her wantonness. The duke was shaken; but on the birth of her child, and her solemn assertion at that time, and Berkeley's confession of the falsehood of his story, he resolved to do her justice. He acknowledged her as his duchess, and she bore her new rank, it is said, as if she had been born in it.

THE PARLIAMENT OF 1661 AND THE CORPORATION ACT

The new year (1661) opened with a wild outbreak of the fanatics named fifth-monarchy men, under their leader, Venner, the wine-cooper. One Sunday (Jan. 6th), having heated their enthusiasm by a discourse on the speedy

coming of Jesus and the reign of the saints, he issued from his conventicle, in Colman street, at the head of sixty well-armed fanatics. They proceeded to St. Paul's, proclaiming King Jesus. They drove off a party of the trained bands that were sent against them, and in the evening they retired to Caenwood, between Hampstead and Highgate. Here some of them were taken: but on Wednesday morning (9th) they returned into the city, shouting as before, and dispersed some of the troops and of the trained bands. At length, some being killed, and Venner taken, they retired into a house at Cripplegate, which they defended, till a party, headed by one Lambert, a seaman, got in at the roof. Most of them were slain; Venner and the remainder were hanged. The attempt was purely an isolated act, but advantage was taken of it to issue a proclamation for suppressing the conventicles of the Quakers, Anabaptists, and other sectaries; it was also the occasion of the formation of the regiments of guards already noticed.

The king's coronation having been celebrated with great splendour (Apr. 23rd),[1] the new parliament met (May 8th). [It is sometimes called the Cavalier Parliament.] As was to be expected, it was most decidedly royalist, the Presbyterians not having more than sixty seats. Its temper soon appeared, by votes for obliging all the members to receive the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England, and for having the Solemn League and Covenant burnt by the common hangman. It was declared that the negative and the command of the army[2] were rights inherent in the crown; and it was made treason to injure the king's person, or to distinguish between his person and his office. It required all the efforts of the king and Clarendon to have the Bill of Indemnity passed without further exceptions. A bill passed the commons for the immediate execution of the remaining regicides; but the lords, more humane or more honourable, rejected it, the king himself expressing his aversion to it. "I am weary of hanging," said he to Clarendon, "except for new offences. Let the bill settle in the houses, that it may not come to me, for you know that I cannot pardon them." The act depriving the bishops of their seats in parliament, which had been so violently extorted from the late king, was repealed, and the prelates were restored to their legislative functions. As a chief weapon in those times had been tumultuary bodies of petitioners, an act was passed that not more than ten persons should present any petition to the king or either house, nor should it be signed by more than twenty, unless with the order of three justices, or the major part of a grand jury.

While the parliament was thus replacing the constitution on its ancient basis, a conference (called the Savoy Conference) was going on at the bishop of London's lodgings, at the Savoy Palace, between twelve prelates and nine assistants, and an equal number of Presbyterian divines. The ostensible object was a revision of the Book of Common Prayer. It ended, of course, as all such conferences do. The bishops were predetermined to admit of none but very slight modifications, and to retain all the ceremonies. The Presbyterians, under the circumstances, required by far too much; yet surely the prelates might have conceded something to men at least as pious and as learned as themselves, and but for whom they would be probably still without

[1] Hyde was on this occasion created earl of Clarendon, and Arthur Lord Capel (son of him who had been executed in 1649) earl of Essex.

[[2] The act for the command of the militia went rather beyond the constitutional principle of recognising the sole power of the crown to command the forces by land or sea. It declared not only that neither house of parliament could pretend to such power, but could not lawfully levy any war, offensive or defensive, against the king.[k] "These last words," says Hallam,[e] "appeared to go to a dangerous length, and to sanction the suicidal doctrine of absolute non-resistance."]

their sees. If it was puerile on the one side to object so vehemently to the cross, ring, and surplice, it was surely no proof of wisdom on the other to insist on them as if they were of the very essence of religion. So little were the prelates disposed to concession, that even the innovations of Laud were retained, and they remain to this day part of the service of the Church of England.

The strength of the Presbyterian party lay in the corporations, and in these, their strongholds, the church-party proceeded to attack them. By the Corporation Act now passed it was enacted, that any person holding office



BRIDGEWATER MOAT, ELTHAM

in a corporation might be removed, unless he would renounce the Solemn League and Covenant, and declare his belief of the unlawfulness of taking up arms against the king, etc.; and no future officer to be admitted unless he had previously taken the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England.

The revision of the Common Prayer was finally (Nov. 20) committed to the convocation. They made a number of alterations and additions; none, however, favourable to the Presbyterians. The amended book was presented to the king and council, and by them recommended to the house of lords.

THE EXECUTION OF SIR HARRY VANE (1662 A.D.)

Vane and Lambert still lay in prison. As they had had no immediate hand in the death of the late king, the convention had addressed the king in their behalf, and he had assured them that, if attainted, they should not be executed. They were now brought to trial, at the suit of the commons. Lambert, (June 9, 1662), who had never been an enthusiast, or even perhaps a republican, acted with great caution. He excused his opposing Booth and Monk by saying that he knew not that they were acting for the king, and he threw himself on the royal mercy. He was sentenced to die, but he was only confined for life in the isle of Guernsey. He lived there for thirty years, forgotten by the world, occupying his time in the cultivation of flowers and in the practise of the art of painting. It is said that he became a Catholic.

Very different was the conduct of the upright, fervid, enthusiast and

[1662 A.D.]

republican Vane (June 6). Far from suing for mercy, he asserted that "the decision by the sword was given [against the late king] by that God who, being the judge of the whole earth, does right, and cannot do otherwise"; and the parliament then became the government *de facto*, and, consequently, he was entitled to the benefit of the statute 11 Henry VII, for acting in obedience to it. The spirit of the law, if not the letter, was decidedly in his favour, and the judges could only get over the difficulty by the monstrous assertion, that Charles had been king *de facto* from the death of his father, though "kept out of the exercise of his royal authority by rebels and traitors." The prisoner's defence was most eloquent and able, but it had been determined not to let him escape. Sentence of death was passed on him, the judges refusing to sign a bill of exceptions, which he presented. He was beheaded on Tower Hill (14th). His demeanour was such as was to be expected from his known character. When he attempted to address the people in vindication of himself and the cause for which he suffered, his note-books were snatched from him, and the trumpeters were ordered to blow in his face. "It is a bad cause," said he, "which cannot bear the words of a dying man." One stroke terminated his mortal existence.

The character of Sir Henry Vane stands forth pre-eminent for purity among the republican chiefs. He was disinterested and incorrupt; willing to give to all others the liberty he claimed for himself; the enemy of oppression in all its forms. It is difficult to regard his death as anything but a judicial murder, yet surely there was in it something of retribution. Though taking no immediate share in the judicial proceedings against the late king, he had mainly contributed to his death by his conduct at the Treaty of Newport, and his speech in the house on his return. By the manner in which he furnished evidence against Strafford (whose sentence was little, if at all, less iniquitous than his own), he was a main cause of the civil war, and of all the bloodshed and misery which thence ensued. On the same spot on which Strafford fell one-and-twenty years before, Vane now underwent a similar fate. As the series of blood began with the one, it ended with the other. As Charles I forfeited his word and honour in the one case, so Charles II forfeited his in the other.

THE AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND AND IRELAND

Having thus far carried on the affairs of England, it is now time that we should notice those of Scotland and Ireland [though they are treated at length in the next volume].

As Scotland had not been mentioned in the Declaration from Breda, the cavaliers of that country breathed nothing but blood and forfeitures.

The union which the commonwealth had laboured to effect was no longer thought of. The earl of Middleton was appointed commissioner for holding the parliament, Glencairn chancellor, and Lauderdale secretary. The fortresses built by Cromwell were demolished, and the garrisons disbanded. As the king had been thoroughly disgusted with Presbytery, and he and his chief counsellors regarded it as incompatible with monarchy, the restoration of Episcopacy was resolved on. The utmost efforts having been made to pack a parliament, that assembly, when it met (Jan. 1, 1661), proved to be suited to all the purposes of the court. It was known by the name of "The Drunken Parliament," on account of the continued inebriety of Middleton and his associates. Its first proceeding was to restore the prerogative in its fullest

extent. In one of Middleton's drunken bouts, it was resolved to adopt a measure which Primrose the clerk-register had proposed half in jest, which was, a general act "rescissory," annulling on various pretexts all the parliaments held since the year 1633. This, though vigorously opposed by the old covenanters, was carried by a large majority, and the Presbyterian discipline was left at the mercy of the crown.

Those who hungered after the large possessions of Argyll now hastened to shed his blood. The base treachery of Monk came to the aid of his enemies. He transmitted to the parliament some private letters in which Argyll expressed his attachment to the protector's government: his friends were silenced, and sentence was pronounced (May 25th). Argyll met his fate with piety and fortitude (27th).

The soil being thus watered with the blood of the covenanters Argyll and the clergyman Guthrey, it was resolved to replant Episcopacy. [The inhuman measures adopted in its re-establishment are detailed in the history of Scotland.]

Unhappy Ireland was also to be regulated anew. No blood was here to be shed, and the church, as a matter of course, resumed its former position; but the adjustment of property was a matter of tremendous difficulty. The tide of conquest had swept over the country, effacing all limits and landmarks. The greater part of the lands were now in the possession of the adventurers who had advanced their money on the faith of acts of parliament passed with the assent of the late king, and of the soldiers of Cromwell's army; but there were numerous other claimants, such as the Forty-nine men, or those who had served in the royal army previous to the year 1649, the Protestant loyalists whose estates had been confiscated, the innocent Catholics, those who had served under the king in Flanders, etc.

The king issued a declaration (Nov. 30, 1660) for the settlement of Ireland; but the Irish houses of parliament disagreeing with respect to it, they sent their deputies over to the king, and the Catholics at the same time despatched agents on their part. Charles was, for obvious reasons, disposed to favour these last, but, like true Irishmen, they seemed resolved that it should not be in his power. They justified their rebellion, denied their massacres, and finally the king ordered the doors of the council to be closed against them. The heads of a bill were then prepared and sent over to Dublin in May, 1662, but it was three years before the final settlement was effected. The soldiers and adventurers agreed to give up a third of their lands, to augment what was called "The Fund of Reprisals," or property still remaining at the disposal of the crown, and which had been shamefully diminished by lavish grants to the dukes of York, Ormonde, Albemarle, and others. Out of this the Forty-nine men were paid their arrears, fifty-four Catholics were restored to their houses, and two thousand acres of land; but there remained three thousand who had put in claims of innocence for whom no relief was provided. Previous to the rebellion, it is said the Catholics had possessed two-thirds of the lands of Ireland; there now remained to them not more than one-third. Sir W. Petty[w] says that only a sixth remained to the Catholics.

THE PROFLIGACY OF CHARLES: HIS MARRIAGE (1662 A.D.)

We now return to England, where the marriage of the king engaged the attention of his council. Charles was a notorious profligate with respect to women. While in France he had a son by a Mrs. Barlow or Walters, and imme-

[1662 A.D.]

diately on his coming to England, Barbara Villiers, daughter of Lord Grandison, and wife to a Catholic gentleman named Palmer, a woman of great beauty, but utterly devoid of virtue or principle, having thrown herself in his way, made a conquest of his heart, over which she long retained her empire, though only one sultana out of many. The scandal which the king gave by his amours, caused his ministers to urge him to marry; but he resolved not to espouse a Protestant, and his subjects he thought would object to a Catholic. At the suggestion of the French king, however, the Portuguese ambassador offered him the infanta Catherine, sister to the king of Portugal, with a dower of 500,000*l.*, the settlements of Tangier in Africa, and Bombay in the East Indies, and a free trade to Portugal and her colonies.

The money tempted the king; Clarendon and the other ministers approved of the match, but the Spanish ambassador now laboured to obstruct it. He represented that the infanta was incapable of bearing children; that it might cause a war with Spain, and the loss of the Spanish trade; and he offered, on the part of his master, a large portion with either of the princesses of Parma. Charles sent Lord Bristol secretly to Italy, where he saw the princesses as they were going to church. One glance sufficed; the one was hideously ugly, the other monstrously fat. Meantime Louis sent to urge the Portuguese match, offering Charles money to purchase votes in the parliament, promising to lend him 50,000*l.* whenever he should want it, and to aid him with money in case of a war with Spain. The Spaniard, on the other hand, proposed to the king different Protestant princesses, whom his master would portion equal to daughters of Spain. He also laboured to excite the Protestant feelings of the parliament and city, but to no purpose. The Portuguese match was approved of by the council and both houses, and (June, 1661) the earl of Sandwich was sent out with a fleet to convey the infanta, when ready, to England.

The prospect of her lover's marriage made Mrs. Palmer very uneasy. To reconcile her he made her costly presents, and created her husband earl of Castlemain in Ireland, with remainder to the issue male of his wife, who had just borne to her royal keeper a son at Hampton Court; and finally, lost to all sense of honour and delicacy, Charles pledged himself to make her lady of the bed-chamber to his queen.

On the 20th of May, 1662, the fleet which bore the infanta reached Spithead. Charles, quitting the embraces of the wanton Castlemain, hastened to Portsmouth to receive his bride. They were married privately, according to the rites of the church of Rome, by the Lord Aubigny, the queen's almoner. They then came forth and sat on chairs in the room where the company was assembled, and Sheldon bishop of London pronounced them man and wife. They thence proceeded to Hampton Court, where after some days Charles, taking "The Lady," as Castlemain was called, by the hand, presented her to the queen before the entire court. Catherine had so much command of herself as to give her a gracious reception, but in a few minutes her eyes filled with tears, blood gushed from her nose, and she fell into a fit. Charles now affected the tone of a man of honour; he had been, he said, the cause of Castlemain's disgrace, and he was bound to make her reparation, and he would not submit to the whims of his wife. Clarendon and Ormonde remonstrated, but were harshly reproved, and even required to lend their aid in the royal project; and who will not blush for Clarendon, when he reads that he actually did undertake the odious office? But Catherine would not listen to him. To break her spirit, Charles then sent away her Portuguese attendants, and the presence of Castlemain was continually obtruded on her. The queen long bore up against these studied insults; at length she most imprudently resolved to yield, and

she humbled herself so far as to admit that abandoned adulteress to her familiarity and friendship.

THE SALE OF DUNKIRK TO THE FRENCH (1662 A.D.)

The queen's portion was soon spent, and to raise money for the royal expenses, Clarendon, it is said, proposed the sale of Dunkirk to the French king: Louis was eager to treat. Clarendon demanded twelve millions of livres, he was offered two, and the bargain was finally concluded for five (Sept. 11th). But Charles wanted all the money, and Louis would only pay two millions down, and the remainder in two years. The treaty was nearly broken off, when it was suggested that Louis should give bills for the balance. This was agreed to (Oct. 17th), and a French banker came over and discounted them. The banker was an agent of Louis, who boasts that he made 500,000 livres on the transaction. Dunkirk was certainly of no direct use to England, but the possession of it gratified the national pride, and the people felt mortified at seeing it sold, and the price squandered away on the king's vices and pleasures.

RELIGIOUS PERSECUTIONS: THE CONVENTICLE ACT AND REPEAL OF THE TRIENNIAL ACT

But the sale of Dunkirk was a trifle to the cruel Act of Uniformity which now came into operation. It had been urged on by the united bigotry of the clergy, of Clarendon, and of the house of commons; the lords in vain attempted to mitigate its severity; the commons were inexorable. It provided that every minister should, before the feast of St. Bartholomew (Aug. 24th), publicly declare his assent and consent to everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer, or lose his benefice. The appointed day came, and about two thousand ministers, the far greater part of them men of extensive learning, sincere piety, and irreproachable life, laid down their preferments, and rather than do violence to their conscience, faced poverty and persecution. It may be said, that the Episcopal clergy had done as much in the late times, but those were times of civil war, and politics were so interwoven with religion, that it was difficult to separate them, and they had the prospect of ample reward in case of the king's success. But now all was peace; the king had been restored in a great measure through the exertions of these very men; there was no longer a political contest; conscience alone could have actuated them. Henry VIII assigned pensions to the ejected monks and friars; Elizabeth had reserved a fifth of the income of the benefices for those who scrupled to comply with her Act of Uniformity; the Long Parliament had done the same; but now no provision whatever was made, nay, care was taken that those who did not conform should lose the last year's income of their livings, as their tithes would not fall due till Michaelmas.

Petitions claiming the benefit of the Declaration from Breda being presented to the king, he took the occasion of setting forth a declaration, promising to exert his influence with parliament in its next session to have his dispensing power so regulated as to enable him to exercise it with more universal satisfaction. His secret object was to procure toleration for the Catholics; but on this head the commons were lynx-eyed; the Protestantism of the royal brothers was strongly suspected, and the Roman priests, in reliance on the court-favour, gave public offence by appearing in their habits. The com-

mons therefore (Feb. 1663) rejected the whole scheme of indulgence, and brought in bills to prevent the growth of Catholicism.

Rumours of conspiracies were now spread in order to cast odium on the ejected clergy, and a slight insurrection which did take place this summer in Yorkshire was taken advantage of to pass in the following session (May 16, 1664) the merciless Conventicle Act. By this any person above the age of sixteen, who was present at any religious meeting not held according to the practice of the Church of England, where there were five or more persons beside the household, was to be imprisoned three months for the first offence, six for the second, and be transported seven years for the third, on conviction before a single justice of the peace. This cruel statute speedily filled the prisons, especially with the Quakers. [Transportation meant a practical slavery and heavy toil under the blazing sun of the Barbadoes or some colony of the West Indies.]

The repeal of the Triennial Act of 1641 was effected in this session. The king had the audacity to declare that he would never suffer a parliament to come together by the means prescribed in it; and to please him, a bill was brought in to repeal it, and passed, with a provision, however, that parliaments should not be intermitted for more than three years at the most.

WAR WITH THE DUTCH (1664–1665 A.D.)

Another measure of this session was an address to the king, praying him to seek redress of the injuries inflicted by the Dutch on the English trade, and promising to stand by him with their lives and fortunes. The Dutch were more devoted to commerce than any people in Europe; and as the spirit of trade is jealous and monopolising, they had been guilty of many unjustifiable actions in their foreign settlements, such, for instance, as the massacre of the English at Amboyna in the reign of James I. These however were all past and gone; treaties had been since made with them, in which these deeds had been unnoticed, even so late as the year 1662. Charles himself, though he had a great dislike to the aristocratic or Louvestein party, as it was named, which now ruled in the states, and which had deprived the prince of Orange of the dignity of Stadholder, was little inclined to a war, and Clarendon and Southampton were decidedly adverse to it; but the duke of York, who was lord-admiral, was anxious to distinguish himself at the head of the navy, which his exertions had brought to a state of great perfection; he was also a diligent fosterer of trade, which he justly regarded as a main pillar of the national greatness. He therefore lent his powerful aid to the party desirous of war, and Downing, the resident at the Hague, a man of little principle, spared no labour to widen the breach between the two countries.

The duke of York was at the head of an African company for the purchase of gold-dust and for supplying the West Indies with slaves. The Dutch, who had long traded to Africa, thwarted them as much as possible, and even seized or demolished their factories. The duke had already sent out Sir Robert Holmes, in the name of the company, with some ships of war to the coast of Africa, and Holmes had recovered the castle of Cape Corse and taken that of Cape Verd, and established factories along the coast. The duke had also sent out Sir Richard Nicholas to North America, where the Dutch had settled on the tract of country between New England and Maryland, and named it New Amsterdam. The English claimed this by right of discovery, and the king had made a grant of it to his brother. The Dutch settlers offered

no resistance, and Nicholas named the country New York, and a fort up the river, Albany, from the titles of his patron.

When intelligence came of what Holmes had done, the Dutch ambassador remonstrated in strong terms. But the king denied all concern in the matter, said that Holmes had been sent out by the company on their own authority, and promised to bring him to trial on his return. Holmes accordingly was sent to the Tower; but his explanations were considered satisfactory, and he was soon released. De Witt was resolved to be avenged. A combined Dutch and English fleet, under De Ruyter and Lawson, was now in the Mediterranean acting against the piratic cruisers, and he sent secret orders to the former to proceed to the coast of Africa and retaliate on the English. Lawson, though aware of De Ruyter's object, did not feel himself authorised by his instructions to follow him; but he sent to inform the duke of his suspicions. The Dutch admiral having accomplished his mission on the African coast crossed over to the West Indies, where he captured about twenty sail of merchantmen. The duke meantime had two fleets out in the narrow seas, which seized and detained one hundred and thirty Dutch traders.

The war being now resolved on, the king called on parliament for the requisite supplies (Nov. 25). Their liberality was unprecedented; they voted two millions and a half. In the bill for this purpose, two remarkable deviations from ancient usage were effected; the old method of raising money by subsidies, tenths, and fifteenths, which had been returned to, was abandoned forever, and the mode of assessments introduced in the civil war was adopted in its stead; the clergy, who used to tax themselves in convocation, now consented to be taxed in the same manner as the laity by parliament; and in return they obtained the right of voting at elections. This measure put a total end to the influence and importance of the convocation; it became from that moment a mere shadow. It is remarkable, that this great change in the constitution was the effect of a mere verbal agreement between the chancellor and the primate.

On the 21st of April, 1665, the duke of York put to sea with a gallant fleet of ninety-eight ships of war and four fire ships. This prince had made wonderful improvements in the navy. Instead of committing the command of ships to noblemen of inexperienced valour, he placed them under Lawson and men who had long been familiar with the sea. He continued the practice of dividing the fleet into three squadrons; but he required it to form into line before action, and each captain to keep his place during the engagement; thus substituting the regularity of the land battle for the previous irregular mode of fighting used at sea. The duke himself, with Lawson for his vice-admiral, commanded the red, Prince Rupert the white, the earl of Sandwich the blue squadron.

For more than a month this fleet rode in triumph off the coast of Holland. At length, an easterly wind having blown it to its own coast, the Dutch fleet of one hundred and thirteen ships of war, commanded by Admiral Opdam, came out in seven squadrons. The fleets encountered (June 3) off the coast of Suffolk. The sea was calm, the sky cloudless; for four hours the fight was dubious; the duke displayed the greatest conduct and valour; one shot killed at his side his favourite the earl of Falmouth, the lord Muskerry, and a son of Lord Burlington, and covered him with their blood. At length, observing great confusion on board of Admiral Opdam's ship, he ordered all his guns to be fired into her successively, and she blew up, and Opdam and five hundred men perished in her. Dispirited by the loss of their admiral, the Dutch fled; the English pursued, but during the night, while the duke was taking some

repose, Mr. Brounker, groom of his bed-chamber, came to the master with pretended orders from the duke to shorten sail, and thus in the morning the Dutch got into the Texel. This was the greatest naval victory gained as yet by the English; the Dutch lost eighteen ships, they had four admirals killed, and seven thousand men slain or taken. The loss of the English was one ship and six hundred men; but among the slain were the admirals Lawson and Sampson, and the earls of Marlborough and Portland.

In other days the tidings of such a victory would have spread joy and festivity through all the streets of London; but now a gloom, not to be dispelled by the triumphs of war, sat brooding over the capital: the plague had visited it in its most appalling form.

During this desolation, the fleet, which was uninfected, kept the sea; and the Dutch Smyrna and East Indian fleets having taken shelter in the port of Bergen, in Norway, Lord Sandwich sailed thither. For a share of the spoils, it is said, the Danish court agreed to connive at the capture of the Dutch vessels. Owing, however, to some mismanagement, when the English ships entered the port and attacked the Dutch, they were fired on by the guns of the fort, and obliged to retire. De Witt now came with a strong fleet to convoy the merchantmen home, but they were dispersed by a storm (Sept. 4th), and Sandwich captured some ships of war and two of the Indiamen. As he plundered these last, and allowed his captains to do the same, he was deprived of his command, and sent as ambassador to Spain, as a cover to his disgrace.

The overthrow of the government in England by means of the discontented Presbyterians and republicans was one part of De Witt's plans, and he entered into correspondence with Ludlow, Sidney, and the other exiles, for this purpose. Lord Saye and some others formed a council at the Hague, and corresponded with their friends in England. An insignificant plot was discovered in London, during the height of the plague; and when the parliament met the following month, at Oxford, to grant supplies, an act was passed for attainting all British subjects who should continue in the service of the states.

The king of France, being bound by a treaty of alliance with the Dutch, was now required by them to share in the war. A French fleet being expected to join that of the Dutch, the English fleet, under the Duke of Albemarle and Prince Rupert, put to sea. Rupert went, with twenty ships, in search of the French, who were said to be at Belle Isle; while Albemarle, with fifty-four, proceeded to the gun-fleet. To his surprise, he saw (June 1st, 1666) the Dutch fleet, of eighty sail, under De Ruyter and De Witt, lying off the North Foreland. Unequal as the numbers were, he resolved to fight, and bore down without an order. Most of the ships of the blue squadron, which led the van, were taken or disabled. Night ended the combat. Next morning (2nd) it was renewed. Sixteen fresh ships joined the Dutch, but the English again fought till night. Albemarle then burned a part of his disabled ships, and ordered the others to make for the nearest harbours. In the morning he had only sixteen ships to oppose the enemy's pursuit. He had lost the *Prince Royal*, the finest ship in the navy, on the Galloper Sand, and the others were likely to share its fate, when Rupert, who had been recalled on the first day of the battle, at length came to his aid. The engagement was renewed the following morning (4th), but the hostile fleets were separated by a fog. Victory was with the Dutch, yet the English lost no honour. "They may be killed," said De Witt, "but they will not be conquered." The obstinacy and temerity of Albemarle were justly censured.

In July the fleets were again at sea; on the 25th an action was fought,

in which the advantage was on the side of the English, who now rode in triumph off the shores of Holland. Holmes, with a squadron of boats and fire-ships (Aug. 8th), entered the channel, where the Baltic traders lay, and burned one hundred and fifty of them, two men of war, and the adjoining town of Brandaris. De Witt, maddened at the sight, swore by almighty God that he would never sheath the sword till he had had revenge. He called on his French ally for prompt aid. Louis, who was exciting the discontented Irish Catholics to insurrection, and who had lately offered Algernon Sidney 20,000*l.* in aid of his project of raising the commonwealth party in England, would rather not put his fleet to hazard. He, however, ordered the duke de Beaufort, who was now at Rochelle, to advance and join De Ruyter. This admiral had already passed the strait of Dover, when Prince Rupert came in view. As De Ruyter himself was unwell and his men were little inclined to fight, he took shelter near Boulogne, and Rupert then sailed to engage Beaufort, who was coming up channel, but a violent wind forced him to take shelter at St. Helen's (Sept. 3), and Beaufort got into Dieppe.

The wind that blew the fleet to St. Helen's was a fatal wind to England. On the night of Sunday the 2nd, the great fire broke out.[l] And now, in Macaulay's words: "The discontent engendered by maladministration was heightened by calamities which the best administration could not have averted. While the ignominious war with Holland was raging, London suffered two great disasters, such as never, in so short a space of time, befel one city. A pestilence, surpassing in horror any that during three centuries had visited the island, swept away, in six months, more than a hundred thousand human beings. And scarcely had the dead cart ceased to go its rounds, when a fire, such as had not been known in Europe since the conflagration of Rome under Nero, laid in ruins the whole city, from the Tower to the Temple, and from the river to the purlieus of Smithfield."[h]

THE PLAGUE (1665 A.D.)

The June of 1665 came in with extraordinary heat. The previous winter and spring had been the driest that ever man knew. The summer was coming with the same cloudless sky. There was no grass in the meadows around London. "Strange comets, which filled the thoughts and writings of astronomers, did in the winter and spring a long time appear." The "great comet," says Burnet,[i] "raised the apprehensions of those who did not enter into just speculations concerning those matters." The boom of guns from the Norfolk coast is heard upon the Thames; and the merchants upon Change are anxiously waiting for letters from the fleet. In the coffee-houses, two subjects of news keep the gossipers in agitation — the Dutch fleet is off our coast, the plague is in the city. The 7th of June, writes Pepys,[m] was "the hottest day that ever I felt in my life. This day, much against my will, I did in Drury Lane see two or three houses marked with a red cross upon the doors, and 'Lord have mercy upon us' writ there; which was a sad sight to me, being the first of the kind that to my remembrance I ever saw."

The red cross upon the doors was too familiar to the elder population of London. In 1636, of twenty-three thousand deaths ten thousand were ascribed to the plague. The terrible visitor came to London, according to the ordinary belief, once in every twenty years, and then swept away a fifth of the inhabitants. From 1636 to 1647 there had been no cessation of the malady, which commonly carried off two or three thousand people annually, But after 1648 there had been no record of deaths from the plague amounting

to more than twenty, in any one year. In 1664 the bills of mortality only registered six deaths from this cause. The disease seemed almost to belong to another generation than that which had witnessed the triumph and the fall of Puritanism — which had passed from extreme formalism to extreme licentiousness.

How far the drunken revelries of the five years of the restoration might have predisposed the population to receive the disease, is as uncertain as any belief that the sobriety of the preceding time had warded it off. One condition of London was, however, unaltered. It was a city of narrow streets and of bad drainage. The greater number of houses were deficient in many of the accommodations upon which health, in a great degree, depends. The supply of water was far from sufficient for the wants of the poorer population; and with the richer classes the cost of water, supplied either by hand-labour or machinery, prevented its liberal use. The conduits, old or new, could only afford to fill a few water cans daily for household uses. There was much finery in the wealthy citizens' houses, but little cleanliness.

It is to be remarked, however, that the plague of 1665 was as fatal in the less crowded parts of Westminster and its suburbs, as in the City within the walls. Building had been going forward from the time of Elizabeth in St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, and in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields; and we might conclude that the streets would be wider and the houses more commodious in these new parts than in the close thoroughfares, over which the projecting eaves had hung for many a year, shutting out air and light. But in these suburban liberties the plague of 1665 first raged, and then gradually extended eastward. On the 10th of June the disease broke out in the City, in the house of Dr. Burnett, a physician, in Fenchurch street.

Defoe's[n] famous *Journal of the Plague Year* has made this terrible season familiar to most readers. The spirit of accuracy is now more required than when the editor of a popular work informed his readers that Defoe continued in London during the whole time of the plague, and was one of the examiners appointed to shut up infected houses. Defoe, in 1665, was four years old. Yet the imaginary saddler of Whitechapel, who embodies the stories which this wonderful writer had treasured up from his childhood, relates nothing that is not supported by what we call authentic history. The "Citizen who continued all the while in London," as the title of Defoe's journal informs us, and whose dwelling was "without Aldgate, about midway between Aldgate church and Whitechapel bars," relates how, through May and June, the nobility and rich people from the west part of the city filled the broad street of Whitechapel with coaches and waggons and carts, all hurrying away with goods, women, servants, and children; how horsemen, with servants bearing their baggage, followed in this mournful cavalcade, from morning to night; how the lord mayor's doors were crowded with applicants for passes and certificates of health, for without these none would be allowed to enter the towns, or rest in any wayside inn. The citizen of Whitechapel thought "of the misery that was coming upon the city, and the unhappy condition of those who would be left in it." On the 21st of June, Pepys[m] writes, "I find all the town almost going out of town; the coaches and waggons being all full of people going into the country." In the country, the population dreaded to see the Londoners. Baxter[o] remarks, "How fearful people were thirty, or forty, if not an hundred miles from London, of anything that they bought from any mercer's or draper's shop; or of any goods that were brought to them; or of any persons that came to their houses. How they would shut their doors against their friends; and if a man passed over the fields, how one would avoid

another, as we did in the time of wars; and how every man was a terror to another." The Broadstone of East Retford, on which an exchange was made of money for goods, without personal communication, is an illustration of these rural terrors.

A panic very soon took possession of the population of London. They talked of the comet, "of a faint, dull, languid colour, and its motion very heavy, solemn, and slow." They read *Lilly's Almanac*," and *Gadbury's Astrological Predictions* and *Poor Robin's Almanac*, and these books "frightened them terribly." A man walked the streets day and night, at a swift pace, speaking to no one, but uttering only the words "O the great and the dreadful God!" These prognostications and threatenings came before the pestilence had become very serious; and they smote down the hearts of the people, and thus unfitted them for the duty of self-preservation, and the greater duty of affording help to others. Other impostors than the astrologers abounded. The mountebank was in the streets with his "infallible preventive pills," and "the only true plague-water." Pepys records that "my lady Carteret did this day give me a bottle of plague-water home with me." But gradually the astrologers and the quacks were left without customers, for London was almost wholly abandoned to the very poorest. Touchingly does Baxter say, "the calamities and cries of the diseased and impoverished are not to be conceived by those who are absent from them. The richer sort remaining out of the city, the greatest blow fell on the poor."

The court fled on the first appearance of the disease. Some few of the great remained, amongst others the stout old duke of Albemarle, who fearlessly chewed his tobacco at his mansion of the Cockpit. Marriages of the rich still went on.

The narrative of Defoe, and other relations, have familiarised most of us with the ordinary facts of this terrible calamity. We see the searchers, and nurses, and watchmen, and buryers marching in ominous silence through the empty streets, each bearing the red wand of office. We see them enter a suspected house, and upon coming out marking the door with the fatal red cross, a foot in length. If the sick within can pay, a nurse is left. We see the dead-cart going its rounds in the night, and hear the bell tinkling, and the buryers crying "Bring out your dead." Some of the infected were carried to the established pest houses, where the dead-cart duly received its ghastly load. The saddler of Whitechapel describes what he beheld at "the great pit of the churchyard of our parish at Aldgate:"

"I saw two links come over from the end of the Minories, and heard the bellman, and then appeared a dead-cart, as they called it, coming over the streets, so I could no longer resist my desire of seeing it, and went in. It had in it sixteen or seventeen bodies; some were wrapt up in linen sheets, some in rugs, some little other than naked, or so loose that what covering they had fell from them in the shooting out of the cart, and they fell quite naked amongst the rest; but the matter was not much to them, nor the indecency to any one else, seeing they were all dead, and were to be huddled together into the common grave of mankind, as we may call it, for here is no difference made, but poor and rich went together; there was no other way of burials, neither was it possible there should, for coffins were not to be had for the prodigious numbers that fell in such a calamity as this."

Soon, as Pepys tells us on the 12th of August, "the people die so, that now it seems they are fain to carry the dead to be buried by daylight, the night not sufficing to do it in."

The Reverend Thomas Vincent,[p] one of the non-conforming clergy who remained in the city, has thus described the scenes of August:

"Now people fall as thick as the leaves in autumn when they are shaken by a mighty wind. Now there is a dismal solitude in London streets; every day looks with the face of

[1665 A.D.]

a Sabbath-day, observed with a greater solemnity than it used to be in the city. Now shops are shut in, people rare and very few that walk about, insomuch that the grass begins to spring up in some places, and a deep silence in every place, especially within the walls. No prancing horses, no rattling coaches, no calling in customers nor offering wares, no London cries sounding in the ears. If any voice be heard it is the groans of dying persons breathing forth their last, and the funeral knells of them that are ready to be carried to their graves. Now shutting up of visited houses (there being so many) is at an end, and most of the well are mingled among the sick, which otherwise would have got no help. Now, in some places, where the people did generally stay, not one house in a hundred but what is affected; and in many houses half the family is swept away; in some, from the oldest to the youngest: few escape, but with the death of one or two. Never did so many husbands and wives die together; never did so many parents carry their children with them to the grave, and go together into the same house under earth who had lived together in the same house upon it. Now the nights are too short to bury the dead; the whole day, though at so great a length, is hardly sufficient to light the dead that fall thereon into their graves."

At the beginning of September the empty streets put on another aspect, equally fearful. The bonfire, which was the exhibition of gladness, was now the token of desolation. Every six houses on each side of the way were to be assessed towards the expense of maintaining one great fire in the middle of the street for the purification of the air — fires which were not to be extinguished by night or by day. A heavy rain put out these death-fires, and perhaps did far more good than this expedient.

As winter approached, the disease began rapidly to decrease.[1] Confidence a little revived. A few shops were again opened. The York waggon again ventured to go to London with passengers. At the beginning of 1666 "the town fills again." "Pray God," says Pepys, "continue the plague's decrease; for that keeps the court away from the place of business, and so all goes to rack as to public matters." He rides in Lord Brouncker's coach to Covent Garden: "What staring to see a nobleman's coach come to town. And porters everywhere bow to us: and such begging of beggars." The sordid and self-indulgent now began to come back: "January 22nd. The first meeting of Gresham College since the plague. Dr. Goddard did fill us with talk, in defence of his and his fellow-physicians' going out of town in the plague-time; saying that their particular patients were most gone out of town, and they left at liberty, and a great deal more." This is Pepys' entry of the 4th of February: "Lord's day: and my wife and I the first time together at church since the plague, and now only because of Mr. Mills his coming home to preach his first sermon; expecting a great excuse for his leaving the parish before anybody went, and now staying till all are come home: but he made but a very poor and short excuse, and a bad sermon." Defoe[n] tells, with the strictest accuracy, the mode in which the spiritual condition of the plague-struck city was attended to: "Though it is true that a great many of the clergy did shut up their churches, and fled, as other people did, for the safety of their lives, yet all did not do so; some ventured to officiate, and to keep up the assemblies of the people by constant prayers, and sometimes sermons, or brief exhortations to repentance and reformation, and this as long as they

[1 The decrease was as follows: 6,460, 5,720, 5,068, 1,806, 1,388, 1,787, 1,359, 905, 544. There was not a week in the year in which some cases of plague were not returned. Clarendon[q] with his usual inaccuracy, makes the number of dead, according to the weekly bills, to amount to 160,000, which, he says, ought, in the opinion of well-informed persons, to be doubled. The number of burials, according to the bills, was only 97,306. See the table prefixed to Hodges'[r] *Loimologia*. If we add one-third for omissions, the amount will be about 130,000; but from these must be deducted the deaths from other causes than the plague. In the tables themselves the deaths from the plague in this year are 68,596; in 1666 the are 1,996; in 1667, they fall to thirty-five, to fourteen in 1668, and after that seldom reach to half-a-dozen. In August of the following year it raged with violence in Colchester, Norwich, Winchester, Cambridge, and Salisbury.— LINGARD.[a]]

would hear them. And dissenters did the like also, and even in the very churches where the parish ministers were either dead or fled; nor was there any room for making any difference at such a time as this was." Baxter[o] also relates that, when "most of the conformable ministers fled, and left their flocks in the time of their extremity," the non-conforming ministers, who, since 1662, had done their work very privately, "resolved to stay with the people; and to go into the forsaken pulpits, though prohibited; and to preach to the poor people before they died; and also to visit the sick, and get what relief they could for the poor, especially those that were shut up." The reward which the non-conforming ministers received for their good work was The Five Mile Act.

The statute which popularly bore this name is entitled "An Act for restraining Non-conformists from inhabiting in Corporations." In consequence of the plague raging in London, the parliament met at Oxford on the 9th of October. Their first act was for a supply of 1,250,000*l*. Their second was what Hallam[e] calls this "new and more inevitable blow aimed at the fallen church of Calvin." All persons in holy orders who had not subscribed the Act of Uniformity were required to take the following oath: "I, A. B., do swear, that it is not lawful, under any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the king; and that I do abhor the traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissionated by him, in pursuance of such commissions; and that I will not at any time endeavour any alteration of government either in church or state." In default of taking this oath they were forbidden to dwell, or come, unless upon the road, within five miles of any corporate town, or any other place where they had been ministers, or had preached, under a penalty of forty pounds and six months' imprisonment. They were also declared incapable of teaching in schools, or of receiving boarders. This act had for its object wholly to deprive the conscientious Puritans of any means of subsistence[1] connected with their former vocation of Christian ministers or instructors of youth. Hallam[e] truly says, "The Church of England had doubtless her provocations; but she made the retaliation much more than commensurate to the injury. No severity comparable to this cold-blooded persecution had been inflicted by the late powers, even in the ferment and fury of a civil war." An attempt was made to impose the non-resisting oath upon the whole nation; but it was defeated by a small majority.

The extent of the miseries inflicted by the plague in London was probably diminished by The Settlement Act of 1662. This was entitled An Act for the better relief of the Poor. The preamble of the statute declares the continual increase of the poor, not only within the cities of London and Westminster, but also through the whole kingdom; but there is little reason to doubt that the main object of the bill was to thrust out from the parishes of the metropolis, all chargeable persons occupying tenements under the yearly value of ten pounds. By this act the power of removal was first established — a measure which, however modified, has done as much evil to the labouring population in destroying their habits of self-dependence, as a legal provision for their support, prudently administered, has been a national blessing. The Settlement Act was carried by the metropolitan members, with little resistance from the country members. In 1675, in a debate on a bill for restraint of building near London, one member said that "by the late act the poor are hunted like foxes out of parishes, and whither must they go but where there

[1 Keightley[l] says it might almost be called a "bill of starvation."]

are houses?" Another declared that "the act for the settlement of the poor does, indeed, thrust all people out of the country to London." The intent of the framers of the act had probably been defeated by the reprisals of the rural magistrates and overseers. The system of hunting the poor went on amidst the perpetual litigation of nearly two centuries; and it is not yet come to an end.

The plague-year has passed; the "Year of Wonders" is come. Dryden[x] called his *Annus Mirabilis* "an historical poem." In his preface he says, "I have taken upon me to describe the motives, the beginning, progress, and successes, of a most just and necessary war; in it, the care, management, and prudence of our king; the conduct and valour of a royal admiral, and of two incomparable generals; the invincible courage of our captains and seamen; and three glorious victories, the result of all. After this, I have, in the fire, the most deplorable, but withal the greatest, argument that can be imagined: the destruction being so swift, so sudden, so vast and miserable, as nothing can parallel in story." The year 1666 is, indeed, an eventful year; and the relation of its miseries, so closely following upon the calamity of the plague, carries with it the consolation that the spirit of the English people, founded upon their industrious habits and their passion for liberty, has always been able to surmount the greatest political evils, and to acquire, even under the severest dispensations of providence, the courage and perseverance which convert chastisements into blessings.

THE GREAT LONDON FIRE OF 1666

The story of the great fire of London has been related with minuteness by many trustworthy observers. We can place ourselves in the midst of this extraordinary scene, and make ourselves as familiar with its details as if the age of newspapers had arrived, and a host of reporters had been engaged in collecting every striking incident. But it is not in the then published narratives that we find those graphic touches which constitute the chief interest of this event at the present time. Half a century ago the materials for a faithful record of the great fire were to be sought in the report of a committee of the house of commons, in the state trials, and in various tracts issued at the period. There are also several striking passages of Baxter's[o] *Life,* which relate to the fire. But such notices are meagre compared with the personal records in the two remarkable diaries which have been rescued from obscurity during our own day.

We are with Mr. Pepys[m] in his nightgown at three o'clock in the morning of Sunday, the 2nd of September, looking out of his window in Seething Lane, at the east end of the city, and, thinking the fire far enough off, going to sleep again. We accompany him later in the morning to a high place in the Tower, and see the houses near London Bridge on fire. The weather is hot and dry, and a furious east wind is blowing. The active Mr. Pepys takes a boat from the Tower stairs; and slowly sculling up stream, looks upon the burning houses in the streets near the Thames; distracted people getting their goods on board lighters; and the inhabitants of the houses at the water's edge not leaving till the fire actually reached them. He has time to look at the pigeons — of which the Londoners generally were then as fond as the Spitalfields weavers of our time — hovering about the windows and balconies till they burned their wings and fell down.

There is nobody attempting to quench the fire in that high wind. Everything is combustible after the long drought. Human strength seems in vain,

and the people give themselves up to despair. The busy secretary of the navy reaches Whitehall, and tells his story to the king; and he entreats his majesty to order houses to be pulled down, for nothing less would stop the fire. The king desires Pepys to go to the lord mayor, and give him this command. In Cannon street he encounters the lord mayor, who cries, like a fainting woman, "Lord! what can I do? I am spent. People will not obey me." He had been pulling down houses. He did not want any soldiers. He had been up all night, and must go home and refresh himself. There is no service in the churches, for the people are crowding them with their goods. He walks through the streets; and again he takes boat at Paul's wharf. He now meets the king and the duke of York in their barge. They ordered that houses should be pulled down apace; but the fire came on so fast that little could be done. We get glimpses in this confusion of the domestic habits of the citizens. "The river full of lighters and boats taking in goods; and good goods swimming about in the water; and I observed that hardly one lighter or boat in three that had the goods of a house in, but there was a pair of virginals in it." The severer Puritans had not driven out the old English love of music; the citizens' wives and daughters still had the imperfect spinet upon which Elizabeth and her maids of honour played.

That hot September evening is spent by our observer upon the water. Showers of fire-drops are driving in his face. He sees the fiery flakes shooting up from one burning house, and then dropping upon another five or six houses off, and setting that on flame. The roofs were in many streets only thatched: the walls were mostly timber. Warehouses in Thames street were stored with pitch, and tar, and oil, and brandy. The night came on; and then Pepys, from a little alehouse on the Bankside, saw the fire grow, and shoot out between churches and houses, "in a most horrid, malicious, bloody flame, not like the fire flame of an ordinary fire." And then, as it grew darker, he saw the fire up the hill in an arch of above a mile long. Then rose the moon shedding a soft light over the doomed city; and amidst the terrible glare and the gentle radiance the whole world of London was awake, gazing upon the conflagration, or labouring to save something from its fury.

We turn to the diary of Evelyn[8] — a more elegant writer than Pepys, but scarcely so curious an observer of those minute points that give life to a picture. He has seen the fire from the Bankside on Sunday afternoon; and on Monday he returns to see the whole south part of the city burning. It was now taking hold of the great cathedral, which was surrounded by scaffolds for its repair. "The noise and cracking and thunder of the impetuous flames, the shrieking of women and children, the hurry of people, the fall of towers, houses, and churches, was like a hideous storm; and the air all about so hot and inflamed, that at the last one was not able to approach it, so that they were forced to stand still, and let the flames burn on, which they did, for near two miles in length and one in breadth. The clouds, also, of smoke were dismal, and reached, upon computation, near fifty miles in length. Thus I left it this afternoon burning, a resemblance of Sodom, or the last day. The ruins resembled the picture of Troy. London was, but is no more."

On Tuesday, the 4th, Evelyn saw that the fire had reached as far as the Inner Temple. "All Fleet street, the Old Bailey, Ludgate Hill, Warwick lane, Newgate, Paul's chain, Watling street, now flaming, and most of it reduced to ashes; the stones of Paul's flew like grenados, the melting lead running down the streets in a stream, and the very pavements glowing with fiery redness, so as no horse, nor man, was able to tread on them, and the demolition had stopped all the passages, so that no help could be applied; the eastern

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wind still more impetuously driving the flames forward." On that day the houses near the Tower were blown up; and the same judicious plan was pursued in other places. On the 5th the court at Whitehall was in unwonted bustle. The king and his brother had set an excellent example of personal activity; and gentlemen now took charge of particular streets, and directed the means of extinguishing the flames. The people now began to bestir themselves. The civic authorities no longer rejected the advice, which some seamen had given at first, to blow up the houses before the flames reached them, instead of attempting to pull them down. The wind abated. Large gaps were made in the streets. The desolation did not reach beyond the Temple westward, nor beyond Smithfield on the north. On Wednesday, the 5th, the mighty devourer was arrested in his course. Three days and three nights of agony had been passed; but not more than eight lives had been lost. Mr. Pepys at last lies down and sleeps soundly. He has one natural remark: "It is a strange thing to see how long this time did look since Sunday, having been always full of variety of actions, and little sleep, that it looked like a week or more, and I had forgot almost the day of the week."

Whilst indifferent spectators were gazing on the fire from Bankside, and the high grounds on the south of the Thames, the fields on the north were filled with houseless men, women, and children. "I went," says Evelyn,[s] "towards Islington and Highgate, where one might have seen two hundred thousand people, of all ranks and degrees, dispersed and lying along by their heaps of what they could save from the fire, deploring their loss; and, though ready to perish for hunger and destitution, yet not asking one penny for relief." There were liberal contributions from the king, and the nobility, and the clergy. Collections were made and distributed in alms to the most needy. But the real difficulty must have been to ensure a supply of food, when all the usual channels of interchange were choked up. Proclamations were made for the country people to bring in provisions. Facilities were offered to the people to leave the ruins, by a command that they should be received in all cities and towns to pursue their occupations: and that such reception should entail no eventual burthen on parishes. No doubt it was necessary to strive against the selfishness that vast calamities too often produce in the sufferers and the lookers-on. The country people for miles around had gazed upon the flames. There was an immense destruction of books; and their half-burnt leaves were carried by the wind even as far as Windsor. The dense cloud of smoke shut out the bright autumn sun from the harvest-fields, and upon distant roads men travelled in the shade. The extent of the calamity was apparant. Yet it may be doubted if many of the great ones received the visitation in a right spirit. Pepys says, "none of the nobility came out of the country at all, to help the king, or comfort him, or prevent commotions at this fire." Some of the insolent courtiers exulted in the destruction, saying according to Baxter[o]: "Now the rebellious city is ruined, the king is absolute, and was never king indeed till now." One profligate "young commander" of the fleet "made mighty sport of it;" and rejoiced that the corruption of the citizens' wives might be effected at a very reduced cost.

The monument erected in commemoration of the fire has an elaborate Latin inscription, in which it is set forth that the destruction comprised eighty-nine churches, the city gates, Guildhall, many public structures, hospitals, schools, libraries; a vast number of stately edifices; thirteen thousand two hundred dwelling-houses, four hundred streets. An account, which estimates the houses burnt at twelve thousand, values them at an average rent of 25*l.* a

year, and their value, at twelve years' purchase, at £3,600,000. The public buildings destroyed are valued at £1,800,000: the private goods at the same rate. With other items, the total amount of the loss is estimated at £7,335,000.

But the interruption to industry must have involved even a more serious loss of the national capital. We have stated, on the authority of Clarendon [q] how the plague had rendered it difficult to collect the revenue. He says of the necessities of the crown in 1666, "Now this deluge by fire had dissipated the persons, and destroyed the houses, which were liable to the re-imbursement of all arrears; and the very stocks were consumed which should carry on and revive the trade."

The monument, which was erected on the spot where the fire first broke out, recorded that the burning of this Protestant city was begun and carried on by the treachery and malice of a popish faction. [In Pope's phrase the monument, "Like a tall bully, lifts its head and lies." This was true for a century and three quarters until December 6, 1830.] Then the corporation of London wisely obliterated the offensive record. In the examinations before the committee of the house of commons, there was nothing beyond the most vague babble of the frightened and credulous, except the self-accusation of one Hubert, a French working-silversmith, who maintained that he was the incendiary. He was hanged, much to the disgrace of the administration of justice. "Neither the judges," says Clarendon, [q] "nor any present at the trial did believe him guilty; but that he was a poor distracted wretch, weary of his life, and chose to part with it this way."

A medal was struck in commemoration of the plague and fire. The eye of God is in the centre; one comet is showering down pestilence and another flame. The east wind is driving on the flames. Death in the foreground is encountering an armed horseman. The legend is "*Sic punit*" — So he punishes.

WREN'S PLAN FOR REBUILDING THE CITY

The noble cathedral of St. Paul's, and many churches which exhibit the genius of Sir Christopher Wren in many graceful original forms of towers and spires, grew out of the great fire. But the occasion was lost for a nobler city to arise, of wide streets, and handsome quays. The old wooden fabrics were replaced by those of brick; but the same narrow thoroughfares were preserved as of old. The owners of property could not be brought to unite in any common plan; and each built his house up again, upon his own spot of ground. The constant labour of succeeding times, has been to clear away, at enormous cost, what the fire had cleared away in three days and nights. This want of co-operative action was not the result of any ignorance of what required to be done. Wren's [t] labours and wishes are thus recorded: "In order to a proper reformation, Wren, pursuant to the royal command, immediately after the fire, took an exact survey of the whole area and confines of the burning, having traced over with great trouble and hazard the great plain of ashes and ruins; and designed a plan or model of a new city, in which the deformity and inconveniences of the old town were remedied, by the enlarging the streets and lanes, and carrying them as near parallel to one another as might be; avoiding, if compatible with greater conveniences, all acute angles; by seating all the parochial churches conspicuous and insular; by forming the most public places into large piazzas, the centre of six or eight ways; by uniting the halls of the twelve chief companies into one regular square annexed to Guildhall;

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by making a quay on the whole bank of the river, from Blackfriars to the Tower. . . . . The streets to be of three magnitudes; the three principal leading straight through the city, and one or two cross streets, to be at least ninety feet wide; others sixty feet; and lanes about thirty feet, excluding all narrow dark alleys without thoroughfares, and courts. . . . . The practicability of this scheme, without loss to any man or infringement of any property, was at that time demonstrated, and all material objections fully weighed and answered. The only, and as it happened insurmountable, difficulty remaining, was the obstinate averseness of great part of the citizens to alter their old properties, and to recede from building their houses again on the old ground and foundations; as also the distrust in many and unwillingness to give up their properties, though for a time only, into the hands of public trustees, or commissioners, till they might be dispensed to them again, with more advantage to themselves than otherwise was possible to be effected. . . . The opportunity in a great degree was lost of making the new city the most magnificent, as well as commodious for health and trade, of any upon earth."



SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN
(1632–1723)

The flames of London were still smouldering when the parliament met at Westminster on the 21st of September. The king said, "Little time hath passed, since we were almost in despair of having this place left us to meet in; you see the dismal ruins the fire hath made." There had been a prorogation for ten months. But money was wanting. "I desire," said Charles, "to put you to as little trouble as I can; and I can tell you truly, I desire to put you to as little cost as is possible. I wish with all my heart that I could have the whole charge of this war myself, and that my subjects should reap the benefit of it to themselves." No doubt it was very disagreeable that the king's subjects, being called upon to pay largely, should by any possibility take the liberty of asking what they were to pay for. Clarendon[q] tells us of the somewhat dangerous temper which was spreading after the experience of six years and a half of the happy restoration. "Though they made the same professions of affection and duty to the king they had ever done, they did not conceal the very ill opinion they had of the court and the continual riotings there." They were tending to the accomplishment of Harrington's prophecy as quoted by Aubrey:[u] "Well! The king will come in. Let him come in, and call a parliament of the greatest cavaliers in England, so they be men of estates, and let them sit but for seven years, and they will all turn commonwealth's men."

A bill was brought in for the appointment of commissioners "to examine all accounts of those who had received or issued out any moneys for this war;

and where they found any persons faulty, and who had broken their trust, they should be liable to such punishment as the parliament should think fit." To such a bill the king was resolved never to give the royal assent. This is Clarendon's relation of the matter; and yet he is not ashamed to say that he urged the king "to prevent the excesses in parliament, and not to suffer them to extend their jurisdiction to cases they have nothing to do with." Hallam[e] says, "Such a slave was Clarendon to his narrow prepossessions, that he would rather see the dissolute excesses which he abhorred suck nourishment from that revenue which had been allotted to maintain the national honour and interests, and which, by its deficiencies thus aggravated, had caused even in this very year the navy to be laid up, and the coasts to be left defenceless, than suffer them to be restrained by the only power to which thoughtless luxury would submit." Every effort was made to oppose the bill; and the parliament was prorogued in 1667 without its being passed. Next year, 1668, the parliament carried its salutary measure of control. A supply of £1,800,000 was granted; and at the prorogation the king said, "I assure you the money shall be laid out for the ends it is given."

The calamities which London had endured of pestilence and conflagration were not wholly unacceptable to the corrupt court. Clarendon[q] informs us that there were those about the king, who assured him that the fire "was the greatest blessing that God had ever conferred on him, his restoration only excepted; for the walls and gates being now burned and thrown down of that rebellious city, which was always an enemy to the crown, his majesty would never suffer them to repair and build them up again, to be a bit in his mouth, and a bridle upon his neck; but would keep all open, that his troops might enter upon them whenever he thought it necessary for his service, there being no other way to govern that rude multitude but by force." Charles was not pleased with these suggestions, adds Clarendon. Desirable as it might be to have the Londoners under his feet at this time of their desolation, there was still the old spirit abroad in England. The indiscretion of the king, to apply the least offensive term to his conduct, was sufficient to alienate the affection which had been so lavishly bestowed upon him, even if the people, with their bitter experience, stopped short of rebellion. There were large numbers of the humbler retainers of the royal household who, when Lady Castlemain ordered of her tradesmen every jewel and service of plate that she fancied, and told her servant to send a note of their cost to the privy purse, were themselves absolutely starving.

It sounds very like exaggeration when we read that one of the king's musicians, "Evans, the famous man upon the harp, having not his equal in the world, did the other day die for mere want, and was fain to be buried by the alms of the parish." But this is not idle gossip of Pepys. There is an account in existence of "The state of the Treasurer of the Chamber, his office, at Midsummer, 1665," which shows the yearly payments due to officers of the king's household, and of the sums "behind unpaid." There were forty-two musicians, to whom their salaries had been due for three years and one quarter. High and low, the Bishop Almoner and the rat-killer, the Justice in Oyer beyond Trent and the bird-keeper, footmen, falconers, huntsmen, bear-warders, wardrobe officers, watermen, messengers, yeomen of the guard, and many others, useful or useless, had been "behind unpaid," some for five years, some for four years, some for three or two years, very few only for one year. To three apothecaries, more than 5,000*l.* was due. That these persons, frequenting the coffee-houses or ale-houses of London, did not spread abroad their griefs, cannot reasonably be imagined.

A sullen discontent, a silent indignation, settled deep into the hearts of the whole community. If a sword had been drawn against the English people, there would have been another civil war, with one certain result. Men were satisfied for twenty years longer to endure and murmur. "It is strange how everybody do now-a-days reflect upon Oliver, and commend him, what brave things he did, and made all the neighbour princes fear him; while here a prince, come in with all the love and prayers and good-liking of his people, who have given greater signs of loyalty and willingness to serve him with their estates than ever was done by any people, hath lost all so soon, that it is a miracle what way a man could devise to lose so much in so little time." Not at all strange, Mr. Pepys, that the people looked back upon Oliver, and what brave things he did. But the vicissitudes of nearly twenty years — the dread of property becoming insecure — the religious divisions — the respect for the monarchical principle, however degraded in the immediate wearer of the crown — the love for the ancient church, amidst all its pride and intolerance — these considerations kept the Englishmen quiet.

On the 31st of December, 1666, Pepys, the official person who had the most intimate knowledge of the affairs of the navy thus writes in his diary: "Thus ends this year of public wonder and mischief to this nation. Public matters in a most sad condition; seamen discouraged for want of pay, and are become not to be governed: nor, as matters are now, can any fleet go out next year. A sad, vicious, negligent court, and all sober men there fearful of the ruin of the whole kingdom this next year; from which, good God deliver us." Such ships as were in commission were commanded by haughty young nobles, wholly ignorant of naval affairs. One of these fair-weather captains, a son of Lord Bristol, was heard to say that he hoped not to see "a tarpawlin" in command of a ship for a twelvemonth. The honest tarpawlins confessed that "the true English valour we talk of is almost spent and worn out."

Direful calamities had not broken the national spirit; but the infamous corruption of the higher classes was eating into the foundation of England's greatness. Her people were losing that masculine simplicity, that healthy devotion to public and private duties, that religious earnestness — intolerant, no doubt, but rarely simulated by the followers of Calvin or the followers of Arminius in the greatest heat of their conflicts — the English were losing that nationality, whose excess may be ludicrous, but whose utter want is despicable. Their high intellect was being emasculated by a corrupt literature. Science was groping in the dark under the auspices of the Royal Society; and divinity was holding forth from orthodox pulpits on the excesses of the early reformers, and the duty of non-resistance to kings deriving their power direct from heaven. These follies probably did little harm; and men gradually shook off their delusions, and went forward to seek for experimental science that had useful ends, and for practical theology that would make them wiser and happier.

But the corruptions of the court soon worked upon the principles of the people, through a debasing popular literature. The drama had come back after an exile of twenty years. When the drama was banished, tragedy was still a queen wearing her purple and her pall; and the "wood-notes wild" of comedy were as fresh and joyous as those of the lark in spring. The drama came back in the shameless garb, and with the brazen look, and the drunken voice, of the lowest strumpet. The people were to be taught that Shakespeare was a barbarian, and not to be tolerated in his own simplicity. He was, if heard at all, to furnish the *libretto* of an opera, to be got up with dresses and decorations by Sir William D'Avenant. "I saw," says Evelyn[s] in 1662,

"*Hamlet, Prince of Denmark*, played; but now the old plays began to disgust this refined age, since his majesty being so long abroad." This refined age when it brought women to personate female characters, heard from the lips of Nell Gwyn and Mary Davis, the foulest verses, which they were selected to speak to furnish additional relish to the licentiousness of the poet.

The theatre was at the very height of fashion when it was most shameless. The actresses were removed from "The King's House," to become the mistresses of the king, by their gradual promotion from being the mistresses of the king's servants. Nell threw up her parts, and would act no more when Lord Buckhurst gave her a hundred a year, in 1667. In 1671, when Mr. Evelyn walked with the king through St. James's Park, Mrs. Nell looked out of her garden on a terrace at the top of the wall, and there was "familiar discourse" between his majesty and the "impudent comedian," at which scene Mr. Evelyn was "heartily sorry." It was well for England that her salt had not wholly lost its savour; that the middle class of London, though they rushed to the savage bull-baitings of the bear-garden, which had been shut up during the time of the Long Parliament, were too indignant at the costliness of the court to be enamoured of its gilded profligacy. It was better still for England that some little of the old Puritan spirit was left amongst the humblest classes — that the Bible was read by the poor, and Rochester and Shadwell were to them unknown.

Amidst the abandonment of the court to its pleasures — the rapacity of the royal favourites, who received gratuities and pensions not to be counted by hundreds but by thousands of pounds — the jealousy of the parliament in granting money which they knew would be wasted — the spring of 1667 arrived, without any preparations for carrying on the naval war. When the king's treasurer had got some of the money which the house of commons tardily voted, there were more pressing necessities to be supplied than the pay of sailors, or the fitting out of ships.

On the 23rd of January, the sailors were in mutiny at Wapping, and the Horse Guards were going to quell them. They were in insurrection for the want of pay. When the money was obtained from parliament they still mutinied, for they were still unpaid. On the 5th of June the Portuguese ambassador had gone on board *The Happy Return*, in the Hope, ordered to sail for Holland; but the crew refused to go until they were paid. Other ships were in mutiny the same day. On the 8th of June the Dutch fleet of eighty sail was off Harwich. It was time to stir. The king sent Lord Oxford to raise the militia of the eastern counties; and "my Lord Barkeley is going down to Harwich also to look after the militia there; and there is also the duke of Monmouth, and with him a great many young Hectors, the Lord Chesterfield, my Lord Mandeville, and others"; but, adds Pepys,[m] "to little purpose, I fear, but to debauch the country women thereabouts."

On the 10th of June the Dutch were at the Nore. Then, indeed, the matter was past the skill of the "young Hectors." The enemy had advanced almost as high as the Hope. Monk has rushed down to Gravesend — "in his shirt," writes Andrew Marvell.[n] Money is now forthcoming to pay the revolted seamen; but, sighs Pepys, "people that have been used to be deceived by us as to money won't believe us; and we know not, though we have it, how almost to promise it." The Dutch fleet has dropped down to Sheerness. "The alarm was so great," writes Evelyn,[o] "that it put both country and city into fear — a panic and consternation, such as I hope I shall never see more; everybody was flying, none knew why or whither." Monk was at Gravesend, "with a great many idle lords and gentlemen." Opposite them was Tilbury.

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Did any of these "idle lords and gentlemen, with their pistols and fooleries," think of the time when the great queen stood like a rock upon that shore; and her people gathered round her with invincible confidence; and the greatest armament that ever threatened England was scattered by her true gentlemen — the Raleighs and Carews, who loved their country with a filial love, and hurled foul scorn at the invader? Charles, if not belied by the Dutch, was deliberating in council on the propriety of a flight to Windsor, by way of example to his terrified people.

On the 11th, news came to London that Sheerness was taken. The drums were beating all night for the trained-bands to be in arms in the morning, with bullets and powder, and a fortnight's victuals. The Londoners were momentarily relieved of their panic; for the Dutch fleet had sailed up the Medway. Chatham was safe, the courtiers said. Monk had stopped the river with chains and booms; and Upnor Castle was fortified. Chains and booms, and Upnor Castle, availed not long against the resolution of Ruyter and De Witt, who were about to exact the penalty for the wanton desolation of the coasts of the Texel. They went about their work in a manly way — not burning Gravesend, which was really defenceless, but breaking through the defences of the Medway, behind which our ships lay unrigged. They were quickly set on fire. In Upnor Castle and the forts at Chatham, there was little ammunition; and the Dutch "made no more of Upnor Castle's shooting, than of a fly."

The proud ship which bore the king to England, *The Royal Charles*, was secured by the invaders as a trophy; and when they had made their strength sufficiently manifest to the panic-stricken sycophants of the depraved court, they quietly sailed back to the Thames, and enforced a real blockade of London for many weeks.

The spirit of patriotism was trodden out of the sailors by neglect and oppression. There were many of them on board the Dutch ships, who called out to their countrymen on the river, "We did heretofore fight for tickets; now we fight for dollars." The sailors' wives went up and down the streets of Wapping, crying "This comes of your not paying our husbands." Mobs assembled at Westminster, shouting for "a parliament, a parliament." They broke the Lord Chancellor's windows, and set up a gibbet before his gate. Had the Dutch gone up the Thames beyond Deptford, it is not impossible that the iniquities of the Stuarts might have more quickly come to an end. Such a consummation was not to be desired. The English people had to endure two more decades of misrule, that they might gather strength to fit themselves for constitutional government. Besides the disgrace and humiliation, England suffered little from the Dutch in the Thames and the Medway. The Londoners were cut off from their supply of sea-borne coal — no irremediable evil in summer, but one that probably hastened a peace. On the 28th the Dutch fleet was lying triumphantly at the Nore — "a dreadful spectacle," says Evelyn,[8] "as every Englishman saw, and a dishonour never to be wiped off." It was a spectacle of dishonour which has never been seen since, and will never be seen again, unless there should again be such a combination of anti-national elements as in the days of Charles the Second — a profligate and corrupt court, avaricious and selfish ministers, a bribed parliament, an intolerant church, a slavish bench of justice. The disgrace of 1667 will not have been in vain, if it teach the great lesson that the corruption of the high is the corruption of the national honour at its fountain head. On the 29th of July a treaty of peace between England, Holland, and France, was concluded at Breda.

THE FALL OF CLARENDON (1667 A.D.)

The fall of Lord Clarendon from power, in 1667, is one of those events whose causes can only be adequately developed, if they can ever be fully and satisfactorily set forth, through an intimate acquaintance with the public documents and private memorials of the period. A faint outline of these combinations, in connection with an estimate of the character of the fallen man, is all that we can pretend to offer.

Sir Edward Hyde, of all the companions of the adversity of Charles, was by far the fittest minister to guide him through the extreme difficulties of his altered position. He was hated by the queen-mother. His habits of thought and action were diametrically opposed to the levities and vices of the king and the younger courtiers. He had many early associations with the struggle for civil rights, which made him a stumbling-block in the way of any broad attempts to emulate the despotisms of other European monarchies. He was by principle and education devotedly attached to the Protestantism of the Church of England. He was thus no object of affection amongst many whose poverty he had shared, but from whose habits he was altogether alien. But his great abilities were indispensable to Charles; and thus Sir Edward Hyde became the earl of Clarendon, lord chancellor, and the real minister of England, all other administrative functionaries being subordinate to him. It was necessary to govern through parliaments; and Clarendon, by his experience, his dignified carriage, his rhetorical and literary powers, was eminently fitted for the duties of a parliamentary minister.

He was for a while all-successful. The rooted dislike of the queen-mother was neutralised, even to the point of her graciously receiving the plebeian duchess of York. The king and his associates were compelled to manifest respect to the decorous chancellor, and to compensate their submission to his wisdom by their ridicule of his manners. He was hated by the king and the favourites because he had not, when the parliament was lavish and the nation mad, extracted from the temper of the hour a far greater fixed revenue, such as would have made parliaments less necessary for the king. But when parliament had the presumption to ask for an account of the disposal of the sums that had been voted, then Clarendon's opposition to any interference with the old power of the crown made his conscientious scruples about the limits of prerogative less obnoxious. The principles of the man were not fitted for the retrogressive objects of the crown, or the progressive movement of the nation. The triumphs of statesmanship are not to be accomplished like the victory of the deliverers of Gideon, whilst the sun remains in the same place of the heavens.

As early as 1663, the earl of Bristol, a Catholic peer, in his seat in parliament, attributing to the lord chancellor all the evils under which the country laboured, impeached him of high-treason. The opinion of the judges was required; and they answered, that by the laws of the realm no articles of high-treason could be originally exhibited in the house of peers, by any one peer against another; and that the matters alleged in the charge against the lord chancellor did not amount to treason. Personal hostility appears to have provoked this ill-judged attack. Four years afterwards it was pretty well known that the king was alienated from his grave adviser. Clarendon had made enemies all around him by his faults as well as by his virtues. He was haughty and passionate. He was grasping and ostentatious. He had returned from exile in the deepest poverty. In seven years he had acquired a sufficient fortune to build a mansion superior to ducal palaces, and to fur-

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nish it with the most costly objects of taste and luxury. He was envied by the nobility. He was hated by the people; for in the grandeur of what they called "Dunkirk House" they saw what they believed to be the evidence of foreign bribery

The duke of Buckingham had been banished from court through a quarrel with Lady Castlemain; and revenge threw him into the ranks of those to whom the government was obnoxious. He became the advocate of the sectaries; he became the avowed and especial enemy of the chancellor. For a short time he was sent to the Tower, upon the supposed discovery of some treasonable intrigues; but he soon regained his liberty, and his royal master was propitiated when the duke had made his peace with "the lady." She interceded for Buckingham; but at first was unsuccessful. The court tattle said that the king had called Castlemain a jade that meddled with things she had nothing to do with; and that Castlemain called the king a fool, who suffered his businesses to be carried on by those who did not understand them. But very soon "the lady" carried her point; Buckingham was restored to favour; Clarendon was sacrificed.

Charges of the most serious nature were got up against him. The imputation of having sold Dunkirk for his private advantage was confidently maintained. Charles, through the duke of York, asked Clarendon to resign. He indignantly refused, saying, that his resignation would amount to a confession of guilt. After a conference of two hours the great minister saw that his disgrace was resolved upon — disgrace which "had been certainly designed in my lady Castlemain's chamber." On the 15th of October, the two houses voted an address of thanks to the throne for the removal of the chancellor, and the king in his reply pledged himself never to employ Lord Clarendon again in any capacity. This was not enough. Seventeen charges were prepared against him by a committee of the commons; and on the 12th of November the house impeached him of high-treason at the bar of the peers. There were animated debates in that house, in which Clarendon had many supporters. The two houses got angry. The court became alarmed. Clarendon was advised to leave the kingdom clandestinely, but he refused. Then the king sent him an express command to retire to the Continent. He obeyed; addressing a letter, vindicating himself, to the house of peers. An act was passed on the 29th of December, banishing him for life, unless he should return by the following 1st of February.

The close of the political career of Clarendon, under circumstances of punishment and disgrace so disproportioned to his public or private demerits, has left no stain upon his memory. Whatever were his faults as a statesman, he stands upon a far higher elevation than the men who accomplished his ruin. As to the king, his parasites and his mistresses, who were in raptures to be freed from his observation and censure, their dislike was Clarendon's high praise. In the encouragement which Charles indirectly gave to attacks upon the minister who had saved him from many of the worst consequences of the rashness of the royalists, and had laboured in the service of his father and himself for twenty-seven years, either in war, or in exile, or in triumph, with a zeal and ability which no other possessed, we see only the heartless ingratitude of the king, and his utterly selfish notions of the duties of a sovereign. Clarendon had become disagreeable to him through the very qualities which made the government endurable to high-minded and sober men. Clarendon went into exile. It was some time before he was permitted to find a resting place; but he found it at last at Montpelier. He was probably never sincerely reconciled to the loss of power and grandeur; but he

believed that he was reconciled; and in dedicating himself to a renewal of that literary employment which has given him the best title to the respectful remembrance of mankind, he found that consolation which industry never failed to bestow upon a robust understanding, that was also open to religious impressions.

BUCKINGHAM AND THE CABAL MINISTRY

When the seals were taken away from Clarendon they were given to Sir Orlando Bridgman. The conduct of affairs fell into new hands. Southampton, the most respectable of Charles' first advisers was dead. Monk was worn out. Buckingham first came into power with Arlington as secretary of state, and Sir William Coventry. But soon the ministry comprised the five persons known as "The Cabal" — a name which signified what we now call the cabinet; but which name was supposed incorrectly to have been formed out of the initial letters of the names of the members — Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, Lauderdale. The word cabal had been used long before, to indicate a secret council.

Of the new advisers of Charles, Buckingham was the most influential at court, and he made great efforts to be at the same time the most popular. When Buckingham was taken to the Tower, Clarendon was depressed by the acclamations of the people, who shouted round the prisoner. As Clarendon had supported the church, Buckingham was the champion of the sectaries. Baxter[o] says, "As the chancellor had made himself the head of the prelatical party, who were all for setting up themselves by force, and suffering none that were against them, so Buckingham would now be the head of all those parties that were for liberty of conscience." The candid non-conformist adds, "For the man was of no religion, but notoriously and professedly lustful"; but he qualifies his censure with this somewhat high praise — "and yet of greater wit and parts, and sounder principles as to the interests of humanity and the common good, than most lords in the court." The duke lived in York House, the temporary palace which his father had built, of which nothing now remains but the Water Gate. Here he dwelt during the four or five years of the Cabal administration, affording, as he always continued to afford, abundant materials for the immortal character of Zimri in Dryden's "Absalom and Achitophel":

> "A man so various, that he seem'd to be
> Not one, but all mankind's epitome:
> Stiff in opinion, always in the wrong,
> Was every thing by starts and nothing long;
> But, in the course of one revolving moon,
> Was chemist, fiddler, statesman, and buffoon:
> Then all for women, painting, rhyming, drinking,
> Besides ten thousand freaks that died in thinking."

Ashley, afterwards earl of Shaftesbury — the Antony Ashley Cooper of the protectorate, who clung to the Rump Parliament till he saw that Monk had sealed its fate, and then made his peace with Charles with surprising readiness — the ablest, and in some respects the most incomprehensible of the statesmen of his time — has had the double immortality of the satire of Butler as well as of Dryden. In Thanet House, in Aldersgate street, Ashley was at hand to influence the politics of the city When the mob were roasting rumps in the streets, and were about to handle him roughly as he passed in his carriage, he turned their anger into mirth by his jokes. When the king

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frowned upon him he went straight from office to opposition, and made the court disfavour as serviceable to his ambition as the court's honours and rewards.

The history of the Cabal ministry, which extends over a period of six years, is not the history of a cabinet united by a common principle of agreement upon great questions of domestic and foreign policy. Nor is it the history of a sovereign asserting his own opinions, and watching over the administration of affairs, under the advice of a council, and through the agency of the great officers of state. Charles I, whether aiming to be despotic, or struggling for his crown and his life, was zealous, active, and self-confident. Charles II was absolutely indifferent to any higher objects than personal gratification; and to this circumstance we must refer some of the extraordinary anomalies of the government after the fall of Clarendon. He was neither honest nor able, with reference to any aptitude for the condition of life to which he was called. He did not desire, he said, to sit like a Turkish sultan, and sentence men to the bowstring; but he could not endure that a set of fellows should inquire into his conduct. Always professing his love of parliaments, he was always impatient of their interference. With such a sovereign, as utterly indifferent to the proprieties of his public station as to the decencies of his private life, we can scarcely expect that there should have been any consistent principle of administration. The terrible experience of thirty years imposed upon Charles some caution in the manifestation of his secret desire to be as absolute as his brother Louis of France. The great Bourbon was encumbered with no parliament; he had not to humble himself to beg for supplies of insolent commons; he was not troubled with any set of fellows to inquire into his conduct, and ask for accounts of expenditure; he had the gabelle and other imposts which fell upon the prostrate poor, without exciting the animosity of the dangerous rich; he was indeed a king, whose shoe-latchet nobles were proud to unloose, and whose transcendent genius and virtue prelates rejoiced to compare with the divine attributes. Such a blissful destiny as that of the Bourbon could not befall the Stuart by ordinary means. Charles would become as great as Louis, as far as his notion of greatness went, by becoming the tributary of Louis. He would sell his country's honour — he would renounce the religion he had sworn to uphold — for an adequate price. But this bargain should be a secret one. It should be secret even from a majority of his own ministers. Upon this point hinges the disgraceful history of the Cabal.

The story of the next twenty years, which brings us to the great era of our modern history, would be incomprehensible, if we did not constantly bear in mind, that public opinion had become a real element in national progress. The crown was constantly dreaming of the revival of despotism, to be accomplished by force and by corruption. Yet the crown, almost without a struggle, was bereft of the power of imprisoning without trial, by the passing of the Habeas Corpus Act; and it lost its control over the freedom of the press by the expiration of the licensing system. The church thought it possible to destroy non-conformity by fines and fetters. In its earlier liturgy it prayed to be delivered from "false doctrine, heresy, and schism." Yet when it had ejected the Puritans from the churches, and had shut up the conventicles, it laid the foundation of schisms which, in a few years, made dissent a principle which churchmen could not hope to crush and statesmen could not dare to despise. How can we account for the striking anomaly, that with a profligate court, a corrupt administration, a venal house of commons, a tyrannous church, the nation during the reign of Charles II was manifestly

progressing in the essentials of freedom, unless we keep in view that from the beginning of the century there had been an incessant struggle of the national mind against every form of despotic power? The desire for liberty, civil and spiritual, had become almost an instinct. The great leaders in this battle had passed away. The men who by fits aspired to be tribunes of the people were treacherous or inconstant. But the spirit of the nation was not dead. It made itself heard in parliament, with a voice that grew louder and louder, till the torrent was once again dammed up. A few more years of tyranny without disguise — and then the end.

The first movements of the Cabal ministry were towards a high and liberal policy — toleration for non-conformists, and an alliance with free Protestant states. A greater liberty to dissenters from the church followed the fall of Clarendon. We see transient and accidental motives for this passing toleration, rather than the assertion of a fixed principle. But when the parliament met, the active prelates and prelatists prevailed to prevent any bill of comprehension or indulgence to be brought in.

THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE (1668 A.D.)

At the opening of the session of parliament in 1668, the king announced that he had made a league defensive with the states-general of the United Provinces, to which Sweden had become a party. This was the Triple Alliance. The nation saw with reasonable apprehension the development of the vast schemes of ambition of Louis XIV. He was at war with Spain; but the great empire upon which the sun never set was fast falling to pieces — not perishing like a grand old house, overthrown by a hurricane's fury, but mouldering away with the dry-rot in every timber. France, on the contrary, was rising into the position of the greatest power in Europe. Her able but vainglorious king already looked upon the Spanish Netherlands as his certain prey. The United Provinces were hateful to him as the seat of religious and civil liberty.

The crisis was come when England, by a return to the policy of Cromwell, might have taken her place again at the head of the free Protestant states of Europe. When Charles announced to parliament this league with the United Provinces and Sweden, it was thought to be, says Pepys, "the only good public thing that hath been done since the king came into England." It was a marvel of diplomacy. De Witt and Sir William Temple met at the Hague as two honest men, without any finesse; and they quickly concluded a treaty which they believed to be for the honour and safety of both their countries. This treaty, says Burnet,[j] "was certainly the masterpiece of King Charles' life; and if he had stuck to it, it would have been both the strength and glory of his reign. This disposed the people to forgive all that was past, and to renew their confidence in him, which was shaken by the whole conduct of the Dutch war."

At the very time when the ambassador of England was negotiating the treaty which promised to be "the strength and glory of his reign," the king was making proposals to Louis for a clandestine treaty, by which England was to be "leased out" to France, "Like a tenement or pelting farm."[k]

MACAULAY'S CONTRAST OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE AT THAT PERIOD

We have now reached a point at which the history of the great English Revolution begins to be complicated with the history of foreign politics. The

power of Spain had, during many years, been declining. She still, it is true, held in Europe the Milanese and the two Sicilies, Belgium, and Franche Comté. In America her dominions still spread, on both sides of the equator, far beyond the limits of the torrid zone. But this great body had been smitten with palsy, and was not only incapable of giving molestation to other states, but could not, without assistance, repel aggression.

France was now, beyond all doubt, the greatest power in Europe. Her resources have, since those days, absolutely increased, but have not increased so fast as the resources of England. It must also be remembered that, a hundred and eighty years ago, the empire of Russia, now a monarchy of the first class, was as entirely out of the system of European politics as Abyssinia or Siam, that the house of Brandenburg was then hardly more powerful than the house of Saxony, and that the republic of the United States had not then begun to exist. The weight of France, therefore, though still very considerable, has relatively diminished. Her territory was not in the days of Louis the Fourteenth quite so extensive as at present: but it was large, compact, fertile, well placed both for attack and for defence, situated in a happy climate, and inhabited by a grave, active, and ingenious people. The state implicitly obeyed the direction of a single mind. The great fiefs which, three hundred years before, had been, in all but name, independent principalities, had been annexed to the crown. Only a few old men could remember the last meeting of the states-general. The resistance which the Huguenots, the nobles, and the parliaments had offered to the kingly power, had been put down by the two great cardinals who had ruled the nation during forty years. The government was now a despotism, but, at least in its dealings with the upper classes, a mild and generous despotism, tempered by courteous manners and chivalrous sentiments. The means at the disposal of the sovereign were, for that age, truly formidable. His revenue, raised, it is true, by a severe and unequal taxation which pressed heavily on the cultivators of the soil, far exceeded that of any other potentate. His army, excellently disciplined, and commanded by the greatest generals then living, already consisted of more than a hundred and twenty thousand men. Such an array of regular troops had not been seen in Europe since the downfall of the Roman Empire. Of maritime powers France was not the first. But, though she had rivals on the sea, she had not yet a superior. Such was her strength during the last forty years of the seventeenth century, that no enemy could singly withstand her, and that two great coalitions, in which half Christendom was united against her, failed of success.

In England, however, the whole stock of popularity, great as it was, with which the king had commenced his administration, had long been expended. To loyal enthusiasm had succeeded profound disaffection. The public mind had now measured back again the space over which it had passed between 1640 and 1660, and was once more in the state in which it had been when the Long Parliament met.

The prevailing discontent was compounded of many feelings. One of these was wounded national pride. That generation had seen England, during a few years, allied on equal terms with France, victorious over Holland and Spain, the mistress of the sea, the terror of Rome, the head of the Protestant interest. Her resources had not diminished; and it might have been expected that she would have been at least as highly considered in Europe under a legitimate king, strong in the affection and willing obedience of his subjects, as she had been under an usurper whose utmost vigilance and energy were required to keep down a mutinous people. Yet she had, in

consequence of the imbecility and meanness of her rulers, sunk so low that any German or Italian principality which brought five thousand men into the field was a more important member of the commonwealth of nations.

With the sense of national humiliation was mingled anxiety for civil liberty. Rumours, indistinct indeed, but perhaps the more alarming by reason of their indistinctness, imputed to the court a deliberate design against all the constitutional rights of Englishmen. It had even been whispered that this design was to be carried into effect by the intervention of foreign arms. The thought of such intervention made the blood, even of the cavaliers, boil in their veins.[h]





CHAPTER VIII

THE LATTER PART OF CHARLES II'S REIGN

[1668–1685 A.D.]

> It may seem rather an extraordinary position yet is strictly true, that the fundamental privileges of the subject were less invaded, the prerogative swerved into fewer excesses, during the reign of Charles II than in any former period of equal length. The frequent session of parliament, and its high estimation of its own privileges, furnished a security against illegal taxation. And as the nation happily escaped the attempts that were made after the restoration to revive the Star-Chamber and high commission courts, there were no means of chastising political delinquencies except through the regular tribunals of justice and through the verdict of a jury. Ill as the one were often constituted and submissive as the other might often be found, they afforded something more of a guarantee, were it only by the publicity of their proceedings, than the dark and silent divan of courtiers and prelates who sat in judgment under the two former kings of the house of Stuart. Though the bench was frequently subservient, the bar contained high-spirited advocates whose firm defence of their clients the judges often reproved, but no longer affected to punish. The press, above all, was in continual service.— HENRY HALLAM.[b]

FEW things in English history are more curious than the origin and growth of the power now possessed by the cabinet. From an early period the kings of England had been assisted by a privy council to which the law assigned many important functions and duties. During several centuries this body deliberated on the gravest and most delicate affairs. But by degrees its character changed. It became too large for despatch and secrecy. The rank of privy councillor was often bestowed as an honorary distinction on persons to whom nothing was confided, and whose opinion was never asked. The sovereign, on the most important occasions, resorted for advice to a small knot of leading ministers. The advantages and disadvantages of this course were early pointed out by Bacon, with his usual judgment and sagacity: but it was not till after the restoration that the interior council began to attract general notice. During many years old fashioned politicians continued to regard the cabinet as an unconstitutional and dangerous board. Nevertheless, it constantly became more and more important. It at length drew to itself the chief executive power, and has now been regarded, during several generations, as an essential part of English polity. Yet, strange to say, it still continues to be altogether unknown to the law. The names of the noblemen and gentlemen who compose it are never officially announced to

the public. No record is kept of its meetings and resolutions; nor has its existence ever been recognised by any act of parliament.

During some years the word cabal was popularly used as synonymous with cabinet. But, as we have seen, it happened by a whimsical coincidence that, in 1671, the cabinet consisted of five persons the initial letters of whose names made up the word cabal, Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale. These ministers[1] were therefore emphatically called the Cabal; and they soon made that appellation so infamous that it has never since their time been used except as a term of reproach.[c]

Buckingham, without any ostensible post, was now in fact the prime minister, and one so profligate in morals has rarely been seen in England. He was living in open adultery with Lady Shrewsbury, which led at this very time (January 16th) to a duel, in which the injured husband was mortally wounded. The abandoned countess, it is said, dressed as a page, held the horse of her paramour while he was fighting with her husband. It served the cause of the non-conformists but little to be advocated, as it was, by a man of such a character; the commons, therefore, negatived by a large majority a bill introduced for their relief. They also voted only one-half of the sum demanded for the navy, and instituted a rigid inquiry into the conduct of various persons in the late war.

As money for the supply of the royal mistresses and the other profligacies of the court was not to be obtained from the parliament, Buckingham began to form other projects. The first was to reduce the royal expenditure below the revenues, but with a prince of Charles' character that was impracticable. It was then resolved to have recourse to the king of France; Buckingham therefore entered into a negotiation with the duchess of Orleans, and Charles himself apologised to the French resident for his share in the Triple Alliance. Louis, as usual, affected indifference, but the communications gradually became more confidential, and by the end of the year Louis had the leading English ministers in his pay.

It was not the mere gratification of his pleasures that Charles now looked to; he wished to be absolute. Not, however, that, like his father, he believed despotic power to be his right, or that he felt any pleasure in the exercise of it: what he wanted was freedom from restraint; he could not endure that his private life should be publicly criticised, or that parliaments should presume to inquire what had been done with the money they had granted. All this might be obviated by a standing army, which he might make it the interest of Louis to furnish him with the means of maintaining. But there was another motive operating on the mind of Charles, which, from the tenor of his life, one would be little apt to suspect.

THE KING AND THE DUKE OF YORK BECOME CATHOLICS (1668 A.D.)

The duke of York was at this time become a Catholic. His own account of his conversion is as follows. When he was in Flanders he read, at the request of a bishop of the Church of England, a treatise by that prelate, written to clear that church from the guilt of schism in separating from the church of Rome. He also, at the bishop's desire, read a reply which had been made to it, and the effect produced on his mind was the contrary of what was intended. After the restoration he read Heylin's *History of the Reforma-*

[1 Gardiner, [d] however, insists that it is wrong to speak of the Cabal as a "ministry" in the modern sense, since they formed no council meeting, agreed on nothing but toleration, and were never consulted as a body by the king.]

tion, and the preface to Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, and the result was a persuasion that none of the reformers "had power to do what they did." He went on inquiring, and gradually gave his assent to all the Roman doctrines. It must be observed that the duke, while thus solicitous about his religion, was leading a life nearly, if not altogether, as profligate as that of his brother. All this time he continued outwardly to conform to the Church of England. At length he consulted a Jesuit named Simons, on the subject of being reconciled, expressing his hope, that on account of the singularity of his case, he might have a dispensation to continue his outward conformity to the Church of England. To his surprise, the good father assured him that the pope had not the power to grant it, "for it was an unalterable doctrine of the Catholic church, not to do evil that good might follow." The duke wrote to the pope, and the reply which he received was to the same effect. Thinking it dangerous to delay any longer, he resolved to open his mind to the king, whom he knew to be of the same way of thinking. He found his brother equally sensible with himself as to the danger of his condition. It was agreed that the royal brothers should consult with the lords Arundel of Wardour and Arlington, and Sir Thomas Clifford (all in the royal secret), on the best mode of advancing the Catholic religion in the king's dominions.

On the 25th of January, 1669, the feast of the conversion of St. Paul, the meeting was held in the duke's closet. The king spoke with great earnestness, and with tears in his eyes, describing his uneasiness at not being able to profess the faith he believed; as he knew, he said, that he should meet with great difficulties in what he proposed to do, no time was to be lost, and it should be undertaken while he and his brother were in full strength and vigour, and able to undergo any fatigue. It was resolved to apply to the French king for aid, for which purpose his ambassador was to be let into the secret, and Lord Arundel, with Sir Richard Bellings, an Irish Catholic, for his secretary, was to go to the court of France. Arundel, when at Paris, required from Louis a large sum of money, to enable the king to suppress any insurrection that might break out, offering in return to aid him in his intended invasion of Holland. Louis was willing to assent to these terms; the only question was, which should be first, the war or the king's declaration of his religion. Charles, urged by his brother, was for the last, Louis more wisely recommended the former. The year passed away in discussions: at Christmas the king received the sacrament as usual in public, but it was observed that the duke of York did not accompany him.

The Conventicle Act was now near expiring. The lord keeper and Chief Justice Hale had, with the aid of bishops Wilkins and Reynolds, and of Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Burton, and other divines, been engaged in forming a scheme of comprehension, which was communicated to Baxter, Bates, and Morton, and by them to their non-conforming brethren. Nothing could be more reasonable than the alterations proposed, and an equally rational plan was devised. But Sheldon and the other intolerants took the alarm; the commons had not abated in their hostility, and the Conventicle Act was renewed[1] with the addition of a proviso, "that all clauses in it shall be construed most largely and beneficially for the suppressing conventicles, and for the justification and encouragement of all persons to be employed in the execution thereof." Could anything be more barbarous than this? The vile crew of informers was now unkennelled, houses were broken open, ministers and other persons were dragged to prison. Sheldon and those prelates,

[1 According to Gardiner *d* Charles sold his consent to this renewal for a grant of £300,000 a year for eight years.]

such as Ward and Lamplugh, who resembled himself, were zealous in causing the act to be enforced, and the court secretly encouraged them, in the hopes of driving the dissenters to look to a Catholic government for relief.

It is said that Buckingham was most anxious to prevent the succession of the duke of York. According to this prince's own account, his first project was to get the king to acknowledge the legitimacy of his son by Lucy Walters, whom he had created duke of Monmouth, and given him in marriage the countess of Buccleuch, the wealthiest heiress in Scotland; lords Carlisle and Ashley, he adds, had the boldness to hint to the king, that if he was desirous of doing so, it would not be difficult to procure witnesses of his marriage, but Charles replied, "that well as he loved the duke, he had rather see him hanged at Tyburn than own him for his legitimate son." To get rid of the sterile queen in some way, in order to enable the king to marry again, was the next plan. Buckingham proposed to seize her and convey her away secretly to the plantations, so that she might be no more heard of; but Charles rejected this course with horror. The next project was to deal with the queen's confessor, to induce her to go into a convent; but she had no mind to be a nun, and means, it is said, were employed to cause the pope to forbid her. Some talked of the king's taking another wife, but the public feeling was adverse to polygamy. A divorce was then proposed, and to this the king hearkened; but spiritual divorces were only from bed and board, and a precedent was wanting for the legal marriage of the innocent party. Lord Roos, therefore, whose wife was living in open adultery, got a bill to be moved in the upper house (March 5th, 1670) to enable him to marry again. The duke, seeing whither this tended, opposed it with all his might; all the bishops but Cosins and Wilkins were on his side, and all the Catholic and several Protestant peers. The king employed his influence in favour of it, and on the morning of the third reading (21st) he came and sat on the throne, saying, he was come to renew an old custom of attending at their debates, and desired them to go on as if he were not present. The bill was carried by a small majority, and became a precedent for bills of the same kind, but the king took no advantage of it. He continued for some time the practice of attending the debates; "it was as good," he said, "as going to a play," and his presence was some check on the opposition.

THE SECRET TREATY OF DOVER AND THE FRENCH ALLIANCE (1670 A.D.)

In the month of May Louis took occasion of a progress he was making through his lately acquired possessions to let the duchess of Orleans cross the sea to Dover to visit her brother, over whose mind she possessed great influence. Louis hoped that she would be able to prevail with him to commence with the war against the states instead of the declaration of religion, but Charles was immoveable on this head. The famous secret treaty was now concluded. Charles was to declare himself when he judged it expedient, and then to join Louis in a war with the Dutch; Louis was to give him two millions of livres, and a force of six thousand men; all the expenses of the war by land were to be borne by Louis, and he was to pay three millions of livres annually toward the charge of the English navy; the combined fleet to be commanded by the duke of York; if the states were conquered, Charles was to have Walcheren, Sluys, and Cadsand, and the prince of Orange to be provided for. It was further agreed, that if any new rights to the Spanish monarchy should accrue to Louis (by the death of the king, a puny boy), Charles should aid him in asserting them with all his power, and to get

[1671 A.D.]

in return Ostend, Minorca, and such parts of South America as he could conquer.

Such was the conspiracy that was formed against the Protestant faith and the liberties of Europe; but many difficulties stood in the way of its success. Charles, when he reflected coolly, became aware of the Protestant spirit of his subjects: he did not venture to communicate the secret treaty to his Protestant ministers, and to blink them he let Buckingham[1] conclude one (the counterpart of it except as to the article of religion) with France (January 23rd, 1671). When urged by Louis to declare his religion, he hung back and made various objections, and the course of events soon caused Louis to cease from pressing him.

THE ACCESSION OF NELL GWYN; COVENTRY ACT

Charles had latterly recruited his harem from the theatre, where now, in imitation of the Continent, women performed. He had taken off no less than two actresses, the one named Moll Davies a dancer, the other the wild and witty Nell Gwyn. He soon grew tired of Davies, who had borne him a daughter, Mary Tudor, married in 1687 to Francis Ratcliffe, afterwards created earl of Derwentwater. But Nell, whom he appointed of the bed-chamber to his insulted queen, retained her hold on his affections through life, and the noble house of St. Albans derive their pedigree from this union of royalty with the stage. With the aid of Shaftesbury, it is said, he seduced the daughter of a clergyman named Roberts; but her early principles retained their hold on her mind, and Burnet[e] says that she died a sincere penitent. A further accession to the royal mistresses was Mademoiselle de Querouaille, a favourite maid of the duchess of Orleans, on whose sudden and mysterious death shortly after the interview at Dover, Charles invited her maid over to England, appointed her of the queen's bed-chamber, and added her to the roll of his mistresses. He afterwards (1672) created her duchess of Portsmouth, and Louis conferred on her the royal domain of Aubigni, which went to her son the duke of Richmond. As to Castlemain (now duchess of Cleveland), she still retained her place as a royal mistress; and if Charles was faithless to her, she was equally so to him. Her children by the king, named Fitzroy, were the dukes of Southampton and Grafton, the earl of Northumberland, and a daughter married to Sir Henry Lee of Ditchley, Oxon, afterwards earl of Litchfield.

In the debate on the supplies in the commons, it was proposed to lay a tax on the play-houses. To this it was objected, that the players were the king's servants and a part of his pleasure. Sir John Coventry asked, whether "his majesty's pleasure lay among the men or the women players?" This was reported at court, and the king, though earnestly dissuaded by the duke, resolved on a base and cowardly vengeance. The duke of Monmouth was the chief agent, with his lieutenant Sands and O'Brien, son of Lord Inchiquin; and as Coventry was returning one night (December 21st) to his lodgings, Sands and O'Brien, with thirteen of the guards, fell on him in the Haymarket. Coventry snatched the flambeau from his servant, and with it in one hand and his sword in the other, and placing his back against the wall, he defended himself stoutly. He wounded O'Brien in the arm; but they overpowered him, threw him on the ground, and slit his nose with a penknife. They then repaired to the duke of Monmouth to boast of what they had done

[1 Gardiner[d] says that "Charles particularly enjoyed making a fool of Buckingham, who imagined himself to be exceedingly clever."]

When the commons re-assembled, they were outrageous at this base assault on one of their members, and they passed an act banishing the perpetrators without pardon, unless they surrendered, and making it felony, without benefit of clergy, to maim or disfigure the person. This act is named the Coventry Act.

A still more atrocious attempt had lately been made on a more illustrious person. As the duke of Ormonde was returning in the dark (December 6th) from a dinner given by the city, his coach was stopped in St. James' street, he was dragged out of it, set behind a man on horseback and fastened to him by a belt. The man urged his horse and proceeded toward Hyde Park; but on the way the duke put his foot under the rider's, and leaning to the other side they both fell to the ground; the sound of footsteps being heard, the assassin loosed the belt and fired a pair of pistols at the duke, but without effect; he then fled away and escaped. An inquiry was instituted by the house of lords, a reward of 1,000*l.* and a pardon to any of the party who would turn informer, was offered by the king, but to no purpose.

Some time after, a person wearing a cassock formed an acquaintance with Edwards, the keeper of the regalia in the Tower. He proposed a match between a nephew of his and Edwards' daughter. At seven in the morning of the 9th of May, the pretended clergyman came with two companions and asked to see the regalia. While they were in the room they suddenly threw a cloak over Edwards' head and then put a gag in his mouth, and when he struggled they knocked him down and wounded him in the belly. The clergyman then placed the crown under his cloak, another put the globe in his breeches, and the third began to file the sceptre in two to put it into a bag. Edwards' son happening to come by, the alarm was given; the robbers ran, and had nearly reached their horses at St. Catherine's gate, when they were secured.

From curiosity, or some other motive, the king himself attended their examination. The chief said that his name was Colonel Blood; that it was he that had seized the duke of Ormonde, with the intention of hanging him at Tyburn; that he was one of a band of three hundred sworn to avenge each other's death; that he and others had resolved to kill the king for his severity to the godly, and that he had one time taken his station among the reeds at Battersea to shoot him as he was bathing, but the awe of majesty overcame him, and he relented; the king might now take his life if he pleased, but it would be at the risk of his own; whereas if he pardoned him, he would secure the gratitude of a band of faithful and resolute spirits. Charles pardoned him, nay, more, gave him an estate of 500*l.* a year in Ireland, of which country he was a native, and kept him at court, where he rose to the possession of much influence: he also requested Ormonde to pardon him, saying that he had certain reasons for asking it. The duke replied that his majesty's command was a sufficient reason. What are we to infer from all this? Was Charles a coward? or was some one of those who were in his confidence the secret instigator of the attempt on the life of the duke?

The next event was the death of the duchess of York (May 31st). She died a Catholic; the secret efforts of her husband had had their effect, and she had been reconciled in the preceding month of August. Her father wrote, her brother remonstrated; but their efforts were fruitless; she received the last sacrament from the hands of a Franciscan friar. Her conversion was known, it is said, to but five persons; but the secret gradually transpired and caused the religion of the duke to be suspected. She had borne him eight children, of whom two daughters, Mary and Anne, alone survived.

[1672 A.D.]

During the last year the young prince of Orange had come over to visit his royal uncle. Charles, who had really a regard for him, wished to draw him into his projects; but he found him, as the French ambassador says, too zealous a Dutchman and Protestant to be trusted with the secret. It is curious enough that, as the prince told Burnet, the king gave him to understand that he was himself a Catholic.

THE STOP OF THE EXCHEQUER; THE DECLARATION OF INDULGENCE; THE DUTCH WAR (1672 A.D.)

The war with the states being decided on, the Cabal prepared to commence it with robbery at home and piracy abroad. To have a good supply of money to begin with, the fertile brain of Ashley,[1] it is said (but he always denied it), suggested to shut up the exchequer. To understand this, we must observe that since the time of Cromwell the bankers and others had been in the habit of advancing money at eight per cent. to the government, receiving in return an assignment of some branch of the revenue till principal and interest should be discharged. The new plan was to suspend all payments for twelve months, and to add the interest now due to the capital, allowing six per cent. interest on this new stock.[2] This was approved of by the privy-council, and the public was informed of it by proclamation (January 2nd, 1672). The consequences were, the ministers had a sum of 1,300,000*l.* at their disposal; many of the bankers failed; trade in general received a severe shock; numbers of widows, orphans, and other annuitants were reduced to misery.

There had been no declaration of war against the Dutch, with whom Charles was actually in alliance; but their Smyrna fleet would be coming up channel in March, and it was known to be wealthy, and it was supposed would suspect no danger. Holmes was therefore sent to intercept it; he was desired to take with him all the ships of war he should meet; but anxious to have all the glory and profit to himself, he let Sir Edward Spragge's squadron, returning from the Mediterranean, pass him by. Next morning (March 3rd) the Smyrna fleet of sixty sail came in sight. But the states had suspected the designs of their royal neighbours, and put their naval commanders on their guard. Many of these ships were well armed, and Van Nesse, who was convoying them with seven men-of-war, disposed his force so well as completely to baffle the English. Holmes being reinforced during the night, renewed the attack next day, and he succeeded in capturing one ship of war and four merchantmen, two of which were very valuable. This piratic enterprise (of which the disgrace was aggravated by its failure) was condemned both at home and abroad.

The next measure was to issue a Declaration of Indulgence (15th), in order to gain over the dissenters to the side of the court and to pave the way for a general toleration. The measure itself, which was suggested by Shaftesbury, was beneficent, had it originated in good motives; but it proceeded on the principle of an arbitrary dispensing power in the crown that might be carried to a dangerous extent. A portion of the dissenters received it with gratitude, and presented an address of thanks to the king; but the orthodox

[1 Gardiner[d] credits Clifford with the suggestion, since he was shortly afterward made a peer and Lord High Treasurer. Ashley was made the first earl of Shaftesbury in reward for his support of the Declaration of Indulgence. When later he joined the opposition, North[f] says the wags called him Shiftsbury.]

[2] "This," says Hallam,[b] "was never paid till the latter part of William's reign; it may be considered as the beginning of our national debt."

took alarm, and the pulpits resounded with arguments and declamation against popery.

Both kings now formally declared war against the states. Louis merely said that it did not consist with his reputation to put up any longer with insult from them. Charles (17th) enumerated several petty causes of hostility, "and surely," says Hume, "reasons more false and frivolous never were employed to justify a flagrant breach of treaty." The king of Sweden, the bishop of Münster, and the elector of Cologne were drawn into the confederacy against the states.

While preparations were being made to put the land forces of the states into a condition to resist the troops of France, De Ruyter got to sea with seventy-five men-of-war and a number of fire ships to prevent the junction of the French and English fleets; this, however, he was unable to effect, and the combined fleet having vainly tried to bring him to action off Ostend, returned to Southwold bay. De Ruyter, learning that they were occupied taking in men and provisions, resolved to fall on them while thus engaged. He was near surprising them (May 28th); but though the wind and tide were adverse, the duke of York, who commanded, got about twenty of his ships in line of battle, being part of the red squadron under himself and of the blue under the earl of Sandwich. D'Estrées, with the French fleet, was to the southward, opposed to the ships of Zealand. Though the disparity of numbers was great, the battle was obstinate. Sandwich, in the *Royal James*, took a ship of seventy guns and killed Admiral Van Ghent; but his own vessel having been much damaged, a fire ship grappled on her larboard and set her in flames, and the earl and all on board but two or three hundred perished. The duke, when his ship, *The Prince*, was disabled, shifted his flag to the *St. Michael:* and this vessel being also disabled, he finally hoisted it in *The London*. In the afternoon the other ships came into the action, and the Dutch finally fled with the loss of three ships; the English lost but one: the French had taken no part in the action.

Meantime Louis, at the head of one hundred thousand men, had burst like a flood over the frontiers. His disciplined legions were directed by the genius of Condé and Turenne, while the Dutch troops were raw levies and ill-officered. Fortress after fortress opened their gates, making hardly a show of resistance. The season happening to be very dry, the rivers were low, the passage of the Rhine offered no difficulty (June 2nd), and in the space of three weeks the French monarch reduced three of the provinces, and had advanced within three leagues of Amsterdam. Resistance appearing nearly hopeless, ambassadors were sent to learn on what terms peace might be obtained. Buckingham, Arlington, and Lord Saville (now earl of Halifax) were sent on the part of Charles to Utrecht, where Louis had fixed his quarters, and the demands of the two sovereigns were there communicated to the Dutch ministers. Louis required large cessions of forts and territory; seventeen millions of livres; a gold medal every year; the churches in the towns to be shared with the Catholics, and a provision for their clergy. Charles demanded the honour of the flag in the narrow seas; £10,000 a year for the liberty of fishing; a million sterling for the expenses of the war; the dignity of Stadholder for William III the prince of Orange.

This prince, though only in his twenty-second year, had been made general and admiral of the commonwealth; De Witt, who was his guardian, had, though hostile to his family, given him an excellent education; and the character of the prince himself was such as, joined with the remembrance of the services of his family, enabled him to gain the popular favour. The peo-

ple were clamorous for the repeal of the Perpetual Edict, which had been framed for his exclusion; they rose in arms at Dordrecht (June 30th), and then in the other towns, and everywhere established the unlimited authority of the prince. An attempt was made to assassinate Jan De Witt; and his brother Cornelius being charged by an infamous wretch, named Tichelaer, with an endeavour to induce him to poison the prince, was put to the torture. A sentence of banishment was passed on him; his brother, the pensionary, came to the prison to convey him to his place of exile in his coach; instantly an infuriated rabble surrounded the prison, burst open the doors, seized the two brothers, despatched them by a multitude of wounds, and offered every species of indignity to their dead bodies. Such is the rabble in every country — brutal, bloody, and unreflecting: against their sudden fury neither private virtue nor the greatest public services are a protection.

The prince, by means of an atrocity which he abhorred, was now left uncontrolled. He urged the people not to despair, but to reject the humiliating conditions offered to them, and to resist to the uttermost. Their patriotic ardour revived; the sluices had already been opened, and the generous resolution was taken to fly, if all should fail, to their settlements in the east, and there to found a new empire. When Buckingham urged the prince to abandon the cause of the provinces, as their ruin was inevitable, "There is one certain means," he replied, "by which I can be sure never to see my country's ruin; I will die on the last dyke." The affairs of the provinces, under the guidance of their young hero, soon assumed a brighter aspect. A combined English and French fleet, with a land force on board, approached the coast; but winds and tide acted so opportunely to keep them off, that it was regarded as a special interference of Providence. Louis, weary of the toils of war returned to the pleasures of Versailles, and the French arms became inactive. Spain had sent some forces to the aid of the prince, and the emperor and the elector of Brandenburg were preparing to impede the progress of the French monarch.

Charles, however, adhered firmly to his engagements with Louis; he also gave his own ministers proofs of his satisfaction with their conduct by bestowing honours on them: Buckingham and Arlington had the Garter and the latter an earldom; Clifford was made Lord Clifford of Chudleigh, and Ashley earl of Shaftesbury. This last, on the Lord-keeper Bridgeman's hesitating in some matter, represented him to the king as a mere old dotard, and the seals with the title of lord-chancellor were transferred to himself (November 17th). In his new office he displayed the levity and eccentricity of his character. He rode himself, and made the judges and law-officers ride in ancient-wise in procession to Westminister; he sat on the bench in "an ash-coloured gown, silver-laced"; he prided himself on his despatch of business; made his orders with rapidity and after his own fancy; but so many applications were made to him by counsel for explanations, that he soon became quite tame and humble in his court. Clifford at this time was made lord-treasurer.

PARLIAMENT BESTS THE KING; THE TEST ACT (1673 A.D.)

It was now nearly two years since parliament had met; the king, however willing, could no longer dispense with its services, as the only means of obtaining money. When it assembled (February 5th, 1673), he addressed it himself. He spoke of the war as just and necessary; and as to his Declara-

tion of Indulgence, at which some cavilled, he told them plainly that he was resolved to stick to it; he also mentioned the army, which with their aid he intended to augment. Shaftesbury then spoke. He told them that the Dutch aimed at an empire as extensive as that of ancient Rome; that they were the eternal enemy of this country; that "*Delenda est Carthago*" was the maxim of the parliament, and a wise one; and that he had no doubt but that they would be liberal in their supplies.

Though the members were the same, the house was now different from what it had been. The fervour of their loyalty had cooled, and they saw clearly whither the court was tending. Their first care was therefore to vindicate their own authority. Ever since 1604 it had been the practice in case of a vacancy in the house for the speaker to issue a writ for a new election; but Shaftesbury had taken on him, as chancellor, to issue the writs, and thus to introduce his dependents into the house. The legality of these was questioned (February 6th); the elections were voted void, and the speaker was directed to issue new writs. As the king made no opposition, Shaftesbury saw plainly that he could not be relied on, and he took his measures accordingly.

The very next day the commons voted a supply of no less a sum than 1,260,000*l*. They then proceeded to their grand attack on the Declaration of Indulgence, to which Charles had affirmed he would "stick," and after a long and adjourned debate, in spite of all the efforts of the courtiers, it was resolved on the 10th, by a majority of 168 to 116, that "penal statutes in matters ecclesiastical cannot be suspended but by act of parliament." An address to this effect was presented to the king; he replied on the 24th, asserting his ecclesiastical authority, but expressing his willingness to assent to any bill for carrying the intents of his declaration into effect. This was voted insufficient, and in a second address they assured him that he was mistaken in supposing himself to possess that power. Charles was indignant, and talked of a dissolution; the duke, Clifford, Shaftesbury, and the more violent applauded his spirit; now was his time or never, they said — concessions had ruined his father and would ruin him. Ormonde and Arlington in vain advised him to yield. It was resolved to oppose the lords to the commons. The king solicited the advice of the peers (March 1st); Clifford addressed them with his usual violence; but Shaftesbury said that though his own opinion was in favour of the prerogative, he would not presume to set it against that of the house of commons. The lords resolved on the 4th that the king's was a good and gracious answer. Charles' resolution, however, had already begun to give way; the French ambassador counselled him to yield for the present; the women too, it is said, interfered. He sent for the declaration, and in the presence of his ministers broke off the seal, and on the morning of the 8th assured the two houses, that "what had been done should never be drawn into consequence." Acclamation followed, and at night bonfires flamed all through the city.

A few days after (12th) the Test Act, as it is named, passed the commons. In the lords, the earl of Bristol, though avowing himself a Catholic, spoke in favour of it; the king gave a ready consent to it; and what is most strange, it is said to have originated with Arlington. Its object was to exclude the Catholics from places of honour and profit. It required that every person holding any office of trust or profit should, beside taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, receive the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England, and subscribe a declaration against transubstantiation. Immediately the duke of York waited on the king, and with tears resigned to

him his commission as lord high admiral: his example was followed by Clifford, the lord high treasurer, Lord Bellasis, and others.

It is remarkable that the dissenters actually supported this bill, which excluded themselves as completely as the papists; but they willingly joined to oppose the common enemy; and in return a bill for their relief was passed and sent up to the lords on the 17th. Here however it received amendments to which the commons would not agree; Sheldon and his party too, it is said, exerted themselves to defeat it; a sudden prorogation on the 29th put an end to it, and the patriotic disinterestedness of the dissenters[1] was thus ill-rewarded.[h]

By the retirement of James, duke of York, the command of the combined fleet, amounting to ninety sail of the line, was given to Prince Rupert. With so formidable a force, it was expected that he would sweep the Dutch navy from the face of the ocean; but he performed nothing worthy of his reputation; and, though he fought three actions with De Ruyter, neither received nor inflicted considerable injury.[2] His friends complained that his powers were limited by unusual restrictions, and that his ships wanted stores and provisions; an officer who was present asserts that he was too closely leagued with the country party to obtain a victory, which might render their opponents lords of the ascendant. He was ordered to take under his protection the army commanded by Schomberg, and to land it on the coast of Holland. Schomberg, unacquainted with naval etiquette, affixed the colours of his regiment to the mast of his vessel, as a signal to the officers in the other transports; but Rupert considered his conduct as an act of insubordination or insult; two shots were fired through the rigging; and orders were given to sink the general's vessel unless the flag were immediately struck. Schomberg reluctantly submitted, and the armament proceeded to the Dutch coast (July 23rd), but no landing was effected. Rupert, having alarmed the inhabitants on several points, from the mouth of the Maese to that of the Ems, ordered the military force to return to Yarmouth (August 2nd), where it remained encamped during the rest of the season. Schomberg, attributing both the violence of the prince with respect to the flag, and his refusal to land the army in Holland, to personal dislike, sent him a challenge; but Charles interfered to prevent the meeting, and the general quitted the English service.[c]

A congress for peace was meantime sitting at Cologne, under the mediation of Sweden; but the states, now backed by the house of Austria, spurned at the conditions offered by the allied monarchs.

THE FALL OF THE CABAL (1674 A.D.); NEW OPPOSITION TO THE KING

The first question that engaged the attention of parliament when it reassembled in the latter end of October was the marriage of the duke of York, who had lately (September 30th) espoused, by proxy, Maria D'Este, sister to the duke of Modena, a princess only fifteen years of age, but a Catholic. They addressed the king, praying him not to allow the marriage to be consummated. [Her son would be reared as a Catholic and would be heir to the

[1 Thus from 1673 to 1828, the Protestant dissenters of England were proscribed by the constitution, as a people not to be trusted with any office that might be betrayed by them to the injury of their country. This stigma was somewhat diminished, but by no means removed, by the annual indemnity bill, which preceded the abolition of the Test Act. — VAUGHAN.[g]]

[2 The first action on May 28 and the second on June 4, though fought in conjunction with the French under D'Estrées were undecisive. The third off the mouth of the Texel on Aug 11, is called by Gardiner[d] a defeat as the French would not assist.]

throne.] Charles pleaded his honour. They forthwith passed votes for refusing supplies, imposing a severer test, etc., when the king came to the house of lords and prorogued the parliament (November 4th). As he considered that Shaftesbury had played him false, he took the great seal from him on the 9th, and committed it to Sir Heneage Finch. Sir Thomas Osborne (now Lord Latimer and later created earl of Danby) had obtained the white staff resigned by Clifford. Shaftesbury now assumed the character of a patriot, and became the secret leader of the opposition.

When the parliament met (January 7th, 1674) the king addressed them with his usual affability: the lord-keeper then followed, in a long speech, the object of which was to obtain an immediate supply. The commons first passed an address, praying the king to enjoin a public fast, that the nation might implore heaven to preserve "the church and state against the undermining practices of popish recusants," and to adopt certain measures of precaution against them; they then voted the removal from office of persons "popishly inclined, or otherwise obnoxious or dangerous"; and, following up this vote, they proceeded to assail the individual members of the Cabal.

The first attacked was the duke of Lauderdale. He was charged with having raised an army in Scotland to be employed in setting up arbitrary power in England, and with having said to the king in council, "Your majesty's edicts are equal with the laws, and ought to be observed in the first place." Buckingham, aware that his own turn would come next, asked leave to address the house. His defence was feeble; his chief object was to shift the blame from himself to Arlington; one expression which he used seemed to go higher: "Hunting," he said, "is a good diversion; but if a man will hunt with a brace of lobsters he will have but ill sport." An address was voted for his removal from the royal presence and councils. Arlington defended himself before the commons with more spirit than was expected; and the motion for an address against him was lost.

All this time the commons were silent on the subject of a supply; and as the states just then made, through the Spanish ambassador, an offer of peace, which Charles, with the advice of both houses, resolved to accept, Sir William Temple was appointed to negotiate, and in three days the affair was brought to a conclusion (February 19th). The honour of the flag was yielded to England: colonial and commercial questions were to be settled by arbitration; and the Dutch agreed to pay 800,000 crowns in four annual instalments. The parliament was then prorogued on the 24th.

Two further attempts at weakening the influence of the duke were made; the one in the commons, by a more comprehensive test; the other in the lords, by an amendment to a bill brought in for restraining popery. This last was lost, and the prorogation stopped the other. The duke took alarm; his first thought was a dissolution, but to that course the king was very adverse, and the result of it was quite uncertain. He then bent his thoughts to delay the meeting of parliament; but for this purpose it was necessary that the king should be supplied with money. Fortunately for him, Louis XIV was as anxious as himself to keep the king and parliament asunder, for he feared that England might now join the confederacy against him. The duke therefore proposed that Louis should give the king £400,000; the usual chaffering took place, and Charles was obliged to be content with 500,000 crowns. The parliament was then prorogued from November till the April of the following year.

Of the persons who had been accused by the commons, Buckingham alone was abandoned by the king, and he forthwith, as a matter of course, joined

[1675 A.D.]

Shaftesbury and the opposition. Arlington, who saw his influence fading before that of the treasurer (the earl of Danby), sold, by the royal command, his place of secretary to Sir Joseph Williamson for £6,000, and was raised to the higher but less influential post of lord chamberlain. To prop his falling power, he proposed to the king to negotiate a match between the prince of Orange and Mary the eldest daughter of the duke of York. As the prince was well known to be a stanch Protestant, this measure, he said, would eminently serve to allay the apprehensions of the nation on the subject of religion, and be in fact advantageous in many respects. The king approved warmly of the project, but the proposition, when made to the prince by Lord Ossory, was coldly received: he said that, as circumstances were at present, he was not in a condition to think of taking a wife.

THE COUNTRY PARTY: THE NON-RESISTANCE BILL FAILS (1675 A.D.)

During the winter, the court and country parties were busily engaged in preparing their plans for the ensuing campaign in parliament. In the house of lords the crown had a decided majority: but the minority, headed by Shaftesbury, Buckingham, Salisbury, and Wharton, was formidable from its talent and union. The country party was strong in the commons, where it possessed Lord William Russell, esteemed for his probity and integrity: Lord Cavendish, less correct in morals, but far superior in parts: Sir William Coventry, deeply skilled in affairs, and free from passion and private resentments: Powle (Powell) learned in precedents and parliamentary usages: Littleton, the ablest in debate: and Birch, rough and bold and powerful above all men of the day to sway a popular assembly[1]: the veteran senators Lee and Garroway, together with Vaughan, Sacheverell, and many other able debaters. Their plan was, to urge the king to join the allies against France: to impeach the earl of Danby: and to refuse the supplies while he remained in office.

The plan of the court was to unite with the church, and thus deprive their opponents of their advantage in appearing as the champions of religion. A council was held at Lambeth, at which several prelates attended: they were assured of the king's attachment to the church, and called upon to give him their support: measures were devised for crushing popery, and a severe proclamation against recusants and non-conformists was forthwith issued. The duke of York remonstrated in vain: in contempt of his parental authority, the princesses Mary and Anne were led to church by their preceptor Compton, bishop of London, and confirmed.

When parliament met (April 13, 1675), the address against Lauderdale, of which the king had taken no notice, was renewed, but to as little effect. Seven articles of impeachment were then exhibited against the earl of Danby. He had however, like his predecessors, made large purchases of votes in the house, but on a more economical plan, we are told: for while they bought leading men at high prices, he looked out for those who had only their votes to sell, and consequently disposed of them more cheaply. The articles were therefore all thrown out. The grand attempt of the ministers was made in

[1 The country party at this period consisted for the most part, of men who were distinguished by their attachment to the constitution, and to the Church of England. It contained a considerable number who were decidedly favourable to a toleration of the Protestant dissenters, being themselves Presbyterians or old parliamentarians: but a much greater number, especially if we include the two houses, who were stanch churchmen, or discontented cavaliers, and whose prepossessions in favour of the Church of England were not sufficiently modified by the slowly improving spirit of the times, to prevent their looking on the proposed concessions to dissenters with a degree of sullen distrust. — VAUGHAN.9]

the lords, where a bill for a new test [called the Non-Resistance Bill] was introduced. By this, every member of either house, and every person holding any office, was required to swear, that it is unlawful on any pretence whatsoever to take up arms against the king; that it is traitorous to take up arms by the king's authority against his person; and that he will not endeavour the alteration of the government either in church or state. The debate on this bill lasted seventeen days; the king occupied his usual place at the fire-side; but Shaftesbury and the other opponents of the measure, heedless of his presence, employed all their eloquence and all their powers of reason against it. It was carried by a majority of only two; had it come to the commons, it had probably been rejected by a much larger majority; but a question of privilege happening just then to arise between the two houses, the king took advantage of it to prorogue the parliament (June 9th).

CHARLES II ACCEPTS A PENSION FROM LOUIS XIV

When parliament met (October 13th), the king required money for the navy, and also a sum of £800,000 which had been borrowed on the revenue. This last was refused, but a sum of £300,000 was voted for the building of twenty ships of war, to which it was strictly appropriated. The contest with the lords was renewed, and such was the heat with which it was carried on, that it was moved in the lords to address the king to dissolve the parliament. This was opposed by the ministers, but supported by the duke of York and his friends. A prorogation for the long period of fifteen months was the result (November 22nd), for which Charles received 500,000 crowns from the king of France.[1]

The campaign of 1675 was favourable to the allies [as described in the histories of France and of the Netherlands]. The king of England, when he had concluded peace with the states, made an offer of his mediation to the other powers. The place fixed on for the congress was Nimeguen, whither the lord Berkeley, Sir William Temple, and Sir Leoline Jenkins repaired as the English ministers. After many delays the congress met in the summer of this year; but the ministers were more anxious to raise than to remove difficulties. The great object of the allies was to prevail on Charles to join them against France; but to this course he had many objections, of which not the least was the state of dependence on his parliament to which it would reduce him. Louis took advantage of this feeling; the ambassador Ruvigni received directions to offer the same amount of pension as before for his neutrality. An agreement was made between Charles and Ruvigni for a pension of 100,000*l.* a year to be paid to the former; in return for which he was to sign a treaty, by which the two monarchs were to bind themselves to enter into no engagements but by mutual consent, and to aid each other in case of any rebellion in their respective dominions. This was communicated to no one but the duke of York, Lauderdale, and Danby. The two former approved of it of course; Danby hesitated and advised to consult the privy council; but the king removed all difficulty, by writing out the treaty with his own hand and setting his private seal to it (February 17th, 1676). He then delivered it to Ruvigni, who forthwith set out for Paris in order to have it signed by Louis.[h]

By this secret proceeding both princes obtained their objects; Charles the money which had been refused by parliament, Louis security that Charles, for some time at least, would not make common cause with his enemies. But

[1 Louis who feared lest parliament should drive Charles into joining the alliance against him was so pleased to see its sittings interrupted for so long a time that he granted Charles a pension of £100,000 a year, to make him independent of his subjects. — GARDINER.[a]]

the English king, if he possessed the spirit of a man, must have keenly felt the degradation. He was become the yearly pensioner of another monarch; he was no longer the arbiter of his own conduct; he had bound himself to consult, with respect to foreign powers, the master whose money he received. Perhaps he might console himself with the notion, that it was less disgraceful to depend on a powerful monarch, from whose alliance he could disengage himself at pleasure, than on the party among his own subjects, which constantly opposed him in parliament: perhaps he felt a malicious pleasure in defeating the machinations of his adversaries, whom he knew to be, in pecuniary transactions, not more immaculate than himself; for it is a fact, that several among those who claimed the praise of patriotism for their opposition to the court, were accustomed to sell their services for money. It seemed as if the votes of the members of parliament were exposed for sale to all the powers of Europe. Some received bribes from the lord treasurer on account of the king; some from the Dutch, Spanish, and imperial ambassadors in favour of the confederates; some even from Louis at the very time when they loudly declaimed against Louis as the great enemy of their religion and liberties; for that prince, notwithstanding the recent treaty, did not implicitly rely on the faith of Charles; he sought in addition to secure the good will of those who, by their influence in parliament, might have it in their power to withdraw the king from his promise of neutrality. Ruvigni was recalled; Courtin succeeded him, and the accounts of Courtin will reveal the names of the patriots who sold themselves to France, and of the price at which their services were valued.

During the long prorogation, and with the aid of his foreign pension, the necessitous monarch enjoyed a seasonable relief from the cares and agitation in which he had lived for several years. Age and satiety had blunted his appetite for pleasure, and the enjoyment of ease was become the chief object of his wishes. He retired to Windsor, where he spent his time in the superintendence of improvements, the amusement of fishing, and the company and conversation of his friends. His neutrality in the great contest which divided the powers of the continent, whatever might be its real motive, found a sufficient justification in the numerous benefits which it conferred on the country.

While almost every other nation in Europe complained of the privations and charges of war, England enjoyed the blessings of peace. She was free from the pressure of additional taxation, and knew nothing of those evils which necessarily accompany the operations of armies. Her mariners monopolised the carrying trade of Europe; new channels of commerce were daily opened by the enterprise of her merchants; and their increasing prosperity gave a fresh stimulus to the industry of her inhabitants. It was, however, the care of the popular leaders to keep alive, as far as they were able, the spirit of discontent. Political clubs were established; pamphlets, renewing the old charges against the government, were published; the ears of men were perpetually assailed with complaints of the growth of popery, and of the progress of arbitrary power; their eyes were directed to the theatre of war on the Continent, as the great arena on which the fate of their liberty and religion was to be decided; and the preservation of these was described as depending on the humiliation of France, though France was aided in the contest by the Protestant state of Sweden, and opposed by the two great Catholic powers, Austria and Spain.[i]

Charles thus enjoyed the pension, the price of his dishonour; lived on indolently till the time came for the meeting of parliament (February 5, 1677). The opposition had discovered what they regarded as a vantage point against

the court. There were two statutes of Edward III, which ordained that a parliament should be held "once a year or oftener if need be," and as fifteen months had elapsed since the last meeting, the parliament, they asserted, had in fact ceased to exist. This view was maintained with much boldness and ingenuity in the lords by Buckingham, supported by Shaftesbury, Salisbury, and Wharton; but Finch (now lord-chancellor and earl of Nottingham), showed, in opposition to them, that the Triennial Act of the 16th of the late king, and the act, had extended the term to three years. Buckingham's motion was negatived by a large majority; the four lords were required to acknowledge that their conduct was "ill-advised," and to beg pardon of the king and the house, and on their refusal they were committed to the Tower. They remained there till the meeting of parliament in the following year, when the others took their seats, merely asking pardon. Shaftesbury, who had had himself brought before the court of king's bench by *habeas corpus*, was obliged to ask pardon for it on his knees.

In consequence, it is said, of the bribes which he liberally bestowed, the minister had a majority on finance questions in the commons. Money therefore was granted for the navy; but it was appropriated, and none of it came into the treasury, so that the king had still need of his pension. The parliament now began to urge him to war; for Louis had entered Flanders at the head of a large army, taken Valenciennes, Cambray, and St. Omer, and defeated the prince of Orange at Cassel. The king, in order to do so, demanded an additional £600,000, pledging his royal word [1] not to break trust with them, or employ the money for any other purposes but those for which it was granted. But the commons knew him too well to trust him. They voted an address (May 25), praying him to enter into an alliance with the states-general and other powers for the preservation of the Spanish Netherlands. Charles affected great anger at this, as an encroachment on his prerogative, and he commanded both houses to adjourn till July. [When the Dutch ambassador advised Charles to yield, he tossed his handkerchief in the air and sneered, "I care just that for parliament."] The court of France was still uneasy, and its envoy Courtin was urgent for a dissolution, or at least a prorogation till the following April. For this service Charles demanded an addition of £100,000 a year to his pension. The usual chaffering took place, but the French were finally obliged to come to his terms, and also to consent that the increased pension should be reckoned from the commencement of the current year. The parliament was therefore prorogued from July to December, with a promise to Courtin that if the money was regularly paid it should then be further adjourned to April. What Englishman can refrain from blushing at this disgraceful bargain? yet Charles, though the highest, was not the only criminal at this time; Courtin also bribed sundry members of the parliament to engage to forward the views of the two monarchs.

WILLIAM III OF ORANGE VISITS ENGLAND AND MARRIES THE PRINCESS MARY (1677 A.D.)

The prince of Orange had long looked forward to a union with his cousin the princess Mary; but the opposition party in England, who feared that this match might unite him more closely with his uncles, had endeavoured to divert him from it. Now however, seeing the necessity of an effort to induce

[1] Hume having noticed the secret treaty with Louis which Charles had signed, calls his pledging of his word on the present occasion "one of the most dishonourable and most scandalous acts that ever proceeded from a throne."

the king of England to aid in checking the career of the French monarch, he resolved to seek the hand of the princess.

The prince does not seem to have taken any further steps till the present year, when, having obtained the king's permission, he set out at the end of the campaign, and landing at Harwich proceeded to Newmarket, where his uncles then were (October 9th). He was very kindly received by the king, to whose surprise, however, he seemed disinclined to enter on discourse of business. Charles desired Temple to try to find out the cause, and the prince told him that he was resolved to see the princess before he proceeded any further, and also to settle the affair of his marriage previously to entering on that of the peace. The king, when informed of this, very kindly left Newmarket sooner than usual; the prince, on seeing the lady Mary in London, was so pleased with her, that he made his proposals at once to her father and uncle, by whom they were well received; but they insisted that the terms of the peace must be previously settled. The prince would not give way on this point; he said that "his allies, who were like to have hard terms of the peace as things then stood, would be apt to believe that he had made this match at their cost; and for his part he would never sell his honour for a wife." On the 4th of November this auspicious marriage was solemnised by the bishop of London.

INTRIGUES OF THE FRENCH AND VENALITY OF THE ENGLISH

The king, the duke, the prince, and Danby and Temple, now took into consideration the question of the peace. The prince, convinced that Louis would never abstain from war, insisted on a strong frontier on both sides of Flanders; the king was of opinion that Louis was weary of war, and would devote himself to ease and pleasure; Temple thought with the prince. They were, however, obliged to give way a little, and it was agreed that Louis should be obliged to resign all his conquests from the empire, and restore Lorraine to its duke; that France and Holland should mutually give back the places they had taken, but that Louis should retain all his conquests in Flanders, except Aeth, Charleroi, Oudenarde, Courtrai, Tournai, and Valenciennes, which would form a frontier between the French dominions and the United Provinces. The lord Duras, a Frenchman and attached to the duke (later created earl of Feversham), was sent over to Paris with this treaty. He was to demand a positive answer in two days, but pretexts were made for detaining him, and meantime the prince was obliged to return to the Continent. Louis was in fact highly indignant at the marriage of the princess Mary.

Louis seemed resolved to listen to no terms but such as he should dictate, and though the winter had commenced his army forthwith took the field. Charles then (December 3rd) appointed the parliament to meet on the 15th of January; Louis on the 17th stopped the payment of his pension, offering at the same time, if he would consent to his retention of Condé, Valenciennes, and Tournai, to send him the value of them in bars of gold, concealed in silk; and Danby was promised, if he would give his influence, any reward he should name in diamonds and pearls. Danby, however, was not to be bought; the king and duke were also displeased with Louis, and the duke looked forward to the command of an army and the acquisition of military fame. It is also likely, that the royal brothers thought their schemes of arbitrary power would be more likely to be effected by the force of a native army, than by the insidious aid of Louis.

When the parliament met (January 28th, 1678), Charles informed them that he had concluded an alliance offensive and defensive with the states for

the protection of Flanders, and that he should require a fleet of ninety sail, and an army of from thirty to forty thousand men. After a good deal of opposition, a supply for that purpose was voted on February 5th. The king, however, was still desirous of peace; but the success of Louis, who had now reduced Ypres and Ghent, exasperated the English nation, and the commons hastened to pass a bill for a part of the supply. Charles forthwith sent a body of three thousand men to the defence of Ostend, and he issued money for raising twenty thousand more, to be accomplished within six weeks.

The troops when raised were, King James assures us, "as good as anywhere were to be seen." The commons, who, as the same prince tells us, "were in reality more jealous of the king's power than of the power of France," took alarm, and passed a resolution April 29th not to grant any more supplies till full satisfaction was given on the subject of religion. Charles, enraged at this disappointment, forthwith prorogued the parliament and commenced negotiations with Louis, with whom he subscribed on May 17th a secret treaty, engaging, in case the states would not accept the terms offered at Nimeguen, to withdraw his troops from the Continent, for which he was to receive from Louis £450,000 in four quarterly payments. When parliament met on the 23rd, an address was made that war should be declared or the army be disbanded. The king's reply was evasive, and the commons resolved that all the forces raised within the last seven months, "ought to be paid off and disbanded forthwith," and voted money for the purpose. The king, however, was not willing to part with his army. Urged by the duke of York, the council resolved to enter on the war; a corps of four thousand men was sent over to Flanders, and four thousand more, to be commanded by the duke, were in readiness for embarkation. At the same time on July 16th, a new treaty was concluded with the states, unless Louis should abandon some pretensions which he had lately made in favour of Sweden.

Louis knew when to recede as well as advance. During a fortnight his ministers employed all the resources of diplomatic tactics against those of the states, and then, when all men looked for a renewal of war, suddenly yielded on July 31st, and the peace between France and the states was signed the same day before midnight. Four days after the prince of Orange attacked the French army at St. Denis, near Mons, which town they were besieging. As it is not very likely that he could be ignorant of the actual signature of the Treaty of Nimeguen, the blood of the five thousand men who were slain in the action may be said to rest on his head. He probably hoped that a victory would prevent the ratification of the treaty, to which he was strongly opposed.

Spain and the emperor found it necessary to agree to the Peace of Nimeguen which left to Louis a large proportion of his conquests, and put it in his power to renew the war when he pleased with every advantage.

It is not to be denied, that the opposition in parliament this year played the game of the king of France, and thwarted all the efforts of Temple and Danby to urge the king into a war which was equally for the honour and interest of England. It is also well known, that the lords Hollis and Russell, and the other leaders of the country party, were in actual communication with Barillon and Ruvigni, and arranged with them the plan of operations in parliament.

The country party had a violent distrust of the king, who they well knew was bent on making himself absolute, and perhaps on changing the religion of the nation; they also knew that he looked to the money or the arms of Louis for aid in accomplishing his designs: it was therefore their object to deprive him of this support, and they probably thought that a few fortresses

[1678 A.D.]

in Flanders were not to be put in the balance with the British constitution. On the other hand, Louis acted on the usual maxims of state policy, and he wished to see his neighbours weak rather than strong; he had therefore no vehement desire that Charles should be absolute or the nation Catholic: he was of course as little desirous of beholding a republic in England. What he wanted was, jealousy and disunion between the king and people, so that he might be able to play the two parties against each other, and thus be free from interruption from England in this project of extending the frontier of France to the Rhine, and establishing a dictatorship over the rest of Europe. For this purpose he had, in the beginning of the reign of Charles, kept up a communication with the commonwealth men; then, seeing a prospect of the king's becoming his stipendiary and vassal, he entered into close relations with him; but the marriage of the princess Mary having proved to him that no reliance could be placed on Charles, he resolved to try to form a connection with the popular leaders.

For this purpose, Ruvigni, who was a Protestant and first-cousin to Lady Russell, came over in the month of March, and he took occasion to assure Russell and Hollis, that his master did not at all conceive it to be for his interest that the king should be absolute, and that he was ready to aid in causing a dissolution of the parliament. They agreed, on their side, to take care that the grants of supplies should be clogged with such conditions as to be so disagreeable to the king that he would prefer a reunion with France to accepting them. Ruvigni offered to spend a considerable sum in the purchase of members' votes, and begged of Russell to name those who might be gained over. He replied, that he should be sorry to have to do with people who could be bought. He at the same time gave it as his opinion, that there was no chance of a dissolution but through the king of France, whose aid for that purpose Ruvigni freely promised. [h]

TITUS OATES AND THE ALLEGED "POPISH PLOT" (1678 A.D.)

Neither national pride nor anxiety for public liberty had so great an influence on the popular mind as hatred of the Roman Catholic religion. That hatred had become one of the ruling passions of the community, and was as strong in the ignorant and profane as in those who were Protestants from conviction. The cruelties of Mary's reign, cruelties which even in the most accurate and sober narrative excite just detestation, and which were neither accurately nor soberly related in the popular martyrologies, the conspiracies against Elizabeth, and above all the Gunpowder Plot, had left in the minds of the vulgar a deep and bitter feeling which was kept up by annual commemorations, prayers, bonfires, and processions. It should be added that those classes which were peculiarly distinguished by attachment to the throne, the clergy and the landed gentry, had peculiar reasons for regarding the church of Rome with aversion. The clergy trembled for their benefices; the landed gentry for their abbeys and great tithes. While the memory of the reign of the saints was still recent, hatred of popery had in some degree given place to hatred of Puritanism: but, during the eighteen years which had elapsed since the restoration, the hatred of Puritanism had abated, and the hatred of popery had increased. The stipulations of the Treaty of Dover were accurately known to very few: but some hints had got abroad. The general impression was that a great blow was about to be aimed at the Protestant religion. The king was suspected by many of a leaning towards Rome. His brother and heir presumptive was known to be a bigoted Roman Catholic. The first

duchess of York had died a Roman Catholic. James had then, in defiance of the remonstrances of the house of commons, taken to wife the princess Mary of Modena, another Roman Catholic. If there should be sons by this marriage, there was reason to fear that they might be bred Roman Catholics, and that a long succession of princes, hostile to the established faith, might sit on the English throne. The constitution had recently been violated for the purpose of protecting the Roman Catholics from the penal laws. The ally by whom the policy of England had, during many years, been chiefly governed was not only a Roman Catholic, but a persecutor of the reformed churches. Under such circumstances it is not strange that the common people should have been inclined to apprehend a return of the times of her whom they called Bloody Mary.

Thus the nation was in such a temper that the smallest spark might raise a flame. At this conjuncture fire was set in two places at once to the vast mass of combustible matter; and in a moment the whole was in a blaze.

The French court, which knew Danby to be its mortal enemy, artfully contrived to ruin him by making him pass for its friend. Louis, by the instrumentality of Ralph Montague, a faithless and shameless man who had resided in France as minister from England, laid before the house of commons proofs that the treasurer had been concerned in an application made by the court of Whitehall to the court of Versailles for a sum of money. This discovery produced its natural effect. The treasurer was, in truth, exposed to vengeance of parliament, not on account of his delinquencies, but on account of his merits; not because he had been an accomplice in a criminal transaction, but because he had been a most unwilling and unserviceable accomplice. But of the circumstances, which have, in the judgment of posterity, greatly extenuated his fault, his contemporaries were ignorant. In their view he was the broker who had sold England to France. It seemed clear that his greatness was at an end, and doubtful whether his head could be saved.

Yet was the ferment excited by this discovery slight, when compared with the commotion which arose when it was noised abroad that a great popish plot had been detected. One Titus Oates, a clergyman of the Church of England, had, by his disorderly life and heterodox doctrine, drawn on himself the censure of his spiritual superiors, had been compelled to quit his benefice, and had ever since led an infamous and vagrant life. He had once professed himself a Roman Catholic, and had passed some time on the Continent in English colleges of the order of Jesus. In those seminaries he had heard much wild talk about the best means of bringing England back to the true church. From hints thus furnished he constructed a hideous romance, resembling rather the dream of a sick man than any transaction which ever took place in the real world. The pope, he said, had entrusted the government of England to the Jesuits. The Jesuits had, by commissions under the seal of their society, appointed Catholic clergymen, noblemen, and gentlemen, to all the highest offices in church and state. The papists had burned down London once. They had tried to burn it down again. They were at that moment planning a scheme for setting fire to all the shipping in the Thames. They were to rise at a signal and massacre all the Protestant neighbours. A French army was at the same time to land in Ireland. All the leading statesmen and divines of England were to be murdered. Three or four schemes had been formed for assassinating the king. He was to be stabbed. He was to be poisoned in his medicine. He was to be shot with silver bullets. The public mind was so sore and excitable that these lies

readily found credit with the vulgar; and two events which speedily took place led even some reflecting men to suspect that the tale, though evidently distorted and exaggerated, might have some foundation.

Edward Coleman, a very busy, and not very honest, Roman Catholic intriguer, had been among the persons accused. Search was made for his papers. It was found that he had just destroyed the greater part of them. But a few which had escaped contained some passages which, to minds strongly prepossessed, might seem to confirm the evidence of Oates. Those passages indeed, when candidly construed, appear to express little more than the hopes which the posture of affairs, the predilections of Charles, the still stronger predilections of James, and the relations existing between the French and English courts, might naturally excite in the mind of a Roman Catholic strongly attached to the interests of his church. But the country was not then inclined to construe the letters of papists candidly; and it was urged, with some show of reason, that, if papers which had been passed over as unimportant were filled with matter so suspicious, some great mystery of iniquity must have been contained in those documents which had been carefully committed to the flames.

A few days later it was known that Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey, an eminent justice of the peace who had taken the depositions of Oates against Coleman, had disappeared. Search was made; and Godfrey's corpse was found in a field near London. It was clear that he had died by violence. It was equally clear that he had not been set upon by robbers. His fate is to this day a secret. Some think that he perished by his own hand; others, that he was slain by a private enemy.

The capital and the whole nation went mad with hatred and fear. The penal laws, which had begun to lose something of their edge, were sharpened anew. Everywhere justices were busied in searching houses and seizing papers. All the gaols were filled with papists. London had the aspect of a city in a state of siege. The trainbands were under arms all night. Preparations were made for barricading the great thoroughfares. Patrols marched up and down the streets. Cannon were planted round Whitehall. No citizen thought himself safe unless he carried under his coat a small flail loaded with lead to brain the popish assassins. The corpse of the murdered magistrate was exhibited during several days to the gaze of great multitudes, and was then committed to the grave with strange and terrible ceremonies, which indicated rather fear and the thirst of vengeance than sorrow or religious hope. The houses insisted that a guard should be placed in the vaults over which they sat, in order to secure them against a second gunpowder plot. All their proceedings were of a piece with this demand.

Ever since the reign of Elizabeth the oath of supremacy had been exacted from members of the house of commons. Some Roman Catholics, however, had contrived so to interpret this oath that they could take it without scruple. A more stringent test was now added, and the Roman Catholic lords were for the first time excluded from their seats in parliament [October 30, 1678. By this bill twenty Catholic peers lost their seats and for a hundred and fifty years their descendants were unable to sit]. Strong resolutions were adopted against the queen. The commons threw one of the secretaries of state into prison for having countersigned commissions directed to gentlemen who were not good Protestants. They impeached the lord treasurer of high treason. Nay, they so far forgot the doctrine which, while the memory of the civil war was still recent, they had loudly professed, that they even attempted to wrest the command of the militia out of the king's hands. To such a temper

had eighteen years of misgovernment brought the most loyal parliament that had ever met in England.

Yet it may seem strange that, even in that extremity, the king should have ventured to appeal to the people; for the people were more excited than their representatives. The lower house, discontented as it was, contained a larger number of cavaliers than were likely to find seats again. But it was thought that a dissolution would put a stop to the prosecution of the lord treasurer, a prosecution which might probably bring to light all the guilty mysteries of the French alliance, and might thus cause extreme personal annoyance and embarrassment to Charles. Accordingly, in January 1679, the parliament, which had been in existence ever since the beginning of the year 1661, was dissolved; and writs were issued for a general election. [This was the second and last Long Parliament.]

During some weeks the contention over the whole country was fierce and obstinate beyond example. Unprecedented sums were expended. New tactics were employed. It was remarked by the pamphleteers of that time as something extraordinary that horses were hired at a great charge for the conveyance of electors. The practice of splitting freeholds for the purpose of multiplying votes dates from this memorable struggle. Dissenting preachers, who had long hidden themselves in quiet nooks from persecution, now emerged from their retreats, and rode from village to village, for the purpose of rekindling the zeal of the scattered people of God. The tide ran strong against the government. Most of the new members came up to Westminster in a mood little differing from that of their predecessors who had sent Strafford and Laud to the tower.[1]

Meanwhile the courts of justice, which ought to be, in the midst of political commotions, sure places of refuge for the innocent of every party, were disgraced by wilder passions and fouler corruptions than were to be found even on the hustings. The tale of Oates, though it had sufficed to convulse the whole realm, would not, until confirmed by other evidence, suffice to destroy the humblest of those whom he had accused. For, by the old law of England, two witnesses are necessary to establish a charge of treason. But the success of the first impostor produced its natural consequences. In a few weeks he had been raised from penury and obscurity to opulence, to power which made him the dread of princes and nobles, and to notoriety such as has for low and bad minds all the attractions of glory. He was not long without coadjutors and rivals. A wretch named Carstairs, who had earned a living in Scotland by going disguised to conventicles and then informing against the preachers, led the way. Bedloe, a noted swindler, followed; and soon, from all the brothels, gambling houses, and spunging houses of London, false witnesses poured forth to swear away the lives of Roman Catholics. One came with a story about an army of thirty thousand men who were to muster in the disguise of pilgrims at Corunna, and to sail thence to Wales. Another had been promised canonisation and five hundred pounds to murder the king. A third had stepped into an eating house in Covent Garden and had there heard a great Roman Catholic banker vow, in the hearing of all the guests and drawers, to kill the heretical tyrant. Oates, that he might not be eclipsed by his imitators, soon added a large supplement to his original narrative. He had the portentous impudence to affirm, among other things, that he had

[1 Seymour, the former speaker, was re-chosen; the king rejected him, and proposed another; the commons insisted on their right, the king on his: the dispute was terminated by appointing a third person. Henceforth it became a principle, that the house should choose, but that the crown may reject the speaker presented to it.— KEIGHTLEY.h]

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once stood behind a door which was ajar, and had there overheard the queen declare that she had resolved to give her consent to the assassination of her husband.[1] The vulgar believed, and the highest magistrates pretended to believe, even such fictions as these. The chief judges of the realm were corrupt, cruel, and timid. The leaders of the country party encouraged the prevailing delusion. The most respectable among them, indeed, were themselves so far deluded as to believe the greater part of the evidence of the plot to be true. Such men as Shaftesbury and Buckingham doubtless perceived that the whole was a romance. But it was a romance which served their turn; and to their seared consciences the death of an innocent man gave no more uneasiness than the death of a partridge. The juries partook of the feelings then common throughout the nation, and were encouraged by the bench to indulge those feelings without restraint. The multitude applauded Oates and his confederates, hooted and pelted the witnesses who appeared on behalf of the accused, and shouted with joy when the verdict of guilty was pronounced. It was in vain that the sufferers appealed to the respectability of their past lives: for the public mind was possessed with a belief that the more conscientious a papist was, the more likely he must be to plot against a Protestant government. It was in vain that, just before the cart passed from under their feet, they resolutely affirmed their innocence: for the general opinion was that a good papist considered all lies which were serviceable to his church as not only excusable but meritorious.

While innocent blood was shedding under the forms of justice, the new parliament met: and such was the violence of the predominant party that even men whose youth had been passed amidst revolutions, men who remembered the attainder of Strafford, the attempt on the five members, the abolition of the house of lords, the execution of the king, stood aghast at the aspect of public affairs. The impeachment of Danby was resumed. He pleaded the royal pardon. But the commons treated the plea with contempt, and insisted that the trial should proceed. Danby, however, was not their chief object. They were convinced that the only effectual way of securing the liberties and religion of the nation was to exclude the duke of York from the throne.

The king was in great perplexity. He had insisted that his brother, the sight of whom inflamed the populace to madness, should retire for a time to Brussels: but this concession did not seem to have produced any favourable effect. The roundhead party was now decidedly preponderant. Towards that party leaned millions who had, at the time of the restoration, leaned towards the side of prerogative. Of the old cavaliers many participated in the prevailing fear of popery, and many, bitterly resenting the ingratitude of the prince for whom they had sacrificed so much, looked on his distress as carelessly as he had looked on theirs. Even the Anglican clergy, mortified and alarmed by the apostasy of the duke of York, so far countenanced the opposition as to join cordially in the outcry against the Roman Catholics.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE'S PLAN OF GOVERNMENT

The king in this extremity had recourse to Sir William Temple. Of all the official men of that age Temple had preserved the fairest character. The Triple Alliance had been his work. He had refused to take any part in the politics of the Cabal, and had, while that administration directed affairs, lived in strict privacy. He had quitted his retreat at the call of Danby, had made

[1 When taken to the palace he could not find the room where he claimed to have stood.]

peace between England and Holland, and had borne a chief part in bringing about the marriage of the lady Mary to her cousin the prince of Orange. Thus he had the credit of every one of the few good things which had been done by the government since the Restoration. Of the numerous crimes and blunders of the last eighteen years none could be imputed to him. His private life, though not austere, was decorous: his manners were popular; and he was not to be corrupted either by titles or by money. Something, however, was wanting to the character of this respectable statesman. The temperature of his patriotism was lukewarm. He prized his ease and his personal dignity too much, and shrank from responsibility with a pusillanimous fear. Nor indeed had his habits fitted him to bear a part in the conflicts of our domestic factions. He had reached his fiftieth year without having sat in the English parliament; and his official experience had been almost entirely acquired at foreign courts. He was justly esteemed one of the first diplomatists in Europe: but the talents and accomplishments of a diplomatist are widely different from those which qualify a politician to lead the house of commons in agitated times.

The scheme which he proposed showed considerable ingenuity. Though not a profound philosopher, he had thought more than most busy men of the world on the general principles of government; and his mind had been enlarged by historical studies and foreign travel. He seems to have discerned more clearly than most of his contemporaries one cause of the difficulties by which the government was beset. The character of the English polity was gradually changing. The parliament was slowly, but constantly, gaining ground on the prerogative. The line between the legislative and executive powers was in theory as strongly marked as ever, but in practice was daily becoming fainter and fainter. The theory of the constitution was that the king might name his own ministers. But the house of commons had driven Clarendon, the Cabal, and Danby successively from the direction of affairs. The theory of the constitution was that the king alone had the power of making peace and war. But the house of commons had forced him to make peace with Holland, and had all but forced him to make war with France. The theory of the constitution was that the king was the sole judge of the cases in which it might be proper to pardon offenders. Yet he was so much in dread of the house of commons that, at that moment, he could not venture to rescue from the gallows men whom he well knew to be the innocent victims of perjury.

Temple, it should seem, was desirous to secure to the legislature its undoubted constitutional powers, and yet to prevent it, if possible, from encroaching further on the province of the executive administration. With this view he determined to interpose between the sovereign and the parliament a body which might break the shock of their collision. There was a body, ancient, highly honourable, and recognised by the law, which, he thought, might be so remodelled as to serve this purpose. He determined to give to the privy council a new character and office in the government. The number of councillors he fixed at thirty. Fifteen of them were to be the chief ministers of state, of law, and of religion. The other fifteen were to be unplaced noblemen and gentlemen of ample fortune and high character. There was to be no interior cabinet. All the thirty were to be entrusted with every political secret, and summoned to every meeting; and the king was to declare that he would, on every occasion, be guided by their advice.

This plan, though in some respects not unworthy of the abilities of its author, was in principle vicious. The new board was half a cabinet and half a parliament, and, like almost every other contrivance, whether mechanical

or political, which is meant to serve two purposes altogether different, failed of accomplishing either. It was too large and too divided to be a good administrative body. It was too closely connected with the crown to be a good checking body. It contained just enough of popular ingredients to make it a bad council of state, unfit for the keeping of secrets, for the conducting of delicate negotiations, and for the administration of war. The plan, even if it had been fairly tried, could scarcely have succeeded; and it was not fairly tried. The king was fickle and perfidious: the parliament was excited and unreasonable: and the materials out of which the new council was made, though perhaps the best which that age afforded, were still bad.

The commencement of the new system was, however, hailed with general delight; for the people were in a temper to think any change an improvement. They were also pleased by some of the new nominations. Shaftesbury, now their favourite, was appointed lord-president. Russell and some other distinguished members of the country party were sworn of the council. But in a few days all was again in confusion. The inconveniences of having so numerous a cabinet were such that Temple himself consented to infringe one of the fundamental rules which he had laid down, and to become one of a small knot which really directed everything. With him were joined three other ministers, Arthur Capel, earl of Essex, George Savile, viscount Halifax, and Robert Spencer, earl of Sunderland.

THE CHARACTER OF HALIFAX

Among the statesmen of that age Halifax was, in genius, the first. His intellect was fertile, subtle, and capacious. His polished, luminous, and animated eloquence, set off by the silver tones of his voice, was the delight of the house of lords. His conversation overflowed with thought, fancy, and wit. His political tracts well deserve to be studied for their literary merit, and fully entitle him to a place among English classics. To the weight derived from talents so great and various he united all the influence which belongs to rank and ample possessions. Yet he was less successful in politics than many who enjoyed smaller advantages. Indeed, those intellectual peculiarities which make his writings valuable frequently impeded him in the contests of active life. For he always saw passing events, not in the point of view in which they commonly appear to one who bears a part in them, but in the point of view in which, after the lapse of many years, they appear to the philosophic historian. With such a turn of mind, he could not long continue to act cordially with any body of men. All the prejudices, all the exaggerations of both the great parties in the state moved his scorn. He despised the mean arts and unreasonable clamours of demagogues. He despised still more the doctrines of divine right and passive obedience. He sneered impartially at the bigotry of the churchman and at the bigotry of the Puritan. He was equally unable to comprehend how any man should object to saints' days and surplices, and how any man should persecute any other man for objecting to them. In temper he was what, in our time, is called a conservative. In theory he was a republican. Even when his dread of anarchy and his disdain for vulgar delusions led him to side for a time with the defenders of arbitrary power, his intellect was always with Locke and Milton.

He was the chief of those politicians whom the two great parties contemptuously called trimmers. Instead of quarrelling with this nickname, he assumed it as a title of honour, and vindicated, with great vivacity, the dignity of the appellation. Everything good, he said, trims between extremes. Every

faction in the day of its insolent and vindictive triumph incurred his censure; and every faction, when vanquished and persecuted, found in him a protector.

THE HABEAS CORPUS ACT (1679 A.D.)

The four confidential advisers of the crown soon found that their position was embarrassing and invidious. The other members of the council murmured at a distinction inconsistent with the king's promises; and some of them, with Shaftesbury at their head, again betook themselves to strenuous opposition in parliament. The agitation, which had been suspended by the late changes, speedily became more violent than ever. It was in vain that Charles offered to grant to the commons any security for the Protestant religion which they could devise, provided only that they would not touch the order of succession. They would hear of no compromise. They would have the Exclusion Bill and nothing but the Exclusion Bill. The king, therefore, a few weeks after he had publicly promised to take no step without the advice of his new council, went down to the house of lords without mentioning his intention in council, and prorogued the parliament.

The day of that prorogation, the twenty-sixth of May, 1679, is a great era in English history. For on that day the Habeas Corpus Act received the royal assent. From the time of the Great Charter, the substantive law respecting the personal liberty of Englishmen had been nearly the same as at present: but it had been inefficacious for want of a stringent system of procedure. What was needed was not a new right, but a prompt and searching remedy; and such a remedy the Habeas Corpus Act supplied. The king would gladly have refused his consent to that measure: but he was about to appeal from his parliament to his people on the question of the succession; and he could not venture, at so critical a moment, to reject a bill which was in the highest degree popular.

On the same day, the press of England became for a short time free. In old times printers had been strictly controlled by the court of Star Chamber. The Long Parliament had abolished the Star Chamber, but had, in spite of the philosophical and eloquent expostulation of Milton [in his *Areopagitica*], established and maintained a censorship. Soon after the Restoration, an act had been passed which prohibited the printing of unlicensed books; and it had been provided that this act should continue in force till the end of the first session of the next parliament. That moment had now arrived; and the king in the very act of dismissing the houses, emancipated the press.

THE EXCLUSION BILL AND THE DUKE OF MONMOUTH

Shortly after the prorogation came a dissolution and another general election. The zeal and strength of the opposition were at their height. The cry for the Exclusion Bill was louder than ever; and with this cry was mingled another cry, which fired the blood of the multitude, but which was heard with regret and alarm by all judicious friends of freedom. Not only the rights of the duke of York, an avowed papist, but those of his two daughters, sincere and zealous Protestants, were assailed. It was confidently affirmed that the eldest natural son of the king had been born in wedlock, and was lawful heir to the crown.

Charles, while a wanderer on the continent, had fallen in at the Hague with

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Lucy Walters, a Welsh girl of great beauty, but of weak understanding and dissolute manners. She became his mistress, and presented him with a son [as we have seen in an earlier page]. A suspicious lover might have had his doubts; for the lady had several admirers, and was not supposed to be cruel to any. Charles, however, readily took her word, and poured forth on little James Crofts, as the boy was then called, an overflowing fondness, such as seemed hardly to belong to that cool and careless nature. Soon after the Restoration, the young favourite, who had learned in France the exercises then considered necessary to a fine gentleman, made his appearance at Whitehall. He was lodged in the palace, attended by pages, and permitted to enjoy several distinctions which had till then been confined to princes of the blood royal. He was married, while still in tender youth, to Anne Scott, heiress of the noble house of Buccleuch. He took her name, and received with her hand possession of her ample domains. The estate which he acquired by this match was popularly estimated at not less than ten thousand pounds a year.

Titles, and favours more substantial than titles, were lavished on him. He was made duke of Monmouth in England, duke of Buccleuch in Scotland, a knight of the Garter, master of the Horse, commander of the first troop of life guards, chief justice of Eyre south of Trent, and chancellor of the University of Cambridge. Nor did he appear to the public unworthy of his high fortunes. His countenance was eminently handsome and engaging, his temper sweet, his manners polite and affable. Though a libertine, he won the hearts of the Puritans. Though he was known to have been privy to the shameful attack on Sir John Coventry, he easily obtained the forgiveness of the country party. Even austere moralists owned that, in such a court, strict conjugal fidelity was scarcely to be expected from one who, while a child, had been married to another child. Even patriots were willing to excuse a headstrong boy for visiting with immoderate vengeance an insult offered to his father.

And soon the stain left by loose amours and midnight brawls was effaced by honourable exploits. When Charles and Louis united their forces against Holland, Monmouth commanded the English auxiliaries who were sent to the Continent, and approved himself a gallant soldier and a not unintelligent officer. On his return he found himself the most popular man in the kingdom. Nothing was withheld from him but the crown; nor did even the crown seem to be absolutely beyond his reach. The distinction which had most injudiciously been made between him and the highest nobles had produced evil consequences. When a boy he had been invited to put on his hat in the presence chamber, while Howards and Seymours stood uncovered round him. When foreign princes died, he had mourned for them in the long purple cloak, which no other subject, except the duke of York and Prince Rupert, was permitted to wear.

It was natural that these things should lead him to regard himself as a legitimate prince of the house of Stuart. Charles, even at a ripe age, was devoted to his pleasures and regardless of his dignity. It could hardly be thought incredible that he should at twenty have secretly gone through the form of espousing a lady whose beauty had fascinated him, and who was not to be won on easier terms. While Monmouth was still a child, and while the duke of York still passed for a Protestant, it was rumoured throughout the country, and even in circles which ought to have been well informed, that the king had made Lucy Walters his wife, and that, if every one had his right, her son would be prince of Wales.

Much was said of a certain "black box" which, according to the vulgar belief, contained the contract of marriage. When Monmouth had returned

from the Low Countries with a high character for valour and conduct, and when the duke of York was known to be a member of a church detested by the great majority of the nation, this idle story became important. For it there was not the slightest evidence. Against it there was the solemn asseveration of the king, made before his council, and by his order communicated to his people. But the multitude, always fond of romantic adventures, drank in eagerly the tale of the secret espousals and the black box. Some chiefs of the opposition acted on this occasion as they acted with respect to the more odious fable of Oates, and countenanced a story which they must have despised.

The interest which the populace took in him whom they regarded as the champion of the true religion, and the rightful heir of the British throne, was kept up by every artifice. When Monmouth arrived in London at midnight, the watchmen were ordered by the magistrates to proclaim the joyful event through the streets of the city: the people left their beds: bonfires were lighted: the windows were illuminated: the churches were opened; and a merry peal rose from all the steeples. When he travelled, he was everywhere received with not less pomp, and with far more enthusiasm, than had been displayed when kings had made progresses through the realm. To such a height were his pretensions carried, that he not only exhibited on his escutcheon the lions of England and the lilies of France without the *bâton sinistre* under which, according to the law of heraldry, they were debruised in token of his illegitimate birth, but ventured to touch for the "king's evil." At the same time, he neglected no art of condescension by which the love of the multitude could be conciliated. He stood godfather to the children of the peasantry, mingled in every rustic sport, wrestled, played at quarterstaff, and won footraces in his boots against fleet runners in shoes.

It is a curious circumstance that, at two of the greatest conjunctures in English history, the chiefs of the Protestant party should have committed the same error, and should by that error have greatly endangered their country and their religion. At the death of Edward VI they set up the lady Jane, without any show of birthright, in opposition, not only to their enemy Mary, but also to Elizabeth, the true hope of England and of the Reformation. Thus the most respectable Protestants, with Elizabeth at their head, were forced to make common cause with the papists. In the same manner, a hundred and thirty years later, a part of the opposition, by setting up Monmouth as a claimant of the crown, attacked the rights, not only of James, whom they justly regarded as an implacable foe of their faith and their liberties, but also of the prince and princess of Orange, who were eminently marked out, both by situation and by personal qualities, as the defenders of all free governments and of all reformed churches.

In a few years the folly of this course became manifest. At present the popularity of Monmouth constituted a great part of the strength of the opposition. The elections went against the court; the day fixed for the meeting of the houses drew near; and it was necessary that the king should determine on some line of conduct. Those who advised him discerned the first faint signs of a change of public feeling, and hoped that, by merely postponing the conflict, he would be able to secure the victory. He therefore, without even asking the opinion of the Council of the Thirty, resolved to prorogue the new parliament before it entered on business. At the same time the duke of York, who had returned from Brussels, was ordered to retire to Scotland, and was placed at the head of the administration of that kingdom.

Temple's plan of government was now avowedly abandoned and very soon

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forgotten. The privy council again became what it had been. Shaftesbury and those who were connected with him in politics resigned their seats. Temple himself, as was his wont in unquiet times, retired to his garden and his library. Essex quitted the board of treasury, and cast in his lot with the opposition. But Halifax, disgusted and alarmed by the violence of his old associates, and Sunderland, who never quitted place while he could hold it, remained in the king's service.

In consequence of the resignations which took place at this conjuncture, the way to greatness was left clear to a new set of aspirants. Two statesmen, who subsequently rose to the highest eminence which a British subject can reach, soon began to attract a large share of the public attention. These were Lawrence Hyde and Sidney Godolphin. Lawrence Hyde was the second son of the chancellor Clarendon, and was brother of the first duchess of York.

Unlike most of the leading politicians of that generation he was a consistent, dogged, and rancorous party man, a cavalier of the old school, a zealous champion of the crown and of the church, and a hater of republicans and nonconformists. He had consequently a great body of personal adherents. The clergy especially looked on him as their own man, and extended to his foibles an indulgence of which, to say the truth, he stood in some need.

He now succeeded Essex at the treasury. It is to be observed that the place of first lord of the treasury had not then the importance and dignity which now belong to it. When there was a lord treasurer, that great officer was generally prime minister: but, when the white staff was in commission, the chief commissioner did not rank so high as a secretary of state. It was not till the time of Walpole that the first lord of the treasury was considered as the head of the executive administration.

VIOLENCE OF FACTIONS; WHIG AND TORY

Before the new parliament was suffered to meet for despatch of business, a whole year elapsed, an eventful year, which has left lasting traces in English manners and language. Never before had political controversy been carried on with so much freedom. Never before had political clubs existed with so elaborate an organisation, or so formidable an influence. The one question of the exclusion occupied the public mind. All the presses and pulpits of the realm took part in the conflict. On one side it was maintained that the constitution and religion of the state would never be secure under a popish king; on the other, that the right of James to wear the crown in his turn was derived from God, and could not be annulled, even by the consent of all the branches of the legislature. Every county, every town, every family, was in agitation. The civilities and hospitalities of neighbourhood were interrupted. The dearest ties of friendship and of blood were sundered. Even schoolboys were divided into angry parties; and the duke of York and the earl of Shaftesbury had zealous adherents on all the forms of Westminster and Eton. The theatres shook with the roar of the contending factions. Pope Joan was brought on the stage by the zealous Protestants. Pensioned poets filled their prologues and epilogues with eulogies on the king and the duke. The malcontents besieged the throne with petitions, demanding that parliament might be forthwith convened. The loyalists sent up addresses, expressing the utmost abhorrence of all who presumed to dictate to the sovereign.

The citizens of London assembled by tens of thousands to burn the pope in effigy. The government posted cavalry at Temple Bar, and placed ordnance round Whitehall. In that year the English tongue was enriched with

two words, "mob" and "sham," remarkable memorials of a season of tumult and imposture. Opponents of the court were called Birminghams, petitioners,[1] and exclusionists. Those who took the king's side were Anti-birminghams, abhorrers, and tantivies. These appellations soon became obsolete: but at this time were first heard two nicknames which, though originally given in insult, were soon assumed with pride, which are still in daily use, which have spread as widely as the English race, and which will last as long as the English literature. It is a curious circumstance that one of these nicknames was of Scotch, and the other of Irish, origin. Both in Scotland and in Ireland, misgovernment had called into existence bands of desperate men whose ferocity was heightened by religious enthusiasm. In Scotland, some of the persecuted covenanters, driven mad by oppression, had lately murdered the primate, had taken arms against the government, had obtained some advantages against the king's forces, and had not been put down till Monmouth, at the head of some troops from England, had routed them at Bothwell Bridge. These zealots were most numerous among the rustics of the western lowlands, who were vulgarly called Whigs.[2] Thus the appellation of whig was fastened on the Presbyterian zealots of Scotland, and was transferred to those English politicians who showed a disposition to oppose the court, and to treat Protestant non-conformists with indulgence. The bogs of Ireland, at the same time, afforded a refuge to popish outlaws, much resembling those who were afterwards known as whiteboys. These men were then called Tories. The name of tory was therefore given to Englishmen who refused to concur in excluding a Roman Catholic prince from the throne.

THE SECOND SHORT PARLIAMENT FAILS TO PASS THE EXCLUSION BILL (1680–1681 A.D.)

The rage of the hostile factions would have been sufficiently violent, if it had been left to itself. But it was studiously exasperated by the common enemy of both. Louis still continued to bribe and flatter both court and opposition. He exhorted Charles to be firm: he exhorted James to raise a civil war in Scotland: he exhorted the whigs not to flinch, and to rely with confidence on the protection of France.

Through all this agitation a discerning eye might have perceived that the public opinion was gradually changing. The persecution of the Roman Catholics went on. [Six Jesuits were executed in 1679; and six or eight priests.] But convictions were no longer matters of course. A new brood of false witnesses, among whom a villain named Dangerfield was the most conspicious, infested the courts: but the stories of these men, though better constructed than that of Oates, found less credit. Juries were no longer so easy of belief as during the panic which had followed the murder of Godfrey; and judges who, while the popular frenzy was at its height, had been its most obsequious instruments, now ventured to express some part of what they had from the first thought.

[1 The Petitioners were so called from their sending petitions to the king to allow parliament to convene; the Abhorrers, from their counter-petitions expressing "abhorrence" at such interference with the king.]

[2 In the history of Scotland it is stated that the same have devised the name "Whig," from "Whiggamore" or "Whig," *i.e.*, "a large whip," claiming that it was first applied to those engaged in the dash known as the Whiggamore Raid in 1649. Others have traced the word to an original "Whig," meaning corrupt or sour whey. Gardiner[d] says it came from a cry "Whiggain" used to urge on a horse.]

At length, in October, 1680, the parliament met. The whigs had so great a majority in the commons that the Exclusion Bill went through all its stages there without difficulty. The king scarcely knew on what members of his own cabinet he could reckon. The duchess of Portsmouth implored her royal lover not to rush headlong to destruction. If there were any point on which he had a scruple of conscience or of honour, it was the question of the succession; but during some days it seemed that he would submit. He wavered, asked what sum the commons would give him if he yielded, and suffered a negotiation to be opened with the leading whigs. But a deep mutual distrust which had been many years growing, and which had been carefully nursed by the arts of France, made a treaty impossible. Neither side would place confidence in the other. The whole nation now looked with breathless anxiety to the house of lords. The assemblage of peers was large. The king himself was present. The debate was long, earnest, and occasionally furious. Some hands were laid on the pommels of swords, in a manner which revived the recollection of the stormy parliaments of Henry III and Richard II. Shaftesbury and Essex were joined by the treacherous Sunderland.

But the genius of Halifax bore down all opposition. Deserted by his most important colleagues, and opposed to a crowd of able antagonists, he defended the cause of the duke of York, in a succession of speeches which, many years later, were remembered as masterpieces of reasoning, of wit, and of eloquence. It is seldom that oratory changes votes. Yet the attestation of contemporaries leaves no doubt that, on this occasion, votes were changed by the oratory of Halifax. The bishops, true to their doctrines, supported the principle of hereditary right, and the bill was rejected by a great majority. The party which preponderated in the house of commons, bitterly mortified by this defeat, found some consolation in shedding the blood of Roman Catholics. William Howard, viscount Stafford, one of the unhappy men who had been accused of a share in the plot, was brought before the bar of his peers: and on the testimony of Oates and of two other false witnesses, Dugdale and Turberville, was found guilty of high treason, and suffered death, December 29th, 1680. But the circumstances of his trial and execution ought to have given an useful warning to the whig leaders. A large and respectable minority of the house of lords pronounced the prisoner not guilty. The multitude, which a few months before had received the dying declarations of Oates' victims with mockery and execrations, now loudly expressed a belief that Stafford was a murdered man. When he with his last breath protested his innocence, the cry was, "God bless you, my lord! We believe you, my lord." A judicious observer might easily have predicted that the blood then shed would shortly have blood.

THE OXFORD PARLIAMENT OF 1681

The king determined to try once more the experiment of a dissolution. A new parliament was summoned to meet at Oxford, in March, 1681. Since the days of the Plantagenets the houses had constantly sat at Westminster, except when the plague was raging in the capital: but so extraordinary a conjecture seemed to require extraordinary precautions. If the parliament were held in its usual place of assembling, the house of commons might declare itself permanent, and might call for aid on the magistrates and citizens of London. The train bands might rise to defend Shaftesbury as they had risen forty years before to defend Pym and Hampden. The guards might be overpowered, the palace forced, the king a prisoner in the hands of his mutinous

subjects. At Oxford there was no such danger. The university was devoted to the crown; and the gentry of the neighbourhood were generally tories. Here, therefore, the opposition had more reason than the king to apprehend violence.

The elections were sharply contested. The whigs still composed a majority of the house of commons: but it was plain that the tory spirit was fast rising throughout the country. It should seem that the sagacious and versatile Shaftesbury ought to have foreseen the coming change, and to have consented to the compromise which the court offered, but he appears to have utterly forgotten his old tactics. Instead of making dispositions which, in the worst event, would have secured his retreat, he took up a position in which it was necessary that he should either conquer or perish. Perhaps his head, strong as it was, had been turned by popularity, by success, and by the excitement of conflict. Perhaps he had spurred his party till he could no longer curb it, and was really hurried on headlong by those whom he seemed to guide.

The eventful day arrived. The meeting at Oxford resembled rather that of a Polish diet than that of an English parliament. The whig members were escorted by great numbers of their armed and mounted tenants and serving men, who exchanged looks of defiance with the royal guards. The slightest provocation might, under such circumstances, have produced a civil war; but neither side dared to strike the first blow. The king again offered to consent to anything but the Exclusion Bill. The commons were determined to accept nothing but the Exclusion Bill. In a few days the parliament was again dissolved.

THE TORY REACTION AND PERSECUTION OF THE WHIGS

The king had triumphed. The reaction, which had begun some months before the meeting of the houses at Oxford, now went rapidly on. The nation, indeed, was still hostile to popery; but, when men reviewed the whole history of the plot, they felt that their Protestant zeal had hurried them into folly and crime, and could scarcely believe that they had been induced by nursery tales to clamour for the blood of fellow subjects and fellow Christians. The most loyal, indeed, could not deny that the administration of Charles had often been highly blamable. But men who had not the full information which we possess touching his dealings with France, and who were disgusted by the violence of the whigs, enumerated the large concessions which, during the last few years, he had made to his parliaments, and the still larger concessions which he had declared himself willing to make. He had consented to the laws which excluded Roman Catholics from the house of lords, from the privy council, and from all civil and military offices. He had passed the Habeas Corpus Act. If securities yet stronger had not been provided against the dangers to which the constitution and the church might be exposed under a Roman Catholic sovereign, the fault lay, not with Charles, who had invited the parliament to propose such securities, but with those whigs who had refused to hear of any substitute for the Exclusion Bill.

One thing only had the king denied to his people. He had refused to take away his brother's birthright. And was there not good reason to believe that this refusal was prompted by laudable feelings? What selfish motive could faction itself impute to the royal mind? The Exclusion Bill did not curtail the reigning king's prerogatives, or diminish his income. Indeed, by passing it, he might easily have obtained an ample addition to his own revenue. And what was it to him who ruled after him? Nay, if he had personal

predilections, they were known to be rather in favour of the duke of Monmouth than the duke of York. The most natural explanation of the king's conduct therefore seemed to be that, careless as was his temper, and loose as were his morals, he had, on this occasion, acted from a sense of duty and honour. And, if so, would the nation compel him to do what he thought criminal and disgraceful? To apply, even by strictly constitutional means, a violent pressure to his conscience, seemed to zealous royalists ungenerous and undutiful.

But strictly constitutional means were not the only means which the whigs were disposed to employ. Signs were already discernible which portended the approach of great troubles. Men, who in the time of the civil war and of the commonwealth had acquired an odious notoriety, had emerged from the obscurity in which, after the restoration, they had hidden themselves from the general hatred, showed their confident and busy faces everywhere, and appeared to anticipate a second reign of the saints. Another Naseby, another high court of justice, another usurper on the throne, the lords again ejected from their hall by violence, the universities again purged, the church again robbed and persecuted, the Puritans again dominant, to such results did the desperate policy of the opposition seem to tend.

Animated by such feelings, the majority of the upper and middle classes hastened to rally round the throne. The situation of the king bore, at this time, a great resemblance to that in which his father stood just after the Remonstrance had been voted. But the reaction of 1641 had not been suffered to run its course. Charles I, at the very moment when his people, long estranged, were returning to him with hearts disposed to reconciliation, had, by a perfidious violation of the fundamental laws of the realm, forfeited their confidence forever. Had Charles II taken a similar course, had he arrested the whig leaders in an irregular manner, and impeached them of high treason before a tribunal which had no legal jurisdiction over them, it is highly probable that they would speedily have regained the ascendency which they had lost. Fortunately for himself he was induced, at this crisis, to adopt a policy which, for his ends, was singularly judicious. He determined to conform to the law, but at the same time to make vigorous and unsparing use of the law against his adversaries. He was not bound to convoke a parliament till three years should have elapsed. He was not much distressed for money. The produce of the taxes which had been settled on him for life exceeded the estimate. He was at peace with all the world. He could retrench his expenses by giving up the costly and useless settlement of Tangier and he might hope for pecuniary aid from France. He had, therefore, ample time and means for a systematic attack on the opposition under the forms of the constitution. The judges were removable at his pleasure: the juries were nominated by the sheriffs; and, in almost all the counties of England, the sheriffs were nominated by himself. Witnesses, of the same class with those who had recently sworn away the lives of papists, were ready to swear away the lives of whigs.

The first victim was College, a noisy and violent demagogue of mean birth and education. He was by trade a joiner, and was celebrated as the inventor of the Protestant flail. He had been at Oxford when the parliament sat there, and was accused of having planned a rising and an attack on the king's guards. Evidence was given against him by Dugdale and Turberville, the same infamous men who had, a few months earlier, borne false witness against Stafford. In the sight of a jury of country squires no exclusionist was likely to find favour. College was convicted. The crowd which filled the court

house of Oxford received the verdict with a roar of exultation, as barbarous as that which he and his friends had been in the habit of raising when innocent papists were doomed to the gallows. His execution was the beginning of a new judicial massacre, not less atrocious than that in which he had himself borne a share.

The government emboldened by this first victory, now aimed a blow at an enemy of a very different class. It was resolved that Shaftesbury should be brought to trial for his life. Evidence was collected which, it was thought, would support a charge of treason.[1] But the facts which it was necessary to prove were alleged to have been committed in London. The sheriffs of London, chosen by the citizens, were zealous whigs. They named a whig grand jury, which threw out the bill, November 24, 1681. This defeat, far from discouraging those who advised the king, suggested to them a new and daring scheme. Since the charter of the capital was in their way, that charter must be annulled. It was pretended, therefore, that the city of London had by some irregularities forfeited its municipal privileges; and proceedings were instituted against the corporation in the court of King's Bench. At the same time those laws which had, soon after the Restoration, been enacted against non-conformists, and which had remained dormant during the ascendency of the whigs, were enforced all over the kingdom with extreme rigour.

Yet the spirit of the whigs was not subdued. Though in evil plight, they were still a numerous and powerful party; and, as they mustered strong in the large towns, and especially in the capital, they made a noise and a show more than proportioned to their real force. Animated by the recollection of past triumphs, and by the sense of present oppression, they overrated both their strength and their wrongs. It was not in their power to make out that clear and overwhelming case which can alone justify so violent a remedy as resistance to an established government. Whatever they might suspect, they could not prove that their sovereign had entered into a treaty with France against the religion and liberties of England. What was apparent was not sufficient to warrant an appeal to the sword. If the Exclusion Bill had been thrown out, it had been thrown out by the lords in the exercise of a right coeval with the constitution. If the king had dissolved the Oxford Parliament, he had done so by virtue of a prerogative which had never been questioned. If the court had, since the dissolution, done some harsh things, still those things were in strict conformity with the letter of the law, and with the recent practice of the malecontents themselves. If the king had prosecuted his opponents, he had prosecuted them according to the proper forms, and before the proper tribunals. The evidence now produced for the crown was at least as worthy of credit as the evidence on which the noblest blood of England had lately been shed by the opposition. The treatment which an accused whig had now to expect from judges, advocates, sheriffs, juries, and spectators, was no worse than the treatment which had been thought by the whigs good enough for an accused papist. If the privileges of the city of London were attacked, they were attacked, not by military violence or by any disputable exercise of prerogative, but according to the regular practice of Westminster Hall. No tax was imposed by royal authority. No law was suspended. The Habeas Corpus Act was respected. Even the Test Act was enforced. The opposition therefore could not bring home to the king that species of misgovernment which alone could justify insurrection. And, even had his misgov-

[1 While Shaftesbury was in prison Dryden issued his famous satire *Absalom and Achitophel* against Shaftesbury who is represented as the tempter Achitophel and Monmouth as the misguided Absalom.]

ernment been more flagrant than it was, insurrection would still have been criminal, because it was almost certain to be unsuccessful.

The situation of the whigs in 1682 differed widely from that of the roundheads forty years before. Those who took up arms against Charles I acted under the authority of a parliament which had been legally assembled, and which could not, without its own consent, be legally dissolved. The opponents of Charles II were private men. Almost all the military and naval resources of the kingdom had been at the disposal of those who resisted Charles I. All the military and naval resources of the kingdom were at the disposal of Charles II. The house of commons had been supported by at least half the nation against Charles I. But those who were disposed to levy war against Charles II were certainly a minority. It could not reasonably be doubted, therefore, that, if they attempted a rising, they would fail. Still less could it be doubted that their failure would aggravate every evil of which they complained.

THE RYEHOUSE PLOT: THE DEATH OF SHAFTESBURY, RUSSELL, AND OTHERS (1683 A.D.)

The true policy of the whigs was to submit with patience to adversity which was the natural consequence and the just punishment of their errors, to wait patiently for that turn of public feeling which must inevitably come, to observe the law, and to avail themselves of the protection, imperfect indeed, but by no means nugatory, which the law afforded to innocence. Unhappily they took a very different course. Unscrupulous and hotheaded chiefs of the party formed and discussed schemes of resistance, and were heard, if not with approbation, yet with the show of acquiescence, by much better men than themselves. It was proposed that there should be simultaneous insurrections in London, in Cheshire, at Bristol, and at Newcastle. Communications were opened with the discontented Presbyterians of Scotland, who were suffering under a tyranny such as England, in the worst times, had never known.[1] While the leaders of the opposition thus revolved plans of open rebellion, but were still restrained by fears or scruples from taking any decisive step, a design of a very different kind was meditated by some of their accomplices.

To fierce spirits, unrestrained by principle, or maddened by fanaticism, it seemed that to waylay and murder the king and his brother was the shortest and surest way of vindicating the Protestant religion and the liberties of England. A place and a time were named; and the details of the butchery were frequently discussed, if not definitively arranged. This scheme was known but to few, and was concealed with especial care from the upright and humane Russell, and from Monmouth, who, though not a man of delicate conscience, would have recoiled with horror from the guilt of parricide. Thus there were two plots, one within the other. The object of the great whig plot was to raise the nation in arms against the government. The lesser plot, commonly called the Rye House Plot, in which only a few desperate men were concerned, had for its object the assassination of the king and of the heir presumptive [as they passed the Rye House].

Both plots were soon discovered. Cowardly traitors hastened to save themselves, by divulging all, and more than all, that had passed in the deliberations of the party. That only a small minority of those who meditated resistance had admitted into their minds the thought of assassination is fully

[1 For the account of the dramatic events in Scotland under Charles II's representatives we must again refer the reader to our history of Scotland.]

established: but, as the two conspiracies ran into each other, it was not difficult for the government to confound them together. The just indignation excited by the Rye House Plot was extended for a time to the whole whig body. The king was now at liberty to exact full vengeance for years of restraint and humiliation.

Shaftesbury, indeed, had escaped the fate which his manifold perfidy had well deserved.[1] He had seen that the ruin of his party was at hand, had in vain endeavoured to make his peace with the royal brothers, had fled to Holland, and had died there, January 22, 1683, under the generous protection of a government which he had cruelly wronged. Monmouth threw himself at his father's feet and found mercy, but soon gave new offence, and thought it prudent to go into voluntary exile. Essex perished by his own hand in the tower. Russell, who appears to have been guilty of no offence falling within the definition of high treason, and Sidney, of whose guilt no legal evidence could be produced, were beheaded in defiance of law and justice. Russell died with the fortitude of a Christian, Sidney with the fortitude of a stoic. Some active politicians of meaner rank were sent to the gallows. Many quitted the country. Numerous prosecutions for misprision of treason, for libel, and for conspiracy were instituted.

Convictions were obtained without difficulty from tory juries, and rigorous punishments were inflicted by courtly judges. With these criminal proceedings were joined civil proceedings scarcely less formidable. Actions were brought against persons who had defamed the duke of York; and damages tantamount to a sentence of perpetual imprisonment were demanded by the plaintiff, and without difficulty obtained.

SEIZURE OF CHARTERS AND OTHER VIOLATIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION

The court of King's Bench pronounced that the franchises of the city of London were forfeited to the crown. Flushed with this great victory the government proceeded to attack the constitutions of other corporations which were governed by whig officers, and which had been in the habit of returning whig members to parliament. Borough after borough was compelled to surrender its privileges; and new charters were granted which gave the ascendency everywhere to the tories.

These proceedings, however reprehensible, had yet the semblance of legality. They were also accompanied by an act intended to quiet the uneasiness with which many loyal men looked forward to the accession of a popish sovereign. The lady Anne, younger daughter of the duke of York by his first wife, was married to George, a prince of the orthodox house of Denmark. The tory gentry and clergy might now flatter themselves that the Church of England had been effectually secured without any violation of the order of succession. The king and his heir were nearly of the same age. Both were approaching the decline of life. The king's health was good. It was therefore probable that James, if he ever came to the throne, would have but a short reign. Beyond his reign there was the gratifying prospect of a long series of Protestant sovereigns.

The liberty of unlicensed printing was of little or no use to the vanquished party, for the temper of judges and juries was such that no writer whom the government prosecuted for a libel had any chance of escaping. The dread of punishment therefore did all that a censorship could have done. Meanwhile,

[1 But Gardiner[d] says, "With all his faults he had led the way on that path in which the English nation was, before long, to walk."]

the pulpits resounded with harangues against the sin of rebellion. The treatises in which Filmer maintained that hereditary despotism was the form of government ordained by God, and that limited monarchy was a pernicious absurdity, had recently appeared, and had been favourably received by a large section of the tory party. The university of Oxford, on the very day on which Russell was put to death, adopted by a solemn public act these strange doctrines, and ordered the political works of Buchanan, Milton, and Baxter to be publicly burned in the court of the schools.

Thus emboldened, the king at length ventured to overstep the bounds which he had during some years observed, and to violate the plain letter of the law. The law was that not more than three years should pass between the dissolving of one parliament and the convoking of another. But, when three years had elapsed after the dissolution of the parliament which sat at Oxford, no writs were issued for an election. This infraction of the constitution was the more reprehensible, because the king had little reason to fear a meeting with a new house of commons. The counties were generally on his side; and many boroughs in which the whigs had lately held sway had been so remodelled that they were certain to return none but courtiers.



DUKE OF MONMOUTH
(1649–1685)

In a short time the law was again violated in order to gratify the duke of York. That prince was, partly on account of his religion, and partly on account of the sternness and harshness of his nature, so unpopular that it had been thought necessary to keep him out of sight while the Exclusion Bill was before parliament, lest his public appearance should give an advantage to the party which was struggling to deprive him of his birthright. He had therefore been sent to govern Scotland, where the savage old tyrant Lauderdale was sinking into the grave. Even Lauderdale was now outdone. The administration of James was marked by odious laws, by barbarous punishments, and by judgments to the iniquity of which even that age furnished no parallel. The Scottish privy council had power to put state prisoners to the question. But the sight was so dreadful that, as soon as the boots appeared, even the most servile and hardhearted courtiers hastened out of the chamber. The board was sometimes quite deserted: and it was at length found necessary to make an order that the members should keep their seats on such occasions. The duke of York, it was remarked, seemed to take pleasure in the spectacle which some of the worst men then living were unable to contemplate without pity and horror. He not only came to council when the torture was to be

inflicted, but watched the agonies of the sufferers with that sort of interest and complacency with which men observe a curious experiment in science. Thus he employed himself at Edinburgh, till the event of the conflict between the court and the whigs was no longer doubtful. He then returned to England, but he was still excluded by the Test Act from all public employment; nor did the king at first think it safe to violate a statute which the great majority of his most loyal subjects regarded as one of the chief securities of their religion and of their civil rights. When, however, it appeared, from a succession of trials, that the nation had patience to endure almost anything that the government had courage to do, Charles ventured to dispense with the law in his brother's favour. The duke again took his seat in the council, and resumed the direction of naval affairs.



FRANCIS NORTH
(1637–1685)

These breaches of the constitution excited, it is true, some murmurs among the moderate tories, and were not unanimously approved even by the king's ministers. Halifax in particular, now a marquis and lord privy seal, had, from the very day on which the tories had by his help gained the ascendent, begun to turn whig. As soon as the Exclusion Bill had been thrown out, he had pressed the house of lords to make provision against the danger to which in the next reign, the liberties and religion of the nation might be exposed. He now saw with alarm the violence of that reaction which was, in no small measure, his own work. He did not try to conceal the scorn which he felt for the servile doctrines of the university of Oxford. He detested the French alliance. He disapproved of the long intermission of parliaments. He regretted the severity with which the vanquished party was treated. He who, when the whigs were predominant, had ventured to pronounce Stafford not guilty, ventured, when they were vanquished and helpless, to intercede for Russell.

At one of the last councils which Charles held a remarkable scene took place. The charter of Massachusetts had been forfeited. A question arose how, for the future, the colony should be governed. The general opinion of the board was that the whole power, legislative as well as executive, should abide in the crown. Halifax took the opposite side, and argued with great energy against

absolute monarchy, and in favour of representative government. It was vain, he said, to think that a population, sprung from the English stock, and animated by English feelings, would long bear to be deprived of English institutions. Life, he exclaimed, would not be worth having in a country where liberty and property were at the mercy of one despotic master. The duke of York was greatly incensed by this language, and represented to his brother the danger of retaining in office a man who appeared to be infected with all the worst notions of Marvell and Sidney.

Some modern writers have blamed Halifax for continuing in the ministry while he disapproved of the manner in which both domestic and foreign affairs were conducted. But this censure is unjust. Indeed it is to be remarked that the word ministry, in the sense in which we use it, was then unknown. The thing itself did not exist; for it belongs to an age in which parliamentary government is fully established. At present the chief servants of the crown form one body. They are understood to be on terms of friendly confidence with each other, and to agree as to the main principles on which the executive administration ought to be conducted. If a slight difference of opinion arises among them, it is easily compromised; but, if one of them differs from the rest on a vital point, it is his duty to resign. While he retains his office, he is held responsible even for steps which he has tried to dissuade his colleagues from taking.

In the seventeenth century, the heads of the various branches of the administration were bound together in no such partnership. Each of them was accountable for his own acts, for the use which he made of his own official seal, for the documents which he signed, for the counsel which he gave to the king. No statesman was held answerable for what he had not himself done, or induced others to do. If he took care not to be the agent in what was wrong, and if, when consulted, he recommended what was right, he was blameless. It would have been thought strange scrupulosity in him to quit his post, because his advice as to matters not strictly within his own department was not taken by his master; to leave the board of admiralty, for example, because the finances were in disorder, or the board of treasury because the foreign relations of the kingdom were in an unsatisfactory state. It was, therefore, by no means unusual to see in high office, at the same time, men who avowedly differed from one another as widely as ever Pulteney differed from Walpole, Fox from Pitt.

The moderate and constitutional counsels of Halifax were timidly and feebly seconded by Francis North, Lord Guildford, who had lately been made keeper of the great seal. The character of Guildford has been drawn at full length by his brother Roger North, a most intolerant tory, a most affected and pedantic writer, but a vigilant observer of all those minute circumstances which throw light on the dispositions of men. It is remarkable that the biographer, though he was under the influence of the strongest fraternal partiality and though he was evidently anxious to produce a flattering likeness, was yet unable to portray the lord keeper otherwise than as the most ignoble of mankind. Yet the intellect of Guildford was clear, his industry great, his proficiency in letters and science respectable, and his legal learning more than respectable. His faults were selfishness, cowardice, and meanness. He was not insensible to the power of female beauty, nor averse from excess in wine. Yet neither wine nor beauty could ever seduce the cautious and frugal libertine, even in his earliest youth, into one fit of indiscreet generosity.

The chief opponent of Halifax was Lawrence Hyde, who had recently been created earl of Rochester. Of all tories, Rochester was the most intolerant and

uncompromising. The moderate members of his party complained that the whole patronage of the treasury, while he was first commissioner there, went to noisy zealots, whose only claim to promotion was that they were always drinking confusion to whiggery, and lighting bonfires to burn the Exclusion Bill. The duke of York, pleased with a spirit which so much resembled his own, supported his brother-in-law passionately and obstinately.

The attempts of the rival ministers to surmount and supplant each other kept the court in incessant agitation. Halifax pressed the king to summon a parliament, to grant a general amnesty, to deprive the duke of York of all share in the government, to recall Monmouth from banishment, to break with Louis, and to form a close union with Holland on the principles of the Triple Alliance. The duke of York, on the other hand, dreaded the meeting of a parliament, regarded the vanquished whigs with undiminished hatred, still flattered himself that the design formed fourteen years before at Dover might be accomplished, daily represented to his brother the impropriety of suffering one who was at heart a republican to hold the privy seal, and strongly recommended Rochester for the great place of lord treasurer.

Nor was Louis negligent or inactive. Everything at that moment favoured his designs. He had nothing to apprehend from the German empire, which was then contending against the Turks on the Danube. Holland could not, unsupported, venture to oppose him. He was therefore at liberty to indulge his ambition and insolence without restraint. He seized Dixmude and Courtray. He bombarded Luxemburg. He exacted from the republic of Genoa the most humiliating submissions.

The power of France at that time reached a higher point than it ever before or ever after attained, during the ten centuries which separated the reign of Charlemagne and the reign of Napoleon. It was not easy to say where her acquisitions would stop, if only England could be kept in a state of vassalage. The first object of the court of Versailles was therefore to prevent the calling of a parliament and the reconciliation of English parties. To this end bribes, promises, and menaces were unsparingly employed. Charles was sometimes allured by the hope of a subsidy, and sometimes frightened by being told that, if he convoked the houses, the secret articles of the Treaty of Dover should be published. Several privy councillors were bought; and attempts were made to buy Halifax, but in vain. When he had been found incorruptible, all the art and influence of the French embassy were employed to drive him from office: but his polished wit and his various accomplishments had made him so agreeable to his master, that the design failed.

Halifax was not content with standing on the defensive. He openly accused Rochester of malversation. An inquiry took place. It appeared that forty thousand pounds had been lost to the public by the mismanagement of the first lord of the treasury. In consequence of this discovery he was not only forced to relinquish his hopes of the white staff, but was removed from the direction of the finances to the more dignified but less lucrative and important post of lord president. "I have seen people kicked down stairs," said Halifax; "but my lord Rochester is the first person that I ever saw kicked up stairs." Godolphin, now a peer, became first commissioner of the treasury.

Still, however, the contest continued. The event depended wholly on the will of Charles; and Charles could not come to a decision. In his perplexity he promised everything to everybody. He would stand by France: he would break with France: he would never meet another parliament: he would order writs for a parliament to be issued without delay. He assured the duke of

[1685 A.D.]

York that Halifax should be dismissed from office, and Halifax that the duke should be sent to Scotland. In public he affected implacable resentment against Monmouth, and in private conveyed to Monmouth assurances of unalterable affection. How long, if the king's life had been protracted, his hesitation might have lasted, and what would have been his resolve, can only be conjectured.

THE DEATH OF CHARLES II (FEBRUARY 6TH, 1685)

The palace had seldom presented a gayer or a more scandalous appearance than on the evening of Sunday, the 1st of February, 1685. The great gallery of Whitehall, an admirable relic of the magnificence of the Tudors, was crowded with revellers and gamblers. The king sat there chatting and toying with three women, whose charms were the boast, and whose vices were the disgrace, of three nations. Barbara Palmer, duchess of Cleveland, was there, no longer young, but still retaining some traces of that superb and voluptuous loveliness which twenty years before overcame the hearts of all men. There, too, was the duchess of Portsmouth, whose soft and infantine features were lighted up with the vivacity of France. Hortensia Mancini, duchess of Mazarin, and niece of the great cardinal, completed the group. Charles himself, during his exile, had sought her hand in vain. No gift of nature or of fortune seemed to be wanting to her. But her diseased mind required stronger stimulants, and sought them in gallantry, in basset, and in usquebaugh. While Charles flirted with his three sultanas, Hortensia's French page, a handsome boy, whose vocal performances were the delight of Whitehall, and were rewarded by numerous presents of rich clothes, ponies, and guineas, warbled some amorous verses. A party of twenty courtiers was seated at cards round a large table on which gold was heaped in mountains. Even then the king had complained that he did not feel quite well. He had no appetite for his supper: his rest that night was broken; but on the following morning he rose as usual, early.

To that morning the contending factions in his council had, during some days, looked forward with anxiety. The struggle between Halifax and Rochester seemed to be approaching a decisive crisis. Halifax, not content with having already driven his rival from the board of treasury, had undertaken to prove him guilty of such dishonesty or neglect in the conduct of the finances as ought to be punished by dismission from the public service. It was even whispered that the lord president would probably be sent to the Tower. The king had promised to inquire into the matter. The 2nd of February had been fixed for the investigation; and several officers of the revenue had been ordered to attend with their books on that day. But a great turn of fortune was at hand.

Scarcely had Charles risen from his bed when his attendants perceived that his utterance was indistinct, and that his thoughts seemed to be wandering. Several men of rank had, as usual, assembled to see their sovereign shaved and dressed. He made an effort to converse with them in his usual gay style; but his ghastly look surprised and alarmed them. Soon his face grew black; his eyes turned in his head; he uttered a cry, staggered, and fell into the arms of Thomas, lord Bruce, son of the earl of Ailesbury. A physician who had charge of the royal retorts and crucibles happened to be present. He had no lancet; but he opened a vein with a penknife. The blood flowed freely; but the king was still insensible.

He was laid on his bed, where, during a short time, the duchess of Ports-

much hung over him with the familiarity of a wife. But the alarm had been given. The queen and the duchess of York were hastening to the room. The favourite concubine was forced to retire to her own apartments. Those apartments had been thrice pulled down and thrice rebuilt by her lover to gratify her caprice. The very furniture of the chimney was massive silver. Several fine paintings, which properly belonged to the queen, had been transferred to the dwelling of the mistress. The side-boards were piled with richly wrought plate. In the midst of this splendour, purchased by guilt and shame, the unhappy woman gave herself up to an agony of grief, which, to do her justice, was not wholly selfish.

All the medical men of note in London were summoned. So high did political animosities run that the presence of some whig physicians was regarded as an extraordinary circumstance. One Roman Catholic whose skill was then widely renowned, Doctor Thomas Short, was in attendance. Several of the prescriptions have been preserved. One of them is signed by fourteen doctors. The patient was bled largely. Hot iron was applied to his head. A loathsome volatile salt, extracted from human skulls, was forced into his mouth. He recovered his senses: but he was evidently in a situation of extreme danger.

The queen was for a time assiduous in her attendance. The duke of York scarcely left his brother's bedside.

On the morning of Thursday, the 5th of February, the *London Gazette* announced that his majesty was going on well, and was thought by the physicians to be out of danger. The bells of all the churches rang merrily: and preparations for bonfires were made in the streets. But in the evening it was known that a relapse had taken place, and that the medical attendants had given up all hope.

The king was in great pain, and complained that he felt as if a fire was burning within him. Yet he bore up against his sufferings with a fortitude which did not seem to belong to his soft and luxurious nature. The sight of his misery affected his wife so much that she fainted, and was carried senseless to her chamber. The prelates who were in waiting had from the first exhorted him to prepare for his end. They now thought it their duty to address him in a still more urgent manner. William Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, used great freedom. "It is time," he said, "to speak out: for, Sir, you are about to appear before a judge who is no respecter of persons." The king answered not a word. Thomas Ken, bishop of Bath and Wells, then tried his powers of persuasion. His solemn and pathetic exhortation awed and melted the bystanders to such a degree that some among them believed him to be filled with the same spirit which, in the old time, had, by the mouths of Nathan and Elias, called sinful princes to repentance. Charles however was unmoved. He made no objection indeed when the Service for the Visitation of the Sick was read. In reply to the pressing questions of the divines, he said that he was sorry for what he had done amiss: and he suffered the absolution to be pronounced over him according to the forms of the Church of England: but, when he was urged to declare that he died in the communion of that church, he seemed not to hear what was said: and nothing could induce him to take the eucharist from the hands of the bishops. A table with bread and wine was brought to his bedside, but in vain. Sometimes he said that there was no hurry, and sometimes that he was too weak.

Many attributed this apathy to contempt for divine things, and many to the stupor which often precedes death. But there were in the palace a few persons who knew better. Charles had never been a sincere member of the

established church. His mind had long oscillated between Hobbism and popery. When his health was good and his spirits high, he was a scoffer. In his few serious moments he was a Roman Catholic The duke of York was aware of this, but was entirely occupied with the care of his own interests. He had ordered the outports to be closed. He had posted detachments of the guards in different parts of the city. He had also procured the feeble signature of the dying king to an instrument by which some duties, granted only till the demise of the crown, were let to farm for a term of three years. These things occupied the attention of James to such a degree that, though, on ordinary occasions, he was indiscreetly and unseasonably eager to bring over proselytes to his church, he never reflected that his brother was in danger of dying without the last sacraments.

A life of frivolity and vice had not extinguished in the duchess of Portsmouth all sentiments of religion. The French ambassador Barillon, found her in an agony of sorrow. She took him into a secret room, and poured out her whole heart to him. "I have," she said, "a thing of great moment to tell you. If it were known, my head would be in danger. The king is really and truly a Catholic; but he will die without being reconciled to the church. His bedchamber is full of Protestant clergymen. I cannot enter it without giving scandal. The duke is thinking only of himself. Speak to him. Remind him that there is a soul at stake. He is master now. He can clear the room. Go this instant, or it will be too late."

Barillon hastened to the bedchamber, took the duke aside, and delivered the message of the mistress. The conscience of James smote him. The duke commanded the crowd to stand aloof, went to the bed, stooped down, and whispered something which none of the spectators could hear, but which they supposed to be some question about affairs of state. Charles answered in an audible voice, "Yes, yes, with all my heart." None of the bystanders, except the French ambassador, guessed that the king was declaring his wish to be admitted into the bosom of the church of Rome.

"Shall I bring a priest?" said the duke. "Do, brother," replied the sick man. "For God's sake do, and lose no time. But no; you will get into trouble." "If it costs me my life," said the duke, "I will fetch a priest."

To find a priest, however, for such a purpose, at a moment's notice, was not easy. They heard that a Benedictine monk, named John Huddleston, happened to be at Whitehall. This man had, with great risk to himself, saved the king's life after the battle of Worcester, and had, on that account, been, ever since the Restoration, a privileged person. In the sharpest proclamations which had been put forth against popish priests, when false witnesses had inflamed the nation to fury, Huddleston had been excepted by name. He readily consented to put his life a second time in peril for his prince; but there was still a difficulty. The honest monk was so illiterate that he did not know what he ought to say on an occasion of such importance. He however obtained some hints from a Portuguese ecclesiastic, and, thus instructed, was brought up the back stairs by Chiffinch, a confidential servant, who, if the satires of that age are to be credited, had often introduced visitors of a very different description by the same entrance.

The duke's orders were obeyed, and even the physicians withdrew. The back door was then opened, and Father Huddleston entered. A cloak had been thrown over his sacred vestments, and his shaven crown was concealed by a flowing wig. "Sir," said the duke, "this good man once saved your life. He now comes to save your soul." Charles faintly answered, "He is welcome." Huddleston went through his part better than had been expected. He knelt

by the bed, listened to the confession, pronounced the absolution, and administered extreme unction. He asked if the king wished to receive the Lord's Supper. "Surely," said Charles, "if I am not unworthy." The host was brought in. Charles feebly strove to rise and kneel before it. The priest bade him lie still, and assured him that God would accept the humiliation of the soul, and would not require the humiliation of the body. The king found so much difficulty in swallowing the bread that it was necessary to open the door and to procure a glass of water. This rite ended, the monk held up a crucifix before the penitent, charged him to fix his last thoughts on the sufferings of the Redeemer, and withdrew. The whole ceremony had occupied about three-quarters of an hour; and, during that time, the courtiers who filled the outer room had communicated their suspicions to each other by whispers and significant glances. The door was at length thrown open, and the crowd again filled the chamber of death.

It was now late in the evening. The king seemed much relieved by what had passed. His natural children were brought to his bedside, the dukes of Grafton, Southampton, and Northumberland, sons of the duchess of Cleveland, the duke of Saint Albans, son of Eleanor Gwyn, and the duke of Richmond, son of the duchess of Portsmouth. Charles blessed them all, but spoke with peculiar tenderness to Richmond. One face which should have been there was wanting. Monmouth, the eldest and best beloved child was an exile and a wanderer. His name was not once mentioned by his father.

During the night Charles earnestly recommended the duchess of Portsmouth and her boy to the care of James, "And do not," he good-naturedly added, "let poor Nelly starve." The queen sent her excuses for her absence by Halifax. She said that she was too much disordered to resume her post by the couch, and implored pardon for any offence which she might unwittingly have given. "She ask my pardon, poor woman!" cried Charles; "I ask hers with all my heart."

The morning light began to peep through the windows of Whitehall; and Charles desired the attendants to pull aside the curtains, that he might have one more look at the day. He remarked that it was time to wind up a clock which stood near his bed. These little circumstances were long remembered, because they proved beyond dispute that, when he declared himself a Roman Catholic, he was in full possession of his faculties. He apologised to those who had stood round him all night for the trouble which he had caused. He had been, he said, a most unconscionable time dying, but he hoped that they would excuse it. This was the last glimpse of that exquisite urbanity, so often found potent to charm away the resentment of a justly incensed nation. Soon after dawn the speech of the dying man failed. Before ten his senses were gone. Great numbers had repaired to the churches at the hour of morning service. When the prayer for the king was read, loud groans and sobs showed how deeply his people felt for him. At noon on Friday, the 6th of February, he passed away without a struggle.[c]

BUCKLE'S WEIGHING OF THE GOOD AND EVIL OF THE REIGN

If we look only at the characters of the rulers, and at their foreign policy we must pronounce the reign of Charles II to be the worst that has ever been seen in England. If, on the other hand, we confine our observations to the laws which were passed, and to the principles which were established, we shall be obliged to confess that this same reign forms one of the brightest epochs in our national annals.

[1685 A.D.]

Politically and morally, there were to be found in the government all the elements of confusion, of weakness, and of crime. The king himself was a mean and spiritless voluptuary, without the morals of a Christian, and almost without the feelings of a man.[1] His ministers, with the exception of Clarendon, whom he hated for his virtues, had not one of the attributes of statesmen, and nearly all of them were pensioned by the crown of France. The weight of taxation was increased, while the security of the kingdom was diminished.[2] By the forced surrender of the charters of the towns, our municipal rights were endangered.[3] By shutting the exchequer, our national credit was destroyed.[4] Though immense sums were spent in maintaining our naval and military power, we were left so defenceless, that when a war broke out, which had long been preparing, we seemed suddenly to be taken by surprise. Such was the miserable incapacity of the government, that the fleets of Holland were able, not only to ride triumphant round our coasts, but to sail up the Thames, attack our arsenals, burn our ships and insult the metropolis of England.

Yet, notwithstanding all these things, it is an undoubted fact, that in this same reign of Charles II more steps were taken in the right direction than had been taken, in any period of equal length, during the twelve centuries we had occupied the soil of Britain. By the mere force of that intellectual movement, which was unwittingly supported by the crown, there were effected, in the course of a few years, reforms which changed the face of society. The most important of these reforms were carried, as is nearly always the case, in opposition to the real wishes of the ruling classes. Charles II and James II often said of the Habeas Corpus Act, "that a government could not subsist with such a law." The two great obstacles by which the nation had long been embarrassed, consisted of a spiritual tyranny and a territorial tyranny: the tyranny of the church and the tyranny of the nobles. An attempt was now made to remedy these evils; not by palliatives, but by striking at the power of the classes who did the mischief. For now it was that a law was placed on the statute-book, taking away that celebrated writ, which enabled the bishops or their delegates to cause those men to be burned whose religion was different to their own. This destruction of the writ *De Hæretico comburendo* was in 1667. Now it was that the clergy were deprived of the privilege of taxing themselves, and were forced to submit to an assessment made by the ordinary legislature. Now, too, there was enacted a law forbidding any bishop, or any ecclesiastical court, to tender the *ex-officio* oath, by which the church had hitherto enjoyed the power of compelling a suspected person to criminate himself. In regard to the nobles, it was also during the reign of Charles II that the house of lords, after a sharp struggle, was obliged to abandon its pretensions to an original jurisdiction in civil suits, and thus lost for ever an important resource for extending its own influence.

It was in the same reign that there was settled the right of the people to be taxed entirely by their representatives; the house of commons having ever since retained the sole power of proposing money bills, and regulating the amount of imposts, merely leaving to the peers the form of consenting to what

[1] His treatment of his young wife immediately after marriage is perhaps the worst thing recorded of this base and contemptible prince.

[2] Immediately after the Restoration, the custom began of appointing to naval commands incompetent youths of birth, to the discouragement of those able officers who had been employed under Cromwell.

[3] The court was so bent on abrogating the charter of the city of London, that Saunders was made chief-justice for the express purpose.

[4] The panic caused by this scandalous robbery is described by De Foe.

has been already determined. These were the attempts which were made to bridle the clergy and the nobles. But there were also effected other things of equal importance.

By the destruction of the scandalous prerogatives of purveyance and pre-emption, a limit was set to the power of the sovereign to vex his refractory subjects. By the Habeas Corpus Act, the liberty of every Englishman was made as certain as law could make it; it being guaranteed to him, that if accused of crime, he, instead of languishing in prison, as had often been the case, should be brought to a fair and speedy trial. By the Statute of Frauds and Perjuries, a security hitherto unknown was conferred upon private property. By the abolition of general impeachments, an end was put to a great engine of tyranny, with which powerful and unscrupulous men had frequently ruined their political adversaries.

By the cessation of those laws which restricted the liberty of printing, there was laid the foundation of that great public press, which, more than any other single cause, has diffused among the people a knowledge of their own power, and has thus, to an almost incredible extent, aided the progress of English civilisation. And, to complete this noble picture, there were finally destroyed those feudal incidents, which our Norman conquerors had imposed — the military tenures; the court of wards; the fines for alienation; the right of forfeiture for marriage by reason of tenure; the aids, the homages, the escuages, the primer seisins, and all those mischievous subtleties, of which the mere names sound in modern ears as a wild and barbarous jargon, but which pressed upon our ancestors as real and serious evils.

These were the things which were done in the reign of Charles II; and if we consider the miserable incompetence of the king, the idle profligacy of his court, the unblushing venality of his ministers, the constant conspiracies to which the country was exposed from within, and the unprecedented insults to which it was subjected from without; if we, moreover, consider that to all this there were added two natural calamities of the most grievous description — a great plague, which thinned society in all its ranks, and scattered confusion through the kingdom, and a great fire, which, besides increasing the mortality from the pestilence, destroyed in a moment those accumulations of industry by which industry itself is nourished — if we put all these things together, how can we reconcile inconsistencies apparently so gross? How could so wonderful a progress be made in the face of these unparalleled disasters? How could such men, under such circumstances, effect such improvements? These are questions which our political compilers are unable to answer; because they look too much at the peculiarities of individuals, and too little at the temper of the age in which those individuals live.

Such writers do not perceive that the history of every civilised country is the history of its intellectual development, which kings, statesmen, and legislators are more likely to retard than to hasten; because, however great their power may be, they are at best the accidental and insufficient representatives of the spirit of their time; and because, so far from being able to regulate the movements of the national mind, they themselves form the smallest part of it, and, in a general view of the progress of man, are only to be regarded as the puppets who strut and fret their hour upon a little stage; while, beyond them, and on every side of them, are forming opinions and principles which they can scarcely perceive, but by which alone the whole course of human affairs is ultimately governed.

The truth is, that the vast legislative reforms, for which the reign of Charles II is so remarkable, merely form a part of that movement, which,

though traceable to a much earlier period, had only for three generations been in undisguised operation. These important improvements were the result of that bold, sceptical, inquiring, and reforming spirit, which had now seized the three great departments of theology, of science, and of politics. The old principles of tradition, of authority, and of dogma, were gradually becoming weaker; and of course, in the same proportion, there was diminished the influence of the classes by whom those principles were chiefly upheld. As the power of particular sections of society thus declined, the power of the people at large increased. The real interests of the nation began to be perceived, so soon as the superstitions were dispersed by which those interests had long been obscured. This, I believe, is the real solution of what at first seems a curious problem — namely, how it was that such comprehensive reforms should have been accomplished in so bad, and in many respects so infamous, a reign.

It is, no doubt, true, that those reforms were essentially the result of the intellectual march of the age; but, so far from being made in spite of the vices of the sovereign, they were actually aided by them. With the exception of the needy profligates who thronged his court, all classes of men soon learned to despise a king who was a drunkard, a libertine, and a hypocrite; who had neither shame nor sensibility; and who, in point of honour, was unworthy to enter the presence of the meanest of his subjects. To have the throne filled for a quarter of a century by such a man as this, was the surest way of weakening that ignorant and indiscriminate loyalty, to which the people have often sacrificed their dearest rights. Thus, the character of the king, merely considered from this point of view, was eminently favourable to the growth of national liberty.[1]

But the advantage did not stop there. The reckless debaucheries of Charles made him abhor everything approaching to restraint; and this gave him a dislike to a class, whose profession, at least, pre-supposes a conduct of more than ordinary purity. The consequence was, that he, not from views of enlightened policy, but merely from a love of vicious indulgence, always had a distaste for the clergy; and, so far from advancing their power, frequently expressed for them an open contempt. His most intimate friends directed against them those coarse and profligate jokes which are preserved in the literature of the time; and which, in the opinion of the courtiers, were to be ranked among the noblest specimens of human wit. From men of this sort the church had, indeed, little to apprehend; but their language, and the favour with which it was received, are part of the symptoms by which we may study the temper of that age. Many other illustrations will occur to most readers; I may, however, mention one, which is interesting on account of the eminence of the philosopher concerned in it.

The most dangerous opponent of the clergy in the seventeenth century, was certainly Hobbes, the subtlest dialectician of his time; a writer, too, of singular clearness, and among British metaphysicians, inferior only to Berkeley. This profound thinker published several speculations very unfavourable to the church, and directly opposed to principles which are essential to ecclesiastical authority. As a natural consequence, he was hated by the clergy;

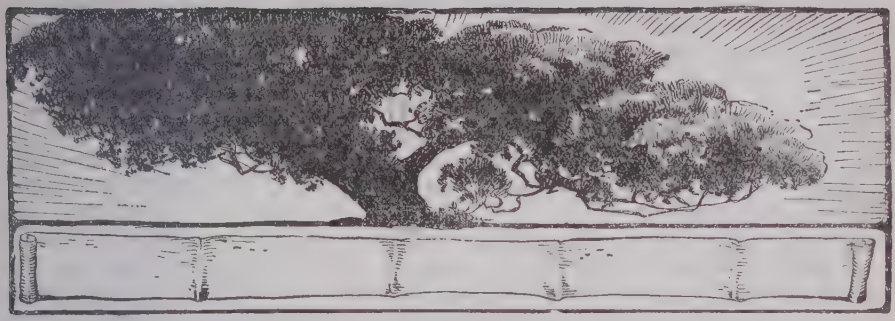
[1] Mr. Hallam[b] has a noble passage on the services rendered to English civilisation by the vices of the English court: "We are, however, much indebted to the memory of Barbara duchess of Cleveland, Louisa duchess of Portsmouth, and Mrs. Eleanor Gwyn. We owe a tribute of gratitude to the Mays, the Killigrews, the Chiffinches, and the Grammonts. They played a serviceable part in ridding the kingdom of its besotted loyalty. They saved our forefathers from the Star Chamber and the High-commission court; they laboured in their vocation against standing armies and corruption; they pressed forward the great ultimate security of English freedom — the expulsion of the House of Stuart."

his doctrines were declared to be highly pernicious; and he was accused of wishing to subvert the national religion, and corrupt the national morals. So far did this proceed, that, during his life, and for several years after his death, every man who ventured to think for himself was stigmatised as a Hobbist, or, as it was sometimes called, a Hobbian. This marked hostility on the part of the clergy was a sufficient recommendation to the favour of Charles. The king, even before his accession, had imbibed many of his principles; and, after the Restoration, he treated the author with what was deemed a scandalous respect.

If we look for a moment at the ecclesiastical appointments of Charles, we shall find evidence of the same tendency. In his reign, the highest dignities in the church were invariably conferred upon men who were deficient either in ability or in honesty. It would perhaps be an over-refinement to ascribe to the king a deliberate plan for lowering the reputation of the Episcopal bench; but it is certain, that if he had such a plan, he followed the course most likely to effect his purpose. For it is no exaggeration to say, that, during his life, the leading English prelates were, without exception, either incapable or insincere; they were unable to defend what they really believed, or else they did not believe what they openly professed. Never before were the interests of the Anglican church so feebly guarded.

The truth seems to be, that Charles was unwilling to confer ecclesiastical promotion upon any one who had ability enough to increase the authority of the church, and restore it to its former pre-eminence. At his accession, the two ablest of the clergy were undoubtedly Jeremy Taylor and Isaac Barrow. Both of them were notorious for their loyalty; both of them were men of unspotted virtue; and both of them have left a reputation which will hardly perish while the English language is remembered. But Taylor, though he had married the king's sister, was treated with marked neglect; and, being exiled to an Irish bishopric, had to pass the remainder of his life in what, at that time, was truly called a barbarous country. As to Barrow, who, in point of genius, was probably superior to Taylor, he had the mortification of seeing the most incapable men raised to the highest posts in the church, while he himself was unnoticed.

It is hardly necessary to point out how all this must have tended to weaken the church, and accelerate that great movement for which the reign of Charles II is remarkable. At the same time, there were many other circumstances which it is impossible to notice, but which were stamped with the general character of revolt against ancient authority. Enough, however, has been stated, to indicate the general march of the English mind, and supply the reader with a clue by which he may understand those still more complicated events, which, as the seventeenth century advanced, began to thicken upon us.[k]



CHAPTER IX

THE STATE OF ENGLAND IN 1685

POPULATION; TAXATION

One of the first objects of an inquirer, who wishes to form a correct notion of the state of a community at a given time, must be to ascertain of how many persons that community then consisted. Unfortunately the population of England in 1685 cannot be ascertained with perfect accuracy. For no great state had then adopted the wise course of periodically numbering the people. All men were left to conjecture for themselves; and, as they generally conjectured without examining facts, and under the influence of strong passions and prejudices, their guesses were often ludicrously absurd. Even intelligent Londoners ordinarily talked of London as containing several millions of souls. It was confidently asserted by many that, during the thirty-five years which had elapsed between the accession of Charles I and the Restoration, the population of the city had increased by two millions. Even while the ravages of the plague and fire were recent, it was the fashion to say that the capital still had a million and a half of inhabitants. Some persons, disgusted by these exaggerations, ran violently into the opposite extreme. Thus Isaac Vossius, a man of undoubted parts and learning, strenuously maintained that there were only two millions of human beings in England, Scotland, and Ireland taken together.

We are not, however, left without the means of correcting the wild blunders into which some minds were hurried by national vanity and others by a morbid love of paradox. There are extant three computations which seem to be entitled to peculiar attention. They are entirely independent of each other: they proceed on different principles; and yet there is little difference in the results.

One of these computations was made in the year 1696 by Gregory King, Lancaster herald, a political arithmetician of great acuteness and judgment. The basis of his calculations was the number of houses returned in 1690 by the officers who made the last collection of the hearth money. The conclusion at which he arrived was that the population of England was nearly five millions and a half.

About the same time King William III was desirous to ascertain the com-

parative strength of the religious sects into which the community was divided. An inquiry was instituted; and reports were laid before him from all the dioceses of the realm. According to these reports the number of his English subjects must have been about five million two hundred thousand. Lastly, Mr. Finlaison, an actuary of eminent skill, subjected the ancient parochial registers to all the tests which the modern improvements in statistical science enabled him to apply. His opinion was, that, at the close of the seventeenth century, the population of England was a little under five million two hundred thousand souls.

Of these three estimates, framed without concert by different persons from different sets of materials, the highest, which is that of King, does not exceed the lowest, which is that of Finlaison, by one-twelfth. We may, therefore, with confidence pronounce that, when James II reigned, England contained between five million and five million five hundred thousand inhabitants.

Of the taxation we can speak with more confidence and precision than of the population. The revenue of England, when Charles II died, was small, when compared with the resources which she even then possessed, or with the sums which were raised by the governments of the neighbouring countries. It had, from the time of the Restoration, been almost constantly increasing: yet it was little more than three-fourths of the revenue of the United Provinces, and was hardly one-fifth of the revenue of France.

The most important head of receipt was the excise, which, in the last year of the reign of Charles, produced 585,000 pounds, clear of all deductions. The net proceeds of the customs amounted in the same year to five hundred and thirty thousand pounds. These burdens did not lie very heavy on the nation. The tax on chimneys, though less productive, raised far louder murmurs. The discontent excited by direct imposts is, indeed, almost always out of proportion to the quantity of money which they bring into the exchequer; and the tax on chimneys was, even among direct imposts, peculiarly odious: for it could be levied only by means of domiciliary visits; and of such visits the English have always been impatient to a degree which the people of other countries can but faintly conceive. The poorer householders were frequently unable to pay their hearth money to the day. When this happened, their furniture was distrained without mercy: for the tax was farmed; and a farmer of taxes is, of all creditors, proverbially the most rapacious. The collectors were loudly accused of performing their unpopular duty with harshness and insolence. It was said that, as soon as they appeared at the threshold of a cottage, the children began to wail, and the old women ran to hide their earthenware. Nay, the single bed of a poor family had sometimes been carried away and sold. The net annual receipt from this tax was two hundred thousand pounds.

When to the three great sources of income which have been mentioned we add the royal domains, then far more extensive than at present, the first fruits and tenths, which had not yet been surrendered to the church, the duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster, the forfeitures and the fines, we shall find that the whole annual revenue of the crown may be fairly estimated at about fourteen hundred thousand pounds. Of this revenue part was hereditary: the rest had been granted to Charles for life; and he was at liberty to lay out the whole exactly as he thought fit. Whatever he could save by retrenching the expenditure of the public departments was an addition to his privy purse. Of the post office, more will hereafter be said. The profits of that establishment had been appropriated by parliament to the duke of York.

[1685 A.D.]

The king's revenue was, or rather ought to have been, charged with the payment of about eighty thousand pounds a year, the interest of the sum fraudulently detained in the exchequer by the Cabal. While Danby was at the head of the finances, the creditors had received their dividends, though not with the strict punctuality of modern times: but those who had succeeded him at the treasury had been less expert, or less solicitous to maintain public faith. Since the victory won by the court over the whigs, not a farthing had been paid; and no redress was granted to the sufferers till a new dynasty had established a new system. There can be no greater error than to imagine that the device of meeting the exigencies of the state by loans was imported into our island by William III. From a period of immemorial antiquity it had been the practice of every English government to contract debts. What the Revolution introduced was the practice of honestly paying them.

THE MILITARY SYSTEM

By plundering the public creditor, it was possible to make an income of about fourteen hundred thousand pounds, with some occasional help from France, support the necessary charges of the government and the wasteful expenditure of the court. For that load which pressed most heavily on the finances of the great continental states was here scarcely felt. In France, Germany, and the Netherlands, armies, such as Henry IV and Philip II had never employed in time of war, were kept up in the midst of peace. Bastions and ravelins were everywhere rising, constructed on principles unknown to Parma or Spinola. Stores of artillery and ammunition were accumulated, such as even Richelieu, whom the preceding generation had regarded as a worker of prodigies, would have pronounced fabulous. No man could journey many leagues in those countries without hearing the drums of a regiment on march, or being challenged by the sentinels on the drawbridge of a fortress. In our island, on the contrary, it was possible to live long and to travel far, without being once reminded, by any martial sight or sound, that the defence of nations had become a science and a calling. The majority of Englishmen who were under twenty-five years of age had probably never seen a company of regular soldiers. Of the cities which, in the civil war, had valiantly repelled hostile armies, scarce one was now capable of sustaining a siege. The gates stood open night and day. The ditches were dry. The ramparts had been suffered to fall into decay, or were repaired only that the townsfolk might have a pleasant walk on summer evenings. Of the old baronial keeps many had been shattered by the cannon of Fairfax and Cromwell, and lay in heaps of ruin, overgrown with ivy. Those which remained had lost their martial character, and were now rural palaces of the aristocracy. The moats were turned into preserves of carp and pike. The mounds were planted with fragrant shrubs, through which spiral walks ran up to summer houses adorned with mirrors and paintings.

The only army which the law recognised was the militia. That force had been remodelled by two acts of parliament passed shortly after the Restoration. Every man who possessed five hundred pounds a year derived from land, or six thousand pounds of personal estate was bound to provide, equip, and pay, at his own charge, one horseman. Every man who had fifty pounds a year derived from land, or six hundred pounds of personal estate, was charged in like manner with one pikeman or musketeer. Smaller proprietors were joined together in a kind of society, for which our language does not afford a special name, but which an Athenian would have called a *Synteleia;*

and each society was required to furnish, according to its means, a horse soldier or a foot soldier. The whole number of cavalry and infantry thus maintained was popularly estimated at a hundred and thirty thousand men

There were those who looked on the militia with no friendly eye. Men who had travelled much on the Continent, who had marvelled at the stern precision with which every sentinel moved and spoke in the citadels built by Vauban, who had seen the mighty armies which poured along all the roads of Germany to chase the Ottoman from the gates of Vienna, and who had been dazzled by the well ordered pomp of the household troops of Louis, sneered much at the way in which the peasants of Devonshire and Yorkshire marched and wheeled, shouldered muskets and ported pikes. The enemies of the liberties and religion of England looked with aversion on a force which could not, without extreme risk, be employed against those liberties and that religion, and missed no opportunity of throwing ridicule on the rustic soldiery. Enlightened patriots, when they contrasted these rude levies with the battalions which, in time of war, a few hours might bring to the coast of Kent or Sussex, were forced to acknowledge that, dangerous as it might be to keep up a permanent military establishment, it might be more dangerous still to stake the honour and independence of the country on the result of a contest between ploughmen officered by justices of the peace, and veteran warriors led by marshals of France.

In parliament, however, it was necessary to express such opinions with some reserve; for the militia was an institution eminently popular. Every reflection thrown on it excited the indignation of both the great parties in the state, and especially of that party which was distinguished by peculiar zeal for monarchy and for the Anglican church. The array of the counties was commanded almost exclusively by tory noblemen and gentlemen. They were proud of their military rank, and considered an insult offered to the service to which they belonged as offered to themselves. They were also perfectly aware that whatever was said against a militia was said in favour of a standing army; and the name of standing army was hateful to them. One such army had held dominion in England; and under that dominion the king had been murdered, the nobility degraded, the landed gentry plundered, the church persecuted. There was scarce a rural grandee who could not tell a story of wrongs and insults suffered by himself, or by his father, at the hands of the parliamentary soldiers. One old cavalier had seen half his manor house blown up. The hereditary elms of another had been hewn down. A third could never go into his parish church without being reminded by the defaced scutcheons and headless statues of his ancestry, that Oliver's redcoats had once stabled their horses there. The consequence was that those very royalists, who were most ready to fight for the king themselves, were the last persons who he could venture to ask for the means of hiring regular troops.

Charles, however, had, a few months after his restoration, begun to form a small standing army. He felt that, without some better protection than that of the trainbands and beefeaters, his palace and person would hardly be secure, in the vicinity of a great city swarming with warlike fifth-monarchy men who had just been disbanded. He therefore, careless and profuse as he was, contrived to spare from his pleasures a sum sufficient to keep up a body of guards. With the increase of trade and of public wealth his revenues increased; and he was thus enabled, in spite of the occasional murmurs of the commons, to make gradual additions to his regular forces. One considerable addition was made a few months before the close of his reign. The costly, useless, and pestilential settlement of Tangier was abandoned to the

barbarians who dwelt around it; and the garrison, consisting of one regiment of horse and two regiments of foot, was brought to England.

Since the beginning of the seventeenth century a great change had taken place in the arms of the infantry. The pike had been gradually giving place to the musket; and, at the close of the reign of Charles II, most of his foot were musketeers. Still, however, there was a large intermixture of pikemen. Each class of troops was occasionally instructed in the use of the weapon which peculiarly belonged to the other class. Every foot soldier had at his side a sword for close fight. The dragoon was armed like a musketeer, and was also provided with a weapon which had, during many years, been gradually coming into use, and which the English then called a dagger, but which, from the time of our Revolution, has been known among us by the French name of bayonet. The bayonet seems not to have been so formidable an instrument of destruction as it has since become; for it was inserted in the muzzle of the gun; and in action much time was lost while the soldier unfixed his bayonet in order to fire, and fixed it again in order to charge.

The regular army which was kept up in England at the beginning of the year 1685 consisted, all ranks included, of about seven thousand foot, and about seventeen hundred cavalry and dragoons. The whole charge amounted to about two hundred and ninety thousand pounds a year, less than a tenth part of what the military establishment of France then cost in time of peace. The daily pay of a private in the life-guards was four shillings, in the Blues two shillings and sixpence, in the dragoons eighteenpence, in the foot-guards tenpence, and in the line eightpence. The discipline was lax, and indeed could not be otherwise. The common law of England knew nothing of courts martial, and made no distinction, in time of peace, between a soldier and any other subject; nor could the government then venture to ask even the most loyal parliament for a mutiny bill. A soldier, therefore, by knocking down his colonel, incurred only the ordinary penalties of assault and battery, and by refusing to obey orders, by sleeping on guard, or by deserting his colours, incurred no legal penalty at all. Military punishments were doubtless inflicted during the reign of Charles II; but they were inflicted very sparingly, and in such a manner as not to attract public notice, or to produce an appeal to the courts of Westminister Hall.

THE NAVY

If the jealousy of the parliament and of the nation made it impossible for the king to maintain a formidable standing army, no similar impediment prevented him from making England the first of maritime powers. Both whigs and tories were ready to applaud every step tending to increase the efficiency of that force which, while it was the best protection of the island against foreign enemies, was powerless against civil liberty. All the greatest exploits achieved within the memory of that generation by English soldiers had been achieved in war against English princes. The victories of our sailors had been won over foreign foes, and had averted havoc and rapine from our own soil. By at least half the nation the battle of Naseby was remembered with horror, and the battle of Dunbar with pride chequered by many painful feelings: but the defeat of the Armada, and the encounters of Blake with the Hollanders and Spaniards, were recollected with unmixed exultation by all parties. Ever since the Restoration, the commons, even when most discontented and most parsimonious, had always been bountiful even to profusion where the interest of the navy was concerned. It had been represented to

them, while Danby was minister, that many of the vessels in the royal fleet were old and unfit for sea; and, although the house was, at that time, in no giving mood, an aid of near six hundred thousand pounds had been granted for the building of thirty new men-of-war.

But the liberality of the nation had been made fruitless by the vices of the government. The list of the king's ships, it is true, looked well. There were nine first rates, fourteen second rates, thirty-nine third rates, and many smaller vessels. This force, however, if it had been efficient, would in those days have been regarded by the greatest potentate as formidable. But it existed only on paper. When the reign of Charles terminated, his navy had sunk into degradation and decay, such as would be almost incredible if it was not certified to us by the independent and concurring evidence of witnesses whose authority is beyond exception. Pepys, the ablest man in the English admiralty, drew up, in the year 1684, a memorial on the state of his department, for the information of Charles. A few months later Bonrepaux, the ablest man in the French admiralty, having visited England for the especial purpose of ascertaining her maritime strength, laid the result of his inquiries before Louis. The two reports are to the same effect. Bonrepaux declared that he found everything in disorder and in miserable condition, that the superiority of the French marine was acknowledged with shame and envy at Whitehall, and that the state of our shipping and dockyards was of itself sufficient guarantee that we should not meddle in the disputes of Europe. Pepys informed his master that the naval administration was a prodigy of wastefulness, corruption, ignorance, and indolence, that no estimate could be trusted, that no contract was performed, that no check was enforced. The vessels which the recent liberality of parliament had enabled the government to build, and which had never been out of harbour, had been made of such wretched timber that they were more unfit to go to sea than the old hulls which had been battered thirty years before by Dutch and Spanish broadsides. Some of the new men of war, indeed, were so rotten that, unless speedily repaired, they would go down at their moorings. The sailors were paid with so little punctuality that they were glad to find some usurer who would purchase their tickets at forty per cent. discount. The commanders who had not powerful friends at court were even worse treated. Some officers, to whom large arrears were due, after vainly importuning the government during many years, had died for want of a morsel of bread.

Most of the ships which were afloat were commanded by men who had not been bred to the sea. This, it is true, was not an abuse introduced by the government of Charles. No state, ancient or modern, had, before that time, made a complete separation between the naval and military services. In the great civilised nations of the old world, Cimon and Lysander, Pompey and Agrippa, had fought battles by sea as well as by land. Nor had the impulse which nautical science received at the close of the fifteenth century produced any material improvement in the division of labour. At Flodden the right wing of the victorious army was led by the admiral of England. At Jarnac and Moncontour the Huguenot ranks were marshalled by the admiral of France. Neither John of Austria, the conqueror of Lepanto, nor Lord Howard of Effingham, to whose direction the marine of England was entrusted when the Spanish invaders were approaching our shores, had received the education of a sailor. Raleigh, highly celebrated as a naval commander, had served during many years as a soldier in France, the Netherlands, and Ireland. Blake had distinguished himself by his skilful and valiant defence of an inland town before he humbled the pride of Holland and of Castile on the

ocean. Since the Restoration the same system had been followed. Great fleets had been entrusted to the direction of Rupert and Monk: Rupert, who was renowned chiefly as a hot and daring cavalry officer; and Monk, who, when he wished his ship to change her course, moved the mirth of his crew by calling out, "Wheel to the left!"

But about this time wise men began to perceive that the rapid improvement, both of the art of war and of the art of navigation, made it necessary to draw a line between two professions which had hitherto been confounded. Either the command of a regiment or the command of a ship was now a matter quite sufficient to occupy the attention of a single mind. In the year 1672 the French government determined to educate young men of good family from a very early age specially for the sea service. But the English government, instead of following this excellent example, not only continued to distribute high naval commands among landsmen, but selected for such commands landsmen who, even on land, could not safely have been put in any important trust. Any lad of noble birth, any dissolute courtier for whom one of the king's mistresses would speak a word, might hope that a ship of the line, and with it the honour of the country and the lives of hundreds of brave men, would be committed to his care. It mattered not that he had never in his life taken a voyage except on the Thames, that he could not keep his feet in a breeze, that he did not know the difference between latitude and longitude. No previous training was thought necessary; or, at most, he was sent to make a short trip in a man-of-war, where he was subjected to no discipline, where he was treated with marked respect, and where he lived in a round of revels and amusements. If, in the intervals of feasting, drinking, and gambling, he succeeded in learning the meaning of a few technical phrases and the names of the points of the compass, he was fully qualified to take charge of a threedecker.

Such was the ordinary character of those who were then called gentlemen captains. Mingled with them were to be found, happily for our country, naval commanders of a very different description, men whose whole life had been passed on the deep, and who had worked and fought their way from the lowest offices of the forecastle to rank and distinction. One of the most eminent of these officers was Sir Christopher Mings, who entered the service as a cabin boy, who fell fighting bravely against the Dutch, and whom his crew, weeping and vowing vengeance, carried to the grave. From him sprang, by a singular kind of descent, a line of valiant and expert sailors. His cabin boy was Sir John Narborough; and the cabin boy of Sir John Narborough was Sir Cloudesley Shovel. To the strong natural sense and dauntless courage of this class of men England owes a debt never to be forgotten. It was by such resolute hearts that, in spite of much maladministration, and in spite of the blunders of more courtly admirals, our coasts were protected and the reputation of our flag upheld during many gloomy and perilous years.

But to a landsman these tarpaulins, as they were called, seemed a strange and half savage race. All their knowledge was professional; and their professional knowledge was practical rather than scientific. Off their own element they were as simple as children. Their deportment was uncouth. There was roughness in their very good nature; and their talk, where it was not made up of nautical phrases, was too commonly made up of oaths and curses. Such were the chiefs in whose rude school were formed those sturdy warriors from whom Smollet, in the next age, drew Lieutenant Bowling and Commodore Trunnion. But it does not appear that there was in the service of any of the Stuarts a single naval officer such as, according to the notions of our

times, a naval officer ought to be — that is to say, a man versed in the theory and practice of his calling, and steeled against all the dangers of battle and tempest, yet of cultivated mind and polished manners. There were gentlemen and there were seamen in the navy of Charles II. But the seamen were not gentlemen; and the gentlemen were not seamen.

The English navy at that time might, according to the most exact estimates which have come down to us, have been kept in an efficient state for £380,000 a year. Four hundred thousand pounds a year was the sum actually expended, but expended, as we have seen, to very little purpose. The cost of the French marine was nearly the same, the cost of the Dutch marine considerably more.

CHARGE OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT

Of the expense of civil government only a small portion was defrayed by the crown. The great majority of the functionaries whose business was to administer justice and preserve order either gave their services to the public gratuitously, or were remunerated in a manner which caused no drain on the revenue of the state. The sheriffs, mayors, and aldermen of the towns, the country gentlemen who were in the commission of the peace, the head boroughs, bailiffs, and petty constables, cost the king nothing. The superior courts of law were chiefly supported by fees.

Our relations with foreign courts had been put on the most economical footing. The only diplomatic agent who had the title of ambassador resided at Constantinople, and was partly supported by the Turkey Company. Even at the court of Versailles, England had only an envoy; and she had not even an envoy at the Spanish, Swedish, and Danish courts. The whole expense under this head cannot, in the last year of the reign of Charles II, have much exceeded £20,000.

In this frugality there was nothing laudable. Charles was, as usual, niggardly in the wrong place, and munificent in the wrong place. The public service was starved that courtiers might be pampered. The expense of the navy, of the ordnance, of pensions to needy old officers, of missions to foreign courts, must seem small indeed to the present generation. But the personal favourites of the sovereign, his ministers, and the creatures of those ministers, were gorged with public money. Their salaries and pensions, when compared with the incomes of the nobility, the gentry, the commercial and professional men of that age, will appear enormous. The greatest estates in the kingdom then very little exceeded £20,000 a year. The duke of Ormonde had £22,000 a year. The duke of Buckingham, before his extravagance had impaired his great property, had nineteen thousand six hundred a year. George Monk, duke of Albemarle, who had been rewarded for his eminent services with immense grants of crown land, and who had been notorious both for covetousness and for parsimony, left £15,000 a year of real estate, and £60,000 in money which probably yielded seven per cent. These three dukes were supposed to be three of the richest subjects in England. The archbishop of Canterbury can hardly have had £5,000 a year. The average income of a temporal peer was estimated, by the best informed persons, at about £3,000 a year, the average income of a baronet at £900 a year, the average income of a member of the house of commons at less than £800 a year. A thousand a year was thought a large revenue for a barrister. Two thousand a year was hardly to be made in the court of King's Bench, except by the crown lawyers.

It is evident, therefore, that an official man would have been well paid if

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he had received a fourth or fifth part of what would now be an adequate stipend. In fact, however, the stipends of the higher class of official men were as large as at present, and not seldom larger. The lord treasurer, for example, had £8,000 a year, and, when the treasury was in commission, the junior lords had £1,600 a year each. The paymaster of the forces had a poundage, amounting to about £5,000 a year, on all the money which passed through his hands. The groom of the stole had £5,000 a year, the commissioners of the customs £1,200 a year each, the lords of the bed chamber £1,000 a year each. The regular salary, however, was the smallest part of the gains of an official man of that age. From the noblemen who held the white staff and the great seal, down to the humblest tidewaiter and gauger, what would now be called gross corruption was practised without disguise and without reproach. Titles, places, commissions, pardons were daily sold in market overt by the great dignitaries of the realm; and every clerk in every department imitated, to the best of his power, the evil example.

During the last century no prime minister, however powerful, has become rich in office; and several prime ministers have impaired their private fortune in sustaining their public character. In the seventeenth century, a statesman who was at the head of affairs might easily, and without giving scandal, accumulate in no long time an estate amply sufficient to support a dukedom. It is probable that the income of the prime minister, during his tenure of power, far exceeded that of any other subject. The place of lord lieutenant of Ireland was supposed to be worth £40,000 a year. The gains of the chancellor Clarendon, of Arlington, of Lauderdale, and of Danby were enormous. The sumptuous palace to which the populace of London gave the name of Dunkirk House, the stately pavilions, the fish ponds, the deer park and the orangery of Euston, the more than Italian luxury of Ham, with its busts, fountains, and aviaries, were among the many signs which indicated what was the shortest road to boundless wealth.

This is the true explanation of the unscrupulous violence with which the statesmen of that day struggled for office, of the tenacity with which, in spite of vexations, humiliations, and dangers, they clung to it, and of the scandalous compliances to which they stooped in order to retain it. Even in our own age, formidable as is the power of opinion, and high as is the standard of integrity, there would be great risk of a lamentable change in the character of our public men, if the place of first lord of the treasury or secretary of state were worth £100,000 a year. Happily for our country the emoluments of the highest class of functionaries have not only not grown in proportion to the general growth of our opulence, but have positively diminished.

STATE OF AGRICULTURE

The fact that the sum raised in England by taxation has, in a time not exceeding two long lives, been multiplied thirtyfold, is strange, and may at first sight seem appalling. But those who are alarmed by the increase of the public burdens may perhaps be reassured when they have considered the increase of the public resources. In the year 1685, the value of the produce of the soil far exceeded the value of all the other fruits of human industry Yet agriculture was in what would now be considered as a very rude and imperfect state. The arable land and pasture land were not supposed by the best political arithmeticians of that age to amount to much more than half the area of the kingdom. The remainder was believed to consist of

moor, forest, and fen. These computations are strongly confirmed by the road books and maps of the seventeenth century. From those books and maps it is clear that many routes which now pass through an endless succession of orchards, hayfields, and beanfields, then ran through nothing but heath, swamp, and warren. In the drawings of English landscapes made in that age for the grand duke Cosmo, scarce a hedgerow is to be seen, and numerous tracts, now rich with cultivation, appear as bare as Salisbury Plain. At Enfield, hardly out of sight of the smoke of the capital, was a region of five and twenty miles in circumference, which contained only three houses and scarcely any enclosed fields. Deer, as free as in an American forest, wandered there by thousands.

It is to be remarked that wild animals of large size were then far more numerous than at present. The last wild boars, indeed, which had been preserved for the royal diversion, and had been allowed to ravage the cultivated land with their tusks, had been slaughtered by the exasperated rustics during the license of the civil war. The last wolf that has roamed our island had been slain in Scotland a short time before the close of the reign of Charles II. But many breeds, now extinct or rare, both of quadrupeds and birds, were still common. The fox, whose life is, in many counties, held almost as sacred as that of a human being, was considered as a mere nuisance. Oliver Saint John told the Long Parliament that Strafford was to be regarded, not as a stag or a hare, to whom some law was to be given, but as a fox, who was to be snared by any means, and knocked on the head without pity. This illustration would be by no means a happy one, if addressed to country gentlemen of our time; but in Saint John's days there were not seldom great massacres of foxes to which the peasantry thronged with all the dogs that could be mustered: traps were set; nets were spread; no quarter was given; and to shoot a female with cub was considered as a feat which merited the gratitude of the neighbourhood. The red deer were then as common in Gloucestershire and Hampshire as they now are among the Grampian Hills. On one occasion Queen Anne, on her way to Portsmouth, saw a herd of no less than five hundred. The wild bull with his white mane was still to be found wandering in a few of the southern forests. The badger made his dark and tortuous hole on the side of every hill where the copsewood grew thick. The wild cats were frequently heard by night wailing round the lodges of the rangers of Whittlebury and Needwood. The yellow-breasted marten was still pursued in Cranbourne Chase for his fur, reputed inferior only to that of the sable. Fen eagles, measuring more than nine feet between the extremities of the wings, preyed on fish along the coast of Norfolk. On all the downs, from the British Channel to Yorkshire, huge bustards strayed in troops of fifty or sixty, and were often hunted with greyhounds. The marshes of Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire were covered during some months of every year by immense clouds of cranes. Some of these races the progress of cultivation has extirpated. Of others the numbers are so much diminished that men crowd to gaze at a specimen as at a Bengal tiger or a Polar bear.

Even in those parts of the kingdom which at the close of the reign of Charles II were the best cultivated, the farming, though greatly improved since the civil war, was not such as would now be thought skilful. To this day no effectual steps have been taken by public authority for the purpose of obtaining accurate accounts of the produce of the English soil. The historian must therefore follow, with some misgivings, the guidance of those writers on statistics whose reputation for diligence and fidelity stands highest. At present an average crop of wheat, rye, barley, oats, and beans, is supposed

considerably to exceed thirty millions of quarters. The crop of wheat would be thought wretched if it did not exceed twelve millions of quarters. According to the computation made in the year 1696 by Gregory King, the whole quantity of wheat, rye, barley, oats, and beans, then annually grown in the kingdom, was somewhat less than ten millions of quarters. The wheat, which was then cultivated only on the strongest clay, and consumed only by those who were in easy circumstances, he estimated at less than two millions of quarters. Charles Davenant, an acute and well informed though most unprincipled and rancorous politician, differed from King as to some of the items of the account, but came to nearly the same general conclusions.

The rotation of crops was very imperfectly understood. It was known, indeed, that some vegetables lately introduced into our island, particularly the turnip, afforded excellent nutriment in winter to sheep and oxen: but it was not yet the practice to feed cattle in this manner. It was therefore by no means easy to keep them alive during the season when the grass is scanty. They were killed and salted in great numbers at the beginning of the cold weather; and, during several months, even the gentry tasted scarcely any fresh animal food, except game and river fish, which were consequently much more important articles in housekeeping than at present. It appears from the *Northumberland Household Book* that, in the reign of Henry VII, fresh meat was never eaten even by the gentlemen attendant on a great earl, except during the short interval between Midsummer and Michaelmas. But in the course of two centuries an improvement had taken place; and under Charles II it was not till the beginning of November that families laid in their stock of salt provisions, then called Martinmas beef.

The sheep and the oxen of that time were diminutive when compared with the sheep and oxen which are now driven to our markets. Our native horses, though serviceable, were held in small esteem, and fetched low prices. They were valued, one with another, by the ablest of those who computed the national wealth, at not more than fifty shillings each. Foreign breeds were greatly preferred. Spanish jennets were regarded as the finest chargers, and were imported for purposes of pageantry and war. The coaches of the aristocracy were drawn by grey Flemish mares, which trotted, as it was thought, with a peculiar grace, and endured better than any cattle reared in our island the work of dragging a ponderous equipage over the rugged pavement of London. Neither the modern dray horse nor the modern race horse was then known.

MINERAL WEALTH OF THE COUNTRY

The increase of vegetable and animal produce, though great, seems small when compared with the increase of our mineral wealth. In 1685 the tin of Cornwall, which had, more than two thousand years before, attracted the Tyrian sails beyond the pillars of Hercules, was still one of the most valuable subterranean productions of the island. The quantity annually extracted from the earth was found to be, some years later, sixteen hundred tons, probably about a third of what it now is. But the veins of copper which lie in the same region were, in the time of Charles II, altogether neglected, nor did any landowner take them into the account in estimating the value of his property. Cornwall and Wales at present yield annually near fifteen thousand tons of copper, worth near a million and a half sterling; that is to say, worth about twice as much as the annual produce of all English mines of all descriptions in the seventeenth century. The first bed of rock salt had been

discovered not long after the Restoration in Cheshire, but does not appear to have been worked in that age. The salt which was obtained by a rude process from brine pits was held in no high estimation. The pans in which the manufacture was carried on exhaled a sulphurous stench; and, when the evaporation was complete, the substance which was left was scarcely fit to be used with food. Physicians attributed the scorbutic and pulmonary complaints which were common among the English to this unwholesome condiment. It was therefore seldom used by the upper and middle classes; and there was a regular and considerable importation from France. At present our springs and mines not only supply our own immense demand, but send annually more than seven hundred millions of pounds of excellent salt to foreign countries.

Far more important has been the improvement of our iron works. Such works had long existed in our island, but had not prospered, and had been regarded with no favourable eye by the government and by the public. It was not then the practice to employ coal for smelting the ore; and the rapid consumption of wood excited the alarm of politicians. As early as the reign of Elizabeth there had been loud complaints that whole forests were cut down for the purpose of feeding the furnaces: and the parliament had interfered to prohibit the manufacturers from burning timber. The manufacture consequently languished. At the close of the reign of Charles II, great part of the iron which was used in the country was imported from abroad; and the whole quantity cast here annually seems not to have exceeded ten thousand tons.

One mineral, perhaps more important than iron itself, remains to be mentioned. Coal, though very little used in any species of manufacture, was already the ordinary fuel in some districts which were fortunate enough to possess large beds, and in the capital, which could easily be supplied by water carriage. It seems reasonable to believe that at least one-half of the quantity then extracted from the pits was consumed in London. The consumption of London seemed to the writers of that age enormous, and was often mentioned by them as a proof of the greatness of the imperial city. They scarcely hoped to be believed when they affirmed that two hundred and eighty thousand chaldrons, that is to say, about three hundred and fifty thousand tons, were, in the last year of the reign of Charles II, brought to the Thames.

THE COUNTRY GENTLEMEN; THE CLERGY

While these great changes have been in progress, the rent of land has, as might be expected, been almost constantly rising. A country gentleman who witnessed the Revolution was probably in receipt of about a fourth part of the rent which his acres now yield to his posterity. He was, therefore, as compared with his posterity, a poor man, and was generally under the necessity of residing, with little interruption, on his estate. To travel on the Continent, to maintain an establishment in London, or even to visit London frequently were pleasures in which only the great proprietors could indulge. It may be confidently affirmed that of the squires whose names were then in the commissons of peace and lieutenancy not one in twenty went to town once in five years, or had ever in his life wandered so far as Paris. Many lords of manors had received an education differing little from that of their menial servants. The heir of an estate often passed his boyhood and youth at the seat of his family with no better tutors than grooms and game-

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keepers, and scarce attained learning enough to sign his name to a mittimus. If he went to school and to college, he generally returned before he was twenty to the seclusion of the old hall, and there, unless his mind were very happily constituted by nature, soon forgot his academical pursuits in rural business and pleasures.

His chief serious employment was the care of his property. He examined samples of grain, handled pigs, and, on market days, made bargains over a tankard with drovers and hop merchants. His chief pleasures were commonly derived from field sports and from an unrefined sensuality. His language and pronunciation were such as we should now expect to hear only from the most ignorant clowns. His oaths, coarse jests, and scurrilous terms of abuse were uttered with the broadest accent of his province. It was easy to discern, from the first words which he spoke, whether he came from Somersetshire or Yorkshire. He troubled himself little about decorating his abode, and, if he attempted decoration, seldom produced anything but deformity. The litter of a farmyard gathered under the windows of his bedchamber, and the cabbages and gooseberry bushes grew close to his hall door. His table was loaded with coarse plenty; and guests were cordially welcomed to it. But, as the habit of drinking to excess was general in the class to which he belonged, and as his fortune did not enable him to intoxicate large assemblies daily with claret or canary, strong beer was the ordinary beverage. The quantity of beer consumed in those days was indeed enormous. For beer then was to the middle and lower classes not only all that beer now is, but all that wine, tea, and ardent spirits now are. It was only at great houses, or on great occasions, that foreign drink was placed on the board. The ladies of the house, whose business it had commonly been to cook the repast, retired as soon as the dishes had been devoured, and left the gentlemen to their ale and tobacco. The coarse jollity of the afternoon was often prolonged till the revellers were laid under the table.

The place of the clergyman in society had been completely changed by the Reformation. Before that event, ecclesiastics had formed the majority of the house of lords, had, in wealth and splendour, equalled, and sometimes outshone, the greatest of the temporal barons, and had generally held the highest civil offices. The lord treasurer was often a bishop. The lord chancellor was almost always so. The lord keeper of the privy seal and the master of the rolls were ordinarily churchmen. Churchmen transacted the most important diplomatic business. Indeed, almost all that large portion of the administration which rude and warlike nobles were incompetent to conduct was considered as especially belonging to divines. Men, therefore, who were averse to the life of camps, and who were, at the same time, desirous to rise in the state, ordinarily received the tonsure. Among them were sons of all the most illustrious families, and near kinsmen of the throne, Scroops, and Nevilles, Bourchiers, Staffords, and Poles.

To the religious houses belonged the rents of immense domains, and all that large portion of the tithe which is now in the hands of laymen. Down to the middle of the reign of Henry VIII, therefore, no line of life bore so inviting an aspect to ambitious and covetous natures as the priesthood. Then came a violent revolution. The abolition of the monasteries deprived the church at once of the greater part of her wealth, and of her predominance in the upper house of parliament. There was no longer an abbot of Glastonbury or an abbot of Reading seated among the peers, and possessed of revenues equal to those of a powerful earl. The princely splendour of William of Wykeham and of William of Waynflete had disappeared. The scarlet hat

of the cardinal, the silver cross of the legate were no more. The clergy had also lost the ascendency which is the natural reward of superior mental cultivation. Once the circumstance that a man could read had raised a presumption that he was in orders. But, in an age which produced such laymen as William Cecil and Nicholas Bacon, Roger Ascham and Thomas Smith, Walter Mildmay and Francis Walsingham, there was no reason for calling away prelates from their dioceses to negotiate treaties, to superintend the finances, or to administer justice. The spiritual character not only ceased to be a qualification for high civil office, but began to be regarded as a disqualification. Those worldly motives, therefore, which had formerly induced so many able, aspiring, and high born youths to assume the ecclesiastical habit, ceased to operate. Not one parish in two hundred then afforded what a man of family considered as a maintenance.

There were still indeed prizes in the church: but they were few; and even the highest were mean, when compared with the glory which had once surrounded the princes of the hierarchy. Thus the sacerdotal office lost its attraction for the higher classes. During the century which followed the accession of Elizabeth, scarce a single person of noble descent took orders. At the close of the reign of Charles II, two sons of peers were bishops; four or five sons of peers were priests, and held valuable preferment: but these rare exceptions did not take away the reproach which lay on the body. The clergy were regarded as, on the whole, a plebeian class. And, indeed, for one who made the figure of a gentleman, ten were mere menial servants. A large proportion of those divines who had no benefices, or whose benefices were too small to afford a comfortable revenue, lived in the houses of laymen. It had long been evident that this practice tended to degrade the priestly character. Laud had exerted himself to effect a change; and Charles I had repeatedly issued positive orders that none but men of high rank should presume to keep domestic chaplains. But these injunctions had become obsolete.

Indeed, during the domination of the Puritans, many of the ejected ministers of the Church of England could obtain bread and shelter only by attaching themselves to the households of royalist gentlemen; and the habits which had been formed in those times of trouble continued long after the re-establishment of monarchy and Episcopacy. In the mansions of men of liberal sentiments and cultivated understandings, the chaplain was doubtless treated with urbanity and kindness. His conversation, his literary assistance, his spiritual advice, were considered as an ample return for his food, his lodging, and his stipend. But this was not the general feeling of the country gentlemen. The coarse and ignorant squire, who thought that it belonged to his dignity to have grace said every day at his table by an ecclesiastic in full canonicals, found means to reconcile dignity with economy. A young Levite — such was the phrase then in use — might be had for his board, a small garret, and ten pounds a year, and might not only perform his own professional functions, might not only be the most patient of butts and of listeners, might not only be always ready in fine weather for bowls, and in rainy weather for shovelboard, but might also save the expense of a gardener or of a groom. Sometimes the reverend man nailed up the apricots, and sometimes he curried the coach horses. He cast up the farrier's bills. He walked ten miles with a message or a parcel. He was permitted to dine with the family; but he was expected to content himself with the plainest fare. He might fill himself with the corned beef and the carrots: but, as soon as the tarts and cheesecakes made their appearance, he quitted his seat, and stood aloof till he

was summoned to return thanks for the repast, from a great part of which he had been excluded.

Perhaps, after some years of service, he was presented to a living sufficient to support him: but he often found it necessary to purchase his preferment by a species of simony, which furnished an inexhaustible subject of pleasantry to three or four generations of scoffers. With his cure he was expected to take a wife. The wife had ordinarily been in the patron's service; and it was well if she was not suspected of standing too high in the patron's favour. Indeed, the nature of the matrimonial connections which the clergymen of that age were in the habit of forming is the most certain indication of the place which the order held in the social system. An Oxonian, writing a few months after the death of Charles II, complained bitterly not only that the country attorney and country apothecary looked down with disdain on the country clergyman but that one of the lessons most earnestly inculcated on every girl of honourable family was to give no encouragement to a lover in orders, and that, if any young lady forgot this precept, she was almost as much disgraced as by an illicit amour. Clarendon, who assuredly bore no ill will to the church, mentions it as a sign of the confusion of ranks which the great rebellion had produced that some damsels of noble families had bestowed themselves on divines.

A waiting woman was generally considered as the most suitable helpmate for a parson. Queen Elizabeth, as head of the church, had given what seemed to be a formal sanction to this prejudice, by issuing special orders that no clergyman should presume to marry a servant girl without the consent of the master or mistress. During several generations accordingly the relation between priests and handmaidens was a theme for endless jest; nor would it be easy to find, in the comedy of the seventeeth century, a single instance of a clergyman who wins a spouse above the rank of a cook. Even so late as the time of George II, the keenest of all observers of life and manners, himself a priest, remarked that, in a great household, the chaplain was the resource of a lady's maid whose character had been blown upon, and who was therefore forced to give up hopes of catching the steward.

In general the divine who quitted his chaplainship for a benefice and a wife found that he had only exchanged one class of vexations for another. Not one living in fifty enabled the incumbent to bring up a family comfortably. As children multiplied and grew, the household of the priest became more and more beggarly. Holes appeared more and more plainly in the thatch of his parsonage and in his single cassock. Often it was only by toiling on his glebe, by feeding swine, and by loading dungcarts, that he could obtain daily bread; nor did his utmost exertions always prevent the bailiffs from taking his concordance and his inkstand in execution. It was a white day on which he was admitted into the kitchen of a great house, and regaled by the servants with cold meat and ale. His children were brought up like the children of the neighbouring peasantry. His boys followed the plough; and his girls went out to service. Study he found impossible: for the advowson of his living would hardly have sold for a sum sufficient to purchase a good theological library; and he might be considered as unusually lucky if he had ten or twelve dogeared volumes among the pots and pans on his shelves. Even a keen and strong intellect might be expected to rust in so unfavourable a situation.

Assuredly there was at that time no lack in the English church of ministers distinguished by abilities and learning. But it is to be observed that these ministers were not scattered among the rural population. They were

brought together at a few places where the means of acquiring knowledge were abundant, and where the opportunities of vigorous intellectual exercise were frequent. At such places were to be found divines qualified by parts, by eloquence, by wide knowledge of literature, of science, and of life, to defend their church victoriously against heretics and sceptics, to command the attention of frivolous and worldly congregations, to guide the deliberations of senates, and to make religion respectable, even in the most dissolute of courts. Some laboured to fathom the abysses of metaphysical theology; some were deeply versed in biblical criticism; and some threw light on the darkest parts of ecclesiastical history. Some proved themselves consummate masters of logic. Some cultivated rhetoric with such assiduity and success that their discourses are still justly valued as models of style. These eminent men were to be found, with scarce a single exception, at the universities, at the great cathedrals, or in the capital.

Thus the Anglican priesthood was divided into two sections, which, in requirements, in manners, and in social position, differed widely from each other. One section, trained for cities and courts, comprised men familiar with all ancient and modern learning; men able to encounter Hobbes or Bossuet at all the weapons of controversy; men who could, in their sermons, set forth the majesty and beauty of Christianity with such justness of thought and such energy of language that the indolent Charles roused himself to listen, and the fastidious Buckingham forgot to sneer; men whose address, politeness, and knowledge of the world qualified them to manage the consciences of the wealthy and noble; men with whom Halifax loved to discuss the interests of empires, and from whom Dryden was not ashamed to own that he had learned to write.

The other section was destined to ruder and humbler service. It was dispersed over the country, and consisted chiefly of persons not at all wealthier, and not much more refined, than small farmers or upper servants. Yet it was in these rustic priests, who derived but a scanty subsistence from their tithe sheaves and tithe pigs, and who had not the smallest chance of ever attaining high professional honours, that the professional spirit was strongest. Among those divines who were the boast of the universities and the delight of the capital, and who had attained, or might reasonably expect to attain, opulence and lordly rank, a party, respectable in numbers, and more respectable in character, leaned towards constitutional principles of government, lived on friendly terms with Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, would gladly have seen a full toleration granted to all Protestant sects, and would even have consented to make alterations in the liturgy, for the purpose of conciliating honest and candid non-conformists. But such latitudinarianism was held in horror by the country parson. He was, indeed, prouder of his ragged gown than his superiors of their lawn and of their scarlet hoods. The very consciousness that there was little in his worldly circumstances to distinguish him from the villagers to whom he preached led him to hold immoderately high the dignity of that sacerdotal office which was his single title to reverence. Having lived in seclusion, and having had little opportunity of correcting his opinions by reading or conversation, he held and taught the doctrines of indefeasible hereditary right, of passive obedience, and of nonresistance in all their crude absurdity. Having been long engaged in a petty war against the neighbouring dissenters, he too often hated them for the wrongs which he had done them, and found no fault with the Five Mile Act and the Conventicle Act, except that those odious laws had not a sharper edge. Whatever influence his office gave him was

exerted with passionate zeal on the tory side; and that influence was immense.

It would be a great error to imagine, because the country rector was in general not regarded as a gentleman, because he could not dare to aspire to the hand of one of the young ladies at the manor house, because he was not asked into the parlours of the great, but was left to drink and smoke with grooms and butlers, that the power of the clerical body was smaller than at present. The influence of a class is by no means proportioned to the consideration which the members of that class enjoy in their individual capacity. A cardinal is a much more exalted personage than a begging friar: but it would be a grievous mistake to suppose that the college of cardinals has exercised a greater dominion over the public mind of Europe than the order of Saint Francis. In Ireland, at present, a peer holds a far higher station in society than a Roman Catholic priest: yet there are in Munster and Connaught few counties where a combination of priests would not carry an election against a combination of peers. In the seventeenth century the pulpit was to a large portion of the population what the periodical press now is. Scarcely any of the clowns who came to the parish church ever saw a gazette or a political pamphlet. Ill informed as their spiritual pastor might be, he was yet better informed than themselves: he had every week an opportunity of haranguing them; and his harangues were never answered. At every important conjuncture, invectives against the whigs and exhortations to obey the Lord's annointed resounded at once from many thousands of pulpits; and the effect was formidable indeed. Of all the causes which, after the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament, produced the violent reaction against the exclusionists, the most potent seems to have been the oratory of the country clergy.

The power which the country gentlemen and the country clergymen exercised in the rural districts was in some measure counterbalanced by the power of the yeomanry, an eminently manly and truehearted race. The petty proprietors who cultivated their own fields with their own hands, and enjoyed a modest competence, without affecting to have scutcheons and crests, or aspiring to sit on the bench of justice, then formed a much more important part of the nation than at present. If we may trust the best statistical writers of that age, not less than a hundred and sixty thousand proprietors, who with their families must have made up more than a seventh of the whole population, derived their subsistence from little freehold estates. The average income of these small landholders, an income made up of rent, profit, and wages, was estimated at between sixty and seventy pounds a year. It was computed that the number of persons who tilled their own land was greater than the number of those who farmed the land of others. A large portion of the yeomanry had, from the time of the Reformation, leaned towards Puritanism, had, in the civil war, taken the side of the parliament, had, after the Restoration, persisted in hearing Presbyterian and Independent preachers, had, at elections, strenuously supported the exclusionists, and had continued, even after the discovery of the Rye House Plot and the proscription of the whig leaders, to regard popery and arbitrary power with unmitigated hostility.

GROWTH OF THE TOWNS

Great as has been the change in the rural life of England since the Revolution, the change which has come to pass in the cities is still more amazing,

In the reign of Charles II no provincial town in the kingdom contained thirty thousand inhabitants; and only four provincial towns contained so many as ten thousand inhabitants.

Next to the capital, but next at an immense distance, stood Bristol, then the first English seaport, and Norwich, then the first English manufacturing town. Pepys, who visited Bristol eight years after the Restoration, was struck by the splendour of the city. But his standard was not high; for he noted down as a wonder the circumstance that, in Bristol, a man might look round him and see nothing but houses. It seems that, in no other place with which he was acquainted, except London, did the buildings completely shut out the woods and fields. Large as Bristol might then appear, it occupied but a very small portion of the area on which it now stands. A few churches of eminent beauty rose out of a labyrinth of narrow lanes built upon vaults of no great solidity. If a coach or a cart entered those alleys, there was danger that it would be wedged between the houses, and danger also that it would break in the cellars. Goods were therefore conveyed about the town almost exclusively in trucks drawn by dogs; and the richest inhabitants exhibited their wealth, not by riding in gilded carriages, but by walking the streets with trains of servants in rich liveries, and by keeping tables loaded with good cheer. The pomp of the christenings and burials far exceeded what was seen at any other place in England.

The hospitality of the city was widely renowned, and especially the collations with which the sugar refiners regaled their visitors. The repast was dressed in the furnace, and was accompanied by a rich brewage made of the best Spanish wine, and celebrated over the whole kingdom as Bristol milk. This luxury was supported by a thriving trade with the North American plantations and with the West Indies. The passion for colonial traffic was so strong that there was scarce a small shopkeeper in Bristol who had not a venture on board of some ship bound for Virginia or the Antilles. Some of these ventures indeed were not of the most honourable kind. There was, in the transatlantic possessions of the crown a great demand for labour; and this demand was partly supplied by a system of crimping and kidnapping at the principal English seaports. Nowhere was this system found in such active and extensive operation as at Bristol Even the first magistrates of that city were not ashamed to enrich themselves by so odious a commerce. The number of houses appears, from the returns of the hearth money, to have been, in the year 1685, just five thousand three hundred. We can hardly suppose the number of persons in a house to have been greater than in the city of London; and in the city of London we learn from the best authority that there were then fifty-five persons to ten houses. The population of Bristol must therefore have been about twenty-nine thousand souls.

The population of London was more than seventeen times the population of Bristol. It may be doubted whether any other instance can be mentioned of a great kingdom in which the first city was more than seventeen times as large as the second. There is reason to believe that, in 1685, London had been, during about half a century, the most populous capital in Europe. The inhabitants were probably little more than half a million. London had in the world only one commercial rival, the mighty and opulent Amsterdam. English writers boasted of the forest of masts and yardarms which covered the river from the bridge to the Tower, and of the stupendous sums which were collected at the custom house in Thames street. The customs of London amounted, in 1685, to about £330,000 a year.

Whoever examines the maps of London which were published towards

the close of the reign of Charles II will see that only the nucleus of the present capital then existed. The town did not, as now, fade by imperceptible degrees into the country. No long avenues of villas, embowered in lilacs and laburnums, extended from the great centre of wealth and civilisation almost to the boundaries of Middlesex and far into the heart of Kent and Surrey. In the east, no part of the immense line of warehouses and artificial lakes which now spreads from the Tower to Blackwall had even been projected. On the west, scarcely one of those stately piles of building which are inhabited by the noble and wealthy was in existence; and Chelsea, which is now peopled by more than forty thousand human beings, was a quiet country village with about a thousand inhabitants. On the north cattle fed, and sportsmen wandered with dogs and guns over the site of the borough of Marylebone, and over far the greater part of the space now covered by the boroughs of Finsbury and of the Tower Hamlets. Islington was almost a solitude; and poets loved to contrast its silence and repose with the din and turmoil of the monster London. On the south the capital is now connected with its suburb by several bridges, not inferior in magnificence and solidity to the noblest works of the Cæsars. In 1685 a single line of irregular arches, overhung by piles of mean and crazy houses, and garnished, after a fashion worthy of the naked barbarians of Dahomey, with scores of mouldering heads, impeded the navigation of the river.

The City

Of the metropolis, the City, properly so called, was the most important division. At the time of the Restoration it had been built, for the most part, of wood and plaster; the few bricks that were used were ill baked; the booths where goods were exposed to sale projected far into the streets, and were overhung by the upper stories. A few specimens of this architecture may still be seen in those districts which were not reached by the great fire. That fire had, in a few days, covered a space of little less than a square mile with the ruins of eighty-nine churches and of thirteen thousand houses. But the City had risen again with a celerity which had excited the admiration of neighbouring countries. Unfortunately, the old lines of the streets had been to a great extent preserved; and those lines, originally traced in an age when even princesses performed their journeys on horseback, were often too narrow to allow wheeled carriages to pass each other with ease, and were therefore ill adapted for the residence of wealthy persons in an age when a coach and six was a fashionable luxury. The style of building was, however, far superior to that of the City which had perished. The ordinary material was brick, of much better quality than had formerly been used. On the sites of the ancient parish churches had arisen a multitude of new domes, towers, and spires which bore the mark of the fertile genius of Wren. In every place save one the traces of the great devastation had been completely effaced. But the crowds of workmen, the scaffolds and the masses of hewn stone were still to be seen where the noblest of Protestant temples was slowly rising on the ruins of the old cathedral of St. Paul.

In the seventeenth century the City was the merchant's residence. Those mansions of the great old burghers which still exist have been turned into counting houses and warehouses: but it is evident that they were originally not inferior in magnificence to the dwellings which were then inhabited by the nobility. They sometimes stand in retired and gloomy courts, and are accessible only by inconvenient passages: but their dimensions are ample,

and their aspect stately. The entrances are decorated with richly carved pillars and canopies. The staircases and landing places are not wanting in grandeur. The floors are sometimes of wood, tessellated after the fashion of France. The palace of Sir Robert Clayton, in the Old Jewry, contained a superb banqueting room wainscotted with cedar, and adorned with battles of gods and giants in fresco. Sir Dudley North expended £4,000, a sum which would then have been important to a duke, on the rich furniture of his reception rooms in Basinghall street. In such abodes, under the last Stuarts, the heads of the great firms lived splendidly and hospitably. To their dwelling place they were bound by the strongest ties of interest and affection. There they had passed their youth, had made their friendships, had courted their wives, had seen their children grow up, had laid the remains of their parents in the earth, and expected that their own remains would be laid. That intense patriotism which is peculiar to the members of societies congregated within a narrow space was, in such circumstances, strongly developed. London was, to the Londoner, what Athens was to the Athenian of the age of Pericles, what Florence was to the Florentine of the fifteenth century. The citizen was proud of the grandeur of his city, punctilious about her claims to respect, ambitious of her offices, and zealous for her franchises.

The magnificence displayed by the first civic magistrate was almost regal. The gilded coach, indeed, which is now annually admired by the crowd, was not yet a part of his state. On great occasions he appeared on horseback, attended by a long cavalcade inferior in magnificence only to that which, before a coronation, escorted the sovereign from the Tower to Westminister. The lord mayor was never seen in public without his rich robe, his hood of black velvet, his gold chain, his jewel, and a great attendance of harbingers and guards. Nor did the world find anything ludicrous in the pomp which constantly surrounded him. For it was not more than proportioned to the place which, as wielding the strength and representing the dignity of the city of London, he was entitled to occupy in the state. That city, being then not only without equal in the country, but without second, had, during five and forty years, exercised almost as great an influence on the politics of England as Paris has, in our own time, exercised on the politics of France. In intelligence London was greatly in advance of every other part of the kingdom. A government, supported and trusted by London, could in a day obtain such pecuniary means as it would have taken months to collect from the rest of the island.

Nor were the military resources of the capital to be despised. The power which the lord lieutenants exercised in other parts of the kingdom was in London entrusted to a commission of eminent citizens. Under the orders of this commission were twelve regiments of foot and two regiments of horse. An army of drapers' apprentices and journeymen tailors, with common councilmen for captains and aldermen for colonels, might not indeed have been able to stand its ground against regular troops; but there were then very few regular troops in the kingdom. A town, therefore, which could send forth, at an hour's notice, twenty thousand men, abounding in natural courage, provided with tolerable weapons, and not altogether untinctured with martial discipline, could not but be a valuable ally and a formidable enemy. It was not forgotten that Hampden and Pym had been protected from lawless tyranny by the London trainbands; that, in the great crisis of the civil war, the London trainbands had marched to raise the siege of Gloucester; or that, in the movement against the military tyrants which followed the downfall of Richard Cromwell, the London trainbands had borne a signal part.

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In truth, it is no exaggeration to say that, but for the hostility of the City, Charles I would never have been vanquished, and that, without the help of the City, Charles II could scarcely have been restored.

These considerations may serve to explain why, in spite of that attraction which had, during a long course of years, gradually drawn the aristocracy westward, a few men of high rank had continued, till a very recent period, to dwell in the vicinity of the Exchange and of the Guildhall. Shaftesbury and Buckingham, while engaged in bitter and unscrupulous opposition to the government, had thought that they could nowhere carry on their intrigues so conveniently or so securely as under the protection of the City magistrates and the City militia. Shaftesbury had therefore lived in Aldersgate street, at a house which may still easily be known by pilasters and wreaths, the graceful work of Inigo Jones. Buckingham had ordered his mansion near Charing Cross, once the abode of the archbishops of York, to be pulled down; and, while streets and alleys which are still named after him were rising on that site, chose to reside in Dowgate. These, however, were rare exceptions. Almost all the noble families of England had long migrated beyond the walls.

Condition of the Streets

We should greatly err if we were to suppose that any of the streets and squares then bore the same aspect as at present. The great majority of the houses, indeed, have, since that time, been wholly, or in great part, rebuilt. If the most fashionable parts of the capital could be placed before us, such as they then were, we should be disgusted by their squalid appearance, and poisoned by their noisome atmosphere. In Covent Garden a filthy and noisy market was held close to the dwellings of the great. Fruit women screamed, carters fought, cabbage stalks and rotten apples accumulated in heaps at the thresholds of the countess of Berkshire and of the bishop of Durham.

The centre of Lincoln's Inn Fields was an open space where the rabble congregated every evening, within a few yards of Cardigan House and Winchester House, to hear mountebanks harangue, to see bears dance, and to set dogs at oxen. Rubbish was shot in every part of the area. Horses were exercised there. The beggars were as noisy and importunate as in the worst governed cities of the continent. A Lincoln's Inn mumper was a proverb. The whole fraternity knew the arms and liveries of every charitably disposed grandee in the neighbourhood, and, as soon as his lordship's coach and six appeared, came hopping and crawling in crowds to persecute him. These disorders lasted, in spite of many accidents, and of some legal proceedings, till, in the reign of George II, Sir Joseph Jekyll, master of the rolls, was knocked down and nearly killed in the middle of the square. Then at length palisades were set up, and a pleasant garden laid out.

St. James' square was a receptacle for all the offal and cinders, for all the dead cats and dead dogs of Westminster. At one time a cudgel player kept the ring there. At another time an impudent squatter settled himself there, and built a shed for rubbish under the windows of the gilded saloons in which the first magnates of the realm, Norfolks, Ormondes, Kents, and Pembrokes, gave banquets and balls. It was not till these nuisances had lasted through a whole generation, and till much had been written about them, that the inhabitants applied to parliament for permission to put up rails, and to plant trees.

When such was the state of the region inhabited by the most luxurious portion of society, we may easily believe that the great body of the population suffered what would now be considered as insupportable grievances. The pavement was detestable; all foreigners cried shame upon it. The drainage was so bad that in rainy weather the gutters soon became torrents. Several facetious poets have commemorated the fury with which these black rivulets roared down Snow Hill and Ludgate Hill, bearing to Fleet Ditch a vast tribute of animal and vegetable filth from the stalls of butchers and greengrocers. This flood was profusely thrown to right and left by coaches and carts. To keep as far from the carriage road as possible was therefore the wish of every pedestrian. The mild and timid gave the wall. The bold and athletic took it. If two roisterers met, they cocked their hats in each other's faces, and pushed each other about till the weaker was shoved towards the kennel. If he was a mere bully he sneaked off, muttering that he should find a time. If he was pugnacious, the encounter probably ended in a duel behind Montague House.

The houses were not numbered. There would indeed have been little advantage in numbering them; for of the coachmen, chairmen, porters, and errand boys of London, a very small proportion could read. It was necessary to use marks which the most ignorant could understand. The shops were therefore distinguished by painted signs, which gave a gay and grotesque aspect to the streets. The walk from Charing Cross to Whitechapel lay through an endless succession of saracens' heads, royal oaks, blue bears, and golden lambs, which disappeared when they were no longer required for the direction of the common people.

When the evening closed in, the difficulty and danger of walking about London became serious indeed. The garret windows were opened, and pails were emptied, with little regard to those who were passing below. Falls, bruises, and broken bones were of constant occurrence. For, till the last year of the reign of Charles II, most of the streets were left in profound darkness. Thieves and robbers plied their trade with impunity: yet they were hardly so terrible to peaceable citizens as another class of ruffians. It was a favourite amusement of dissolute young gentlemen to swagger by night about the town, breaking windows, upsetting sedans, beating quiet men, and offering rude caresses to pretty women.

Lighting of London

It ought to be noticed that, in the last year of the reign of Charles II, began a great change in the police of London, a change which has perhaps added as much to the happiness of the body of the people as revolutions of much greater fame. An ingenious projector, named Edward Heming, obtained letters patent conveying to him, for a term of years, the exclusive right of lighting up London. He undertook, for a moderate consideration, to place a light before every tenth door, on moonless nights, from Michaelmas to Lady Day, and from six to twelve of the clock. Those who now see the capital all the year round, from dusk to dawn, blazing with a splendour compared with which the illuminations for La Hogue and Blenheim would have looked pale, may perhaps smile to think of Heming's lanterns, which glimmered feebly before one house in ten during a small part of one night in three. But such was not the feeling of his contemporaries. His scheme was enthusiastically applauded, and furiously attacked. The friends of improvement extolled him as the greatest of all the benefactors of his city. What, they asked, were the

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boasted inventions of Archimedes, when compared with the achievement of the man who had turned the nocturnal shades into noonday? In spite of these eloquent eulogies the cause of darkness was not left undefended. There were fools in that age who opposed the introduction of what was called the new light as strenuously as fools in a later age opposed the introduction of vaccination and railroads, as strenuously as the fools of an age anterior to the dawn of history doubtless opposed the introduction of the plough and of alphabetical writing. Many years after the date of Heming's patent there were extensive districts in which no lamp was seen.

We may easily imagine what, in such times, must have been the state of the quarters of London which were peopled by the outcasts of society. Among those quarters one had attained a scandalous pre-eminence. On the confines of the City and the Temple had been founded, in the thirteenth century, a house of Carmelite friars, distinguished by their white hoods. The precinct of this house had, before the Reformation, been a sanctuary for criminals, and still retained the privilege of protecting debtors from arrest. Insolvents consequently were to be found in every dwelling, from cellar to garret. Of these a large proportion were knaves and libertines, and were followed to their asylum by women more abandoned than themselves. The civil power was unable to keep order in a district swarming with such inhabitants; and thus Whitefriars became the favourite resort of all who wished to be emancipated from the restraints of the law. Though the immunities legally belonging to the place extended only to cases of debt, cheats, false witnesses, forgers, and highwaymen found refuge there. For amidst a rabble so desperate no peace officer's life was in safety. At the cry of "Rescue!" bullies with swords and cudgels, and termagant hags with spits and broomsticks poured forth by hundreds; and the intruder was fortunate if he escaped back into Fleet street, hustled, stripped, and pumped upon. Even the warrant of the chief justice of England could not be executed without the help of a company of musketeers. Such relics of the barbarism of the darkest ages were to be found within a short walk of the chambers where Somers was studying history and law, of the chapel where Tillotson was preaching, of the coffee-house where Dryden was passing judgment on poems and plays, and of the hall where the Royal Society was examining the astronomical system of Isaac Newton.

DIFFICULTY OF TRAVELLING

The chief cause which made the fusion of the different elements of society so imperfect was the extreme difficulty which our ancestors found in passing from place to place. Of all inventions, the alphabet and the printing press alone excepted, those inventions which abridge distance have done most for the civilisation of our species. Every improvement of the means of locomotion benefits mankind morally and intellectually as well as materially, and not only facilitates the interchange of the various productions of nature and art, but tends to remove national and provincial antipathies, and to bind together all the branches of the great human family. In the seventeenth century the inhabitants of London were, for almost every practical purpose, farther from Reading than they now are from Edinburgh, and farther from Edinburgh than they are now from Vienna.

The subjects of Charles II were not, it is true, quite unacquainted with that principle which has, in our own time, produced an unprecedented revolution in human affairs, which has enabled navies to advance in the face of wind and tide, and battalions, attended by all their baggage and artillery, to

traverse kingdoms at a pace equal to that of the fleetest race horse. The marquis of Worcester had recently observed the expansive power of moisture rarefied by heat. After many experiments he had succeeded in constructing a rude steam engine, which he called a fire water work, and which he pronounced to be an admirable and most forcible instrument of propulsion. But the marquis was suspected to be a madman, and known to be a papist. His inventions, therefore, found no favourable reception. His fire water work might, perhaps, furnish matter for conversation at a meeting of the Royal Society, but was not applied to any practical purpose. There were no railways, except a few made of timber, from the mouths of the Northumbrian coalpits to the banks of the Tyne. There was very little internal communication by water. A few attempts had been made to deepen and embank the natural streams, but with slender success. Hardly a single navigable canal had been even projected. The English of that day were in the habit of talking with mingled admiration and despair of the immense trench by which Louis XIV had made a junction between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. They little thought that their country would, in the course of a few generations, be intersected, at the cost of private adventurers, by artificial rivers making up more than four times the length of the Thames, the Severn, and the Trent together.

It was by the highways that both travellers and goods generally passed from place to place. And those highways appear to have been far worse than might have been expected from the degree of wealth and civilisation which the nation had even then attained. On the best lines of communication the ruts were deep, the descents precipitous, and the way often such as it was hardly possible to distinguish, in the dusk, from the uninclosed heath and fen which lay on both sides. Ralph Thoresby, the antiquary, was in danger of losing his way on the great North road, between Barnby Moor and Tuxford, and actually lost his way between Doncaster and York. Pepys and his wife, travelling in their coach, lost their way between Newbury and Reading. In the course of the same tour they lost their way near Salisbury, and were in danger of having to pass the night on the plain. It was only in fine weather that the whole breadth of the road was available for wheeled vehicles. Often the mud lay deep on the right and the left; and only a narrow track of firm ground rose above the quagmire. At such times obstructions and quarrels were frequent, and the path was sometimes blocked up during a long time by carriers, neither of whom would break the way. It happened, almost every day, that coaches stuck fast, until a team of cattle could be procured from some neighbouring farm, to tug them out of the slough. But in bad seasons the traveller had to encounter inconveniences still more serious.

Thoresby, who was in the habit of travelling between Leeds and the capital, has recorded, in his *Diary*, such a series of perils and disasters as might suffice for a journey to the Frozen Ocean or to the desert of Sahara. On one occasion he learned that the floods were out between Ware and London, that passengers had to swim for their lives, and that a higgler had perished in the attempt to cross. In consequence of these tidings he turned out of the high road and was conducted across some meadows, where it was necessary for him to ride to the saddle skirts in water. In the course of another journey he narrowly escaped being swept away by an inundation of the Trent. He was afterwards detained at Stamford four days, on account of the state of the roads, and then ventured to proceed only because fourteen members of the house of commons, who were going up in a body to parliament with guides and numerous attendants, took him into their company.

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One chief cause of the badness of the roads seems to have been the defective state of the law. Every parish was bound to repair the highways which passed through it. The peasantry were forced to give their gratuitous labour six days in the year. If this was not sufficient, hired labour was employed, and the expense was met by a parochial rate. That a route connecting two great towns, which have a large and thriving trade with each other, should be maintained at the cost of the rural population scattered between them is obviously unjust; and this injustice was peculiarly glaring in the case of the great North road, which traversed very poor and thinly inhabited districts, and joined very rich and populous districts. Indeed it was not in the power of the parishes of Huntingdonshire to mend a highway worn by the constant traffic between the West Riding of Yorkshire and London. Soon after the Restoration this grievance attracted the notice of parliament; and an act, the first of our many turnpike acts, was passed, imposing a small toll on travellers and goods, for the purpose of keeping some parts of this important line of communication in good repair. This innovation, however, excited many murmurs; and the other great avenues to the capital were long left under the old system.

On the best highways heavy articles were, in the time of Charles II, generally conveyed from place to place by stage waggons. In the straw of these vehicles nestled a crowd of passengers, who could not afford to travel by coach or on horseback, and who were prevented by infirmity, or by the weight of their luggage, from going on foot. The expense of transmitting heavy goods in this way was enormous. From London to Birmingham the charge was seven pounds a ton; from London to Exeter twelve pounds a ton. This was about fifteen pence a ton for every mile, more by a third than was afterwards charged on turnpike roads, and fifteen times what is now demanded by railway companies. The cost of conveyance amounted to a prohibitory tax on many useful articles. Coal in particular was never seen except in the districts where it was produced, or in the districts to which it could be carried by sea, and was indeed always known in the south of England by the name of sea coal.

On byroads, and generally throughout the country north of York and west of Exeter, goods were carried by long trains of packhorses. These strong and patient beasts, the breed of which is now extinct, were attended by a class of men who seem to have borne much resemblance to the Spanish muleteers. A traveller of humble condition often found it convenient to perform a journey mounted on a packsaddle between two baskets, under the care of these hardy guides. The expense of this mode of conveyance was small. But the caravan moved at a foot's pace; and in winter the cold was often insupportable.

The rich commonly travelled in their own carriages, with at least four horses. Cotton, the facetious poet, attempted to go from London to the Peak with a single pair, but found at St. Albans that the journey would be insupportably tedious, and altered his plan. A coach and six is in our time never seen, except as part of some pageant. The frequent mention therefore of such equipages in old books is likely to mislead us. We attribute to magnificence what was really the effect of a very disagreeable necessity. People, in the time of Charles II, travelled with six horses, because with a smaller number there was great danger of sticking fast in the mire. Nor were even six horses always sufficient. Vanbrugh, in the succeeding generation, described with great humour the way in which a country gentleman, newly chosen a member of parliament, went up to London. On that occasion all the exertions of six beasts, two of which had been taken from the plough, could not save the family coach from being imbedded in a quagmire.

Stage Coaches

Public carriages had recently been much improved. During the years which immediately followed the Restoration, a diligence ran between London and Oxford in two days. The passengers slept at Beaconsfield. At length, in the spring of 1669, a great and daring innovation was attempted. It was announced that a vehicle, described as the flying coach, would perform the whole journey between sunrise and sunset. This spirited undertaking was solemnly considered and sanctioned by the heads of the university, and appears to have excited the same sort of interest which is excited in our own time by the opening of a new railway. The vice-chancellor, by a notice affixed in all public places, prescribed the hour and place of departure. The success of the experiment was complete. At six in the morning the carriage began to move from before the ancient front of All Souls' college: and at seven in the evening the adventurous gentlemen who had run the first risk were safely deposited at their inn in London. The emulation of the sister university was moved; and soon a diligence was set up which in one day carried passengers from Cambridge to the capital. At the close of the reign of Charles II, flying carriages ran thrice a week from London to the chief towns. But no stage coach, indeed no stage wagon, appears to have proceeded further north than York, or further west than Exeter. The ordinary day's journey of a flying coach was about fifty miles in the summer; but in winter, when the ways were bad and the nights long, little more than thirty. The Chester coach, the York coach, and the Exeter coach generally reached London in four days during the fine season, but at Christmas not till the sixth day. The passengers, six in number, were all seated in the carriage. For accidents were so frequent that it would have been most perilous to mount the roof. The ordinary fare was about twopence halfpenny a mile in summer, and somewhat more in winter.

This mode of travelling seemed to our ancestors wonderfully and indeed alarmingly rapid. In a work published a few months before the death of Charles II, the flying coaches are extolled as far superior to any similar vehicles ever known in the world. Their velocity is the subject of special commendation, and is triumphantly contrasted with the sluggish pace of the continental posts. But with boasts like these was mingled the sound of complaint and invective. The interests of large classes had been unfavourably affected by the establishment of the new diligences; and, as usual, many persons were, from mere stupidity and obstinacy, disposed to clamour against the innovation, simply because it was an innovation. It was vehemently argued that this mode of conveyance would be fatal to the breed of horses and to the noble art of horsemanship; that the Thames, which had long been an important nursery of seamen, would cease to be the chief thoroughfare from London up to Windsor and down to Gravesend; that saddlers and spurriers would be ruined by hundreds; that numerous inns, at which mounted travellers had been in the habit of stopping, would be deserted, and would no longer pay any rent; that the new carriages were too hot in summer and too cold in winter; that the passengers were grievously annoyed by invalids and crying children; that the coach sometimes reached the inn so late that it was impossible to get supper and sometimes started so early that it was impossible to get breakfast. On these grounds it was gravely recommended that no public carriage should be permitted to have more than four horses, to start oftener than once a week, or to go more than thirty miles a day. It was hoped that, if this regulation were adopted, all except the sick and the lame

would return to the old mode of travelling. Petitions embodying such opinions as these were presented to the king in council from several companies of the city of London, from several provincial towns, and from the justices of several counties. We smile at these things. It is not impossible that our descendants, when they read the history of the opposition offered by cupidity and prejudice to the improvements of the nineteenth century, may smile in their turn.

Highwaymen

Whatever might be the way in which a journey was performed, the travellers, unless they were numerous and well armed, ran considerable risk of being stopped and plundered. The mounted highwayman, a marauder known to our generation only from books, was to be found on every main road. The waste tracts which lay on the great routes near London were especially haunted by plunderers of this class. Hounslow heath, on the great Western road, and Finchley common, on the great Northern road, were perhaps the most celebrated of these spots. The Cambridge scholars trembled when they approached Epping Forest, even in broad daylight. Seamen who had just been paid off at Chatham were often compelled to deliver their purses on Gadshill, celebrated near a hundred years earlier by the greatest of poets as the scene of the depredations of Poins and Falstaff. The public authorities seem to have been often at a loss how to deal with the plunderers. At one time it was announced in the *Gazette* that several persons, who were strongly suspected of being highwaymen, but against whom there was not sufficient evidence, would be paraded at Newgate in riding dresses: their horses would also be shown: and all gentlemen who had been robbed were invited to inspect this singular exhibition. On another occasion a pardon was publicly offered to a robber if he would give up some rough diamonds, of immense value, which he had taken when he stopped the Harwich mail. A short time after appeared another proclamation, warning the innkeepers that the eye of the government was upon them. Their criminal connivance, it was affirmed, enabled banditti to infest the roads with impunity. That these suspicions were not without foundation, is proved by the dying speeches of some penitent robbers of that age, who appear to have received from the innkeepers services much resembling those which Farquhar's Boniface rendered to Gibbet.

It was necessary to the success and even to the safety of the highwayman that he should be a bold and skilful rider, and that his manners and appearance should be such as suited the master of a fine horse. He therefore held an aristocratical position in the community of thieves, appeared at fashionable coffee houses and gaming houses, and betted with men of quality on the race ground. Sometimes, indeed, he was a man of good family and education. A romantic interest there attached, and perhaps still attaches, to the names of freebooters of this class. The vulgar eagerly drank in tales of their ferocity and audacity, of their occasional acts of generosity and good nature, of their amours, of their miraculous escapes, of their desperate struggles, and of their manly bearing at the bar and in the cart. Thus it was related of William Nevison, the great robber of Yorkshire, that he levied a quarterly tribute on all the northern drovers, and, in return, not only spared them himself, but protected them against all other thieves; that he demanded purses in the most courteous manner; that he gave largely to the poor what he had taken from the rich; that his life was once spared by the royal clemency, but that he again tempted his fate, and at length died, in 1685, on the gallows of York.

It was related how Claude Duval, the French page of the duke of Richmond, took to the road, became captain of a formidable gang, and had the honour to be named first in a royal proclamation against notorious offenders; how at the head of his troop he stopped a lady's coach, in which there was a booty of £400; how he took only one hundred, and suffered the fair owner to ransom the rest by dancing a coranto with him on the heath; how his vivacious gallantry stole away the hearts of all women; how his dexterity at sword and pistol made him a terror to all men; how, at length, in the year 1670, he was seized when overcome by wine; how dames of high rank visited him in prison, and with tears interceded for his life; how the king would have granted a pardon, but for the interference of Judge Morton, the terror of highwaymen, who threatened to resign his office unless the law were carried into full effect; and how, after the execution, the corpse lay in state with all the pomp of scutcheons, wax lights, black hangings and mutes, till the same cruel judge, who had intercepted the mercy of the crown, sent officers to disturb the obsequies. In these anecdotes there is doubtless a large mixture of fable; but they are not on that account unworthy of being recorded; for it is both an authentic and an important fact that such tales, whether false or true, were heard by our ancestors with eagerness and faith.

Inns

All the various dangers by which the traveller was beset were greatly increased by darkness. He was therefore commonly desirous of having the shelter of a roof during the night; and such shelter it was not difficult to obtain. From a very early period the inns of England had been renowned. Our first great poet had described the excellent accommodation which they afforded to the pilgrims of the fourteenth century. Nine and twenty persons, with their horses, found room in the wide chambers and stables of the Tabard in Southwark. The food was of the best, and the wines such as drew the company on to drink largely. Two hundred years later, under the reign of Elizabeth, William Harrison gave a lively description of the plenty and comfort of the great hostelries. The Continent of Europe, he said, could show nothing like them. There were some in which two or three hundred people, with their horses, could without difficulty be lodged and fed. The bedding, the tapestry, above all the abundance of clean and fine linen was matter of wonder. Valuable plate was often set on the tables. Nay, there were signs which had cost thirty or forty pounds.

In the seventeenth century England abounded with excellent inns of every rank. The traveller sometimes, in a small village, lighted on a public house such as Walton has described, where the brick floor was swept clean, where the walls were stuck round with ballads, where the sheets smelt of lavender, and where a blazing fire, a cup of good ale, and a dish of trout fresh from the neighbouring brook, were to be procured at small charge. At the larger houses of entertainment were to be found beds hung with silk, choice cookery, and claret equal to the best which was drunk in London. The innkeepers too, it was said, were not like other innkeepers. On the Continent the landlord was the tyrant of those who crossed the threshold. In England he was a servant. Never was an Englishman more at home than when he took his ease in his inn. Even men of fortune, who might in their own mansions have enjoyed every luxury, were often in the habit of passing their evenings in the parlour of some neighbouring house of public entertainment. They seem to

have thought that comfort and freedom could in no other place be enjoyed in equal perfection. This feeling continued during many generations to be a national peculiarity. The liberty and jollity of inns long furnished matter to our novelists and dramatists. Johnson declared that a tavern chair was the throne of human felicity; and Shenstone gently complained that no private roof, however friendly, gave the wanderer so warm a welcome as that which was to be found at an inn.

POST OFFICE; NEWSPAPERS

The mode in which correspondence was carried on between distant places may excite the scorn of the present generation; yet it was such as might have moved the admiration and envy of the polished nations of antiquity, or of the contemporaries of Raleigh and Cecil. A rude and imperfect establishment of posts for the conveyance of letters had been set up by Charles I, and had been swept away by the civil war. Under the commonwealth the design was resumed. At the Restoration the proceeds of the post office, after all expenses had been paid, were settled on the duke of York. On most lines of road the mails went out and came in only on the alternate days. In Cornwall, in the fens of Lincolnshire, and among the hills and lakes of Cumberland, letters were received only once a week. During a royal progress a daily post was despatched from the capital to the place where the court sojourned. There was also daily communication between London and the Downs; and the same privilege was sometimes extended to Tunbridge Wells and Bath at the seasons when those places were crowded by the great. The bags were carried on horseback day and night at the rate of about five miles an hour.

To facilitate correspondence between one part of London and another was not originally one of the objects of the post office. But, in the reign of Charles II, an enterprising citizen of London, William Dockwray, set up, at great expense a penny post, which delivered letters and parcels six or eight times a day in the busy and crowded streets near the Exchange, and four times a day in the outskirts of the capital. This improvement was, as usual, strenuously resisted. The porters complained that their interests were attacked, and tore down the placards in which the scheme was announced to the public. The excitement caused by Godfrey's death, and by the discovery of Coleman's papers, was then at its height. A cry was therefore raised that the penny post was a popish contrivance. The great Doctor Oates, it was affirmed, had hinted a suspicion that the Jesuits were at the bottom of the scheme, and that the bags, if examined, would be found full of treason. The utility of the enterprise was, however, so great and obvious that all opposition proved fruitless. As soon as it became clear that the speculation would be lucrative, the duke of York complained of it as an infraction of his monopoly, and the courts of law decided in his favour.

No part of the load which the old mails carried out was more important than the new letters. In 1685 nothing like the London daily paper of our time existed, or could exist. Neither the necessary capital nor the necessary skill was to be found. Freedom too was wanting, a want as fatal as that of either capital or skill. The press was not indeed at that moment under a general censorship. The licencing act, which had been passed soon after the Restoration, had expired in 1679. Any person might therefore print, at his own risk, a history, a sermon, or a poem, without the previous approbation of any public officer; but the judges were unanimously of opinion that this liberty did not extend to gazettes, and that, by the common law of England,

no man, not authorised by the crown, had a right to publish political news. While the whig party was still formidable, the government thought it expedient occasionally to connive at the violation of this rule. During the great battle of the Exclusion Bill, many newspapers were suffered to appear, the *Protestant Intelligence*, the *Current Intelligence*, the *Domestic Intelligence*, the *True News*, the *London Mercury*. None of these was published oftener than twice a week. None exceeded in size a single small leaf. The quantity of matter which one of them contained in a year was not more than is often found in two numbers of the *Times*. After the defeat of the whigs it was no longer necessary for the king to be sparing in the use of that which all his judges had pronounced to be his undoubted prerogative. At the close of his reign no newspaper was suffered to appear without his allowance: and his allowance was given exclusively to the *London Gazette*.

The *London Gazette* came out only on Mondays and Thursdays. The contents generally were a royal proclamation, two or three tory addresses, notices of two or three promotions, an account of a skirmish between the imperial troops and the janissaries on the Danube, a description of a highwayman, an announcement of a grand cockfight between two persons of honour, and an advertisement offering a reward for a strayed dog. The whole made up two pages of moderate size. Whatever was communicated respecting matters of the highest moment was communicated in the most meagre and formal style. Sometimes, indeed, when the government was disposed to gratify the public curiosity respecting an important transaction, a broadside was put forth giving fuller details than could be found in the *Gazette:* but neither the *Gazette* nor any supplementary broadside printed by authority ever contained any intelligence which it did not suit the purposes of the court to publish. The most important parliamentary debates, the most important state trials, recorded in our history, were passed over in profound silence.

In the capital the coffee houses supplied in some measure the place of a journal. Thither the Londoners flocked, as the Athenians of old flocked to the market place, to hear whether there was any news. There men might learn how brutally a whig had been treated the day before in Westminster Hall, what horrible accounts the letters from Edinburgh gave of the torturing of covenanters, how grossly the navy board had cheated the crown in the victualling of the fleet, and what grave charges the lord privy seal had brought against the treasury in the matter of the hearth money. But people who lived at a distance from the great theatre of political contention could be kept regularly informed of what was passing there only by means of news-letters. To prepare such letters became a calling in London, as it now is among the natives of India. The news-writer rambled from coffee room to coffee room, collecting reports, squeezed himself into the sessions house at the Old Bailey if there was an interesting trial, nay, perhaps obtained admission to the gallery of Whitehall, and noticed how the king and duke looked. In this way he gathered materials for weekly epistles destined to enlighten some county town or some bench of rustic magistrates.

Such were the sources from which the inhabitants of the largest provincial cities, and the great body of the gentry and clergy, learned almost all that they knew of the history of their own time. We must suppose that at Cambridge there were as many persons curious to know what was passing in the world as at almost any place in the kingdom, out of London. Yet at Cambridge, during a great part of the reign of Charles II, the doctors of laws and the masters of arts had no regular supply of news except through the *London Gazette*. At length the services of one of the collectors of intelligence in the

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capital were employed. That was a memorable day on which the first newsletter from London was laid on the table of the only coffee room in Cambridge.

SCARCITY OF BOOKS IN COUNTRY PLACES; FEMALE EDUCATION

Literature which could be carried by the post bag then formed the greater part of the intellectual nutriment ruminated by the country divines and country justices. The difficulty and expense of conveying large packets from place to place was so great, that an extensive work was longer in making its way from Paternoster Row to Devonshire or Lancashire than it now is in reaching Kentucky. How scantily a rural parsonage was then furnished, even with books the most necessary to a theologian, has already been remarked. The houses of the gentry were not more plentifully supplied. Few knights of the shire had libraries so good as may now perpetually be found in a servants' hall, or in the back parlour of a small shopkeeper. An esquire passed among his neighbours for a great scholar, if *Hudibras* and Baker's *Chronicle*, Tarlton's *Jests* and the *Seven Champions of Christendom*, lay in his hall window among the fishing rods and fowling pieces. No circulating library, no book society then existed even in the capital: but in the capital those students who could not afford to purchase largely had a resource. The shops of the great booksellers, near St. Paul's churchyard, were crowded every day and all day long with readers; and a known customer was often permitted to carry a volume home. In the country there was no such accommodation; and every man was under the necessity of buying whatever he wished to read.

As to the lady of the manor and her daughters, their literary stores generally consisted of a prayer book and a receipt book. But in truth they lost little by living in rural seclusion. For, even in the highest ranks, and in those situations which afforded the greatest facilities for mental improvement, the English women of that generation were decidedly worse educated than they have been at any other time since the revival of learning. At an earlier period they had studied the masterpieces of ancient genius. In the present day they seldom bestow much attention on the dead languages; but they are familiar with the tongue of Pascal and Molière, with the tongue of Dante and Tasso, with the tongue of Goethe and Schiller; nor is there any purer or more graceful English than that which accomplished women now speak and write. But, during the latter part of the seventeenth century, the culture of the female mind seems to have been almost entirely neglected. If a damsel had the least smattering of literature she was regarded as a prodigy. Ladies highly born, highly bred, and naturally quick witted, were unable to write a line in their mother tongue without solecisms and faults of spelling such as a charity girl would now be ashamed to commit.

The explanation may easily be found. Extravagant licentiousness, the natural effect of extravagant austerity, was now the mode; and licentiousness had produced its ordinary effect, the moral and intellectual degradation of women. To their personal beauty, it was the fashion to pay rude and impudent homage. But the admiration and desire which they inspired were seldom mingled with respect, with affection, or with any chivalrous sentiment. The qualities which fit them to be companions, advisers, confidential friends, rather repelled than attracted the libertines of Whitehall. In that court a maid of honour, who dressed in such a manner as to do full justice to a white bosom, who ogled significantly, who danced voluptuously, who excelled in pert repartee, who was not ashamed to romp with lords of the bedchamber

and captains of the guards, to sing sly verses with sly expression, or to put on a page's dress for a frolic, was more likely to be followed and admired, more likely to be honoured with royal attentions, more likely to win a rich and noble husband than Jane Grey or Lucy Hutchinson would have been. In such circumstances the standard of female attainments was necessarily low; and it was more dangerous to be above that standard than to be beneath it. Extreme ignorance and frivolity were thought less unbecoming in a lady than the slightest tincture of pedantry. Of the too celebrated women whose faces we still admire on the walls of Hampton Court, few indeed were in the habit of reading anything more valuable than acrostics, lampoons, and translations of the *Clelia* and the *Grand Cyrus*.

LITERARY ATTAINMENTS OF GENTLEMEN

The literary acquirements, even of the accomplished gentlemen of that generation, seem to have been somewhat less solid and profound than at an earlier or a later period. Greek learning, at least, did not flourish among us in the days of Charles II, as it had flourished before the civil war, or as it again flourished long after the Revolution. There were undoubtedly scholars to whom the whole Greek literature, from Homer to Photius, was familiar: but such scholars were to be found almost exclusively among the clergy resident at the universities, and even at the universities were few, and were not fully appreciated. At Cambridge it was not thought by any means necessary that a divine should be able to read the Gospels in the original. Nor was the standard at Oxford higher. When, in the reign of William III, Christ church rose up as one man to defend the genuineness of the epistles of Phalaris, that great college, then considered as the first seat of philology in the kingdom, could not muster such a stock of Attic learning as is now possessed by several youths at every great public school. It may easily be supposed that a dead language, neglected at the universities, was not much studied by men of the world. In a former age the poetry and eloquence of Greece had been the delight of Raleigh and Falkland. In a later age the poetry and eloquence of Greece were the delight of Pitt and Fox, of Windham and Grenville. But during the latter part of the seventeenth century there was in England scarcely one eminent statesman who could read with enjoyment a page of Sophocles or Plato.

Good Latin scholars were numerous. The language of Rome, indeed, had not altogether lost its imperial character, and was still, in many parts of Europe, almost indispensable to a traveller or a negotiator. To speak it well was therefore a much more common accomplishment than in our time; and neither Oxford nor Cambridge wanted poets who, on a great occasion, could lay at the foot of the throne happy imitations of the verses in which Virgil and Ovid had celebrated the greatness of Augustus.

INFLUENCE OF FRENCH LITERATURE

Yet even the Latin was giving way to a younger rival. France united at that time almost every species of ascendency. Her military glory was at the height. She had vanquished mighty coalitions. She had dictated treaties. She had subjugated great cities and provinces. She had forced the Castilian pride to yield her the precedence. She had summoned Italian princes to prostrate themselves at her footstool. Her authority was supreme in all matters of good breeding, from a duel to a minuet. She determined how a

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gentleman's coat must be cut, how long his peruke must be, whether his heels must be high or low, and whether the lace on his hat must be broad or narrow. In literature she gave law to the world. The fame of her great writers filled Europe. No other country could produce a tragic poet equal to Racine, a comic poet equal to Molière, a trifler so agreeable as La Fontaine, a rhetorician so skilful as Bossuet. The literary glory of Italy and of Spain had set; that of Germany had not yet dawned. The genius, therefore, of the eminent men who adorned Paris shone forth with a splendour which was set off to full advantage by contrast. France, indeed, had at that time an empire over mankind, such as even the Roman republic never attained. For, when Rome was politically dominant, she was in arts and letters the humble pupil of Greece. France had, over the surrounding countries, at once the ascendency which Rome had over Greece, and the ascendency which Greece had over Rome. French was fast becoming the universal language, the language of fashionable society, the language of diplomacy. At several courts princes and nobles spoke it more accurately and politely than their mother tongue.

In our island there was less of this servility than on the Continent. Neither our good nor our bad qualities were those of imitators. Yet even here homage was paid, awkwardly indeed and sullenly, to the literary supremacy of our neighbours. The melodious Tuscan, so familiar to the gallants and ladies of the court of Elizabeth, sank into contempt. A gentleman who quoted Horace or Terence was considered in good company as a pompous pedant. But to garnish his conversation with scraps of French was the best proof which he could give of his parts and attainments. New canons of criticism, new models of style came into fashion. The quaint ingenuity which had deformed the verses of Donne, and had been a blemish on those of Cowley, disappeared from our poetry. Our prose became less majestic, less artfully involved, less variously musical than that of an earlier age, but more lucid, more easy, and better fitted for controversy and narrative. In these changes it is impossible not to recognise the influence of French precept and of French example. Great masters of our language, in their most dignified compositions, affected to use French words, when English words, quite as expressive and melodious, were at hand: and from France was imported the tragedy in rhyme, an exotic which, in our soil, drooped, and speedily died.

IMMORALITY OF THE POLITE LITERATURE OF ENGLAND

It would have been well if our writers had also copied the decorum which their great French contemporaries, with few exceptions, preserved; for the profligacy of the English plays, satires, songs, and novels of that age is a deep blot on our national fame. The evil may easily be traced to its source. The wits and the Puritans had never been on friendly terms. There was no sympathy between the two classes. They looked on the whole system of human life from different points and in different lights. The earnestness of each was the jest of the other. The pleasures of each were the torments of the other. To the stern precisian even the innocent sport of the fancy seemed a crime. To light and festive natures the solemnity of the zealous brethren furnished copious matter of ridicule.

The war between wit and Puritanism soon became a war between wit and morality. The hostility excited by a grotesque caricature of virtue did not spare virtue herself. Whatever the canting roundhead had regarded with reverence was insulted. Whatever he had proscribed was favoured. Because he had been scrupulous about trifles, all scruples were treated with derision.

Because he had covered his failings with the mask of devotion, men were encouraged to obtrude with cynic impudence all their most scandalous vices on the public eye. Because he had punished illicit love with barbarous severity, virgin purity, and conjugal fidelity were to be made a jest. To that sanctimonious jargon which was his shibboleth, was opposed another jargon not less absurd and much more odious. As he never opened his mouth except in Scriptural phrase, the new breeds of wits and fine gentlemen never opened their mouths without uttering ribaldry of which a porter would now be ashamed, and without calling on their Maker to curse them, sink them, confound them, blast them, and damn them.

The spirit of the anti-Puritan reaction pervades almost the whole polite literature of the reign of Charles II. But the very quintessence of that spirit will be found in the comic drama. The playhouses, shut by the meddling fanatic in the day of his power, were again crowded. To their old attractions new and more powerful attractions had been added. Scenery, dresses, and decorations such as would now be thought mean or absurd, but such as would have been esteemed incredibly magnificent by those who, early in the seventeenth century, sat on the filthy benches of the Hope, or under the thatched roof of the Rose, dazzled the eyes of the multitude. The fascination of sex was called in to aid the fascination of art: and the young spectator saw, with emotions unknown to the contemporaries of Shakespeare and Jonson, tender and sprightly heroines personated by lovely women. From the day on which the theatres were reopened they became seminaries of vice; and the evil propagated itself. The profligacy of the representations soon drove away sober people. The frivolous and dissolute who remained required every year stronger and stronger stimulants. Thus the artists corrupted the spectators, and the spectators the artists, till the turpitude of the drama became such as must astonish all who are not aware that extreme relaxation is the natural effect of extreme restraint, and that an age of hypocrisy is, in the regular course of things, followed by an age of impudence.

Such was the state of the drama; and the drama was the department of polite literature in which a poet had the best chance of obtaining a subsistence by his pen. The sale of books was so small that a man of the greatest name could expect only a pittance for the copyright of the best performance. There cannot be a stronger instance than the fate of Dryden's last production, the *Fables*. That volume was published when he was universally admitted to be the chief of living English poets. It contains about twelve thousand lines. The versification is admirable; the narratives and descriptions full of life. To this day Palamon and Arcite, Cymon and Iphigenia, Theodore and Honoria are the delight both of critics and of schoolboys. The collection includes *Alexander's Feast*, the noblest ode in our language. For the copyright Dryden received £250, less than in our days has sometimes been paid for two articles in a review. Nor does the bargain seem to have been a hard one. For the book went off slowly; and the second edition was not required till the author had been ten years in his grave.

By writing for the theatre it was possible to earn a much larger sum with much less trouble. Southern made £700 by one play. Otway was raised from beggary to temporary affluence by the success of his *Don Carlos*. Shadwell cleared £130 by a single representation of the *Squire of Alsatia*. The consequence was that every man who had to live by his wit wrote plays, whether he had any internal vocation to write plays or not. It was thus with Dryden. As a satirist he has rivalled Juvenal. As a didactic poet he perhaps might, with care and meditation, have rivalled Lucretius. Of lyric poets

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he is, if not the most sublime, the most brilliant and spirit-stirring. But nature, profuse to him of many rare gifts, had denied him the dramatic faculty. Nevertheless all the energies of his best years were wasted on dramatic composition. He had too much judgment not to be aware that in the power of exhibiting character by means of dialogue he was deficient. That deficiency he did his best to conceal, sometimes by surprising and amusing incidents, sometimes by stately declamation, sometimes by harmonious numbers, sometimes by ribaldry but too well suited to the taste of a profane and licentious pit. Yet he never obtained any theatrical success equal to that which rewarded the exertions of some men far inferior to him in general powers. He thought himself fortunate if he cleared a hundred guineas by a play; a scanty remuneration, yet apparently larger than he could have earned in any other way by the same quantity of labour.

The recompense which the wits of that age could obtain from the public was so small that they were under the necessity of eking out their incomes by levying contributions on the great. Every rich and good-natured lord was pestered by authors with a mendicancy so importunate and a flattery so abject as may in our time seem incredible. The patron to whom a work was inscribed was expected to reward the writer with a purse of gold. The fee paid for the dedication of a book was often much larger than the sum which any publisher would give for the copyright. Books were therefore frequently printed merely that they might be dedicated. This traffic in praise produced the effect which might have been expected. Adulation pushed to the verge, sometimes of nonsense and sometimes of impiety, was not thought to disgrace a poet. Independence, veracity, self respect were things not required by the world from him. In truth, he was in morals something between a pandar and a beggar.

STATE OF SCIENCE IN ENGLAND

It is a remarkable fact that, while the lighter literature of England was thus becoming a nuisance and a national disgrace, the English genius was effecting in science a revolution which will, to the end of time, be reckoned among the highest achievements of the human intellect. Bacon had sown the good seed in a sluggish soil and an ungenial season. He had not expected an early crop, and in his last testament had solemnly bequeathed his fame to the next age. During a whole generation his philosophy had, amidst tumults, wars, and proscriptions, been slowly ripening in a few well constituted minds. While factions were struggling for dominion over each other, a small body of sages had turned away with benevolent disdain from the conflict, and had devoted themselves to the nobler work of extending the dominion of man over matter. As soon as tranquillity was restored, these teachers easily found attentive audience. For the discipline through which the nation had passed had brought the public mind to a temper well fitted for the reception of the Verulamian doctrine. The year 1660, the era of the restoration of the old constitution, is also the era from which dates the ascendency of the new philosophy. In that year the Royal Society, destined to be a chief agent in a long series of glorious and salutary reforms, began to exist. In a few months experimental science became all the mode. The transfusion of blood, the ponderation of air, the fixation of mercury, succeeded to that place in the public mind which had been lately occupied by the controversies of the Rota. Dreams of perfect forms of government made way for dreams of wings with which men were to fly from the Tower to the

Abbey, and of double-keeled ships which were never to founder in the fiercest storm. All classes were hurried along by the prevailing sentiment. Cavalier and roundhead, churchman and Puritan were for once allied. Divines, jurists, statesmen, nobles, princes, swelled the triumph of the Baconian philosophy. Poets sang with emulous fervour the approach of the golden age. Cowley, in lines weighty with thought and resplendent with wit, urged the chosen seed to take possession of the promised land flowing with milk and honey, that land which their great deliverer and lawgiver had seen, as from the summit of Pisgah, but had not been permitted to enter. Dryden, with more zeal than knowledge, joined his voice to the general acclamation, and foretold things which neither he nor anybody else understood. The Royal Society, he predicted, would soon lead us to the extreme verge of the globe, and there delight us with a better view of the moon.

The spirit of Francis Bacon was abroad, a spirit admirably compounded of audacity and sobriety. There was a strong persuasion that the whole world was full of secrets of high moment to the happiness of man, and that man had, by his Maker, been entrusted with the key which, rightly used, would give access to them. There was at the same time a conviction that in physics it was impossible to arrive at the knowledge of general laws except by the careful observation of particular facts. Deeply impressed with these great truths, the professors of the new philosophy applied themselves to their task, and, before a quarter of a century had expired, they had given ample earnest of what has since been achieved. Already a reform of agriculture had been commenced. New vegetables were cultivated. New implements of husbandry were employed. New manures were applied to the soil. Evelyn had, under the formal sanction of the Royal Society, given instruction to his countrymen in planting. Temple, in his intervals of leisure, had tried many experiments in horticulture, and had proved that many delicate fruits, the natives of more favoured climates, might, with the help of art, be grown on English ground. Medicine, which in France was still in abject bondage, and afforded an inexhaustible subject of just ridicule to Molière, had in England become an experimental and progressive science, and every day made some new advance, in defiance of Hippocrates and Galen. The attention of speculative men had been, for the first time, directed to the important subject of sanitary police. The great plague of 1665 induced them to consider with care the defective architecture, draining, and ventilation of the capital. The great fire of 1666 afforded an opportunity for effecting extensive improvements. The whole matter was diligently examined by the Royal Society; and to the suggestions of that body must be partly attributed the changes which, though far short of what the public welfare required, yet made a wide difference between the new and the old London, and probably put a final close to the ravages of pestilence in our country.

At the same time one of the founders of the society, Sir William Petty, created the science of political arithmetic, the humble but indispensable handmaid of political philosophy. No kingdom of nature was left unexplored. To that period belong the chemical discoveries of Boyle, and the earliest botanical researches of Sloane. It was then that Ray made a new classification of birds and fishes, and that the attention of Woodward was first drawn towards fossils and shells. One after another phantoms which had haunted the world through ages of darkness fled before the light. Astrology and alchemy became jests. Soon there was scarcely a county in which some of the quorum did not smile contemptuously when an old woman was brought before them for riding on broomsticks or giving cattle the murrain. But it

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was in those noblest and most arduous departments of knowledge in which induction and mathematical demonstration co-operate for the discovery of truth, that the English genius won in that age the most memorable triumphs. John Wallis placed the whole system of statics on a new foundation. Edmund Halley investigated the properties of the atmosphere, the ebb and flow of the sea, the laws of magnetism, and the course of the comets: nor did he shrink from toil, peril, and exile in the course of science. While he, on the rock of St. Helena, mapped the constellations of the southern hemisphere, our national observatory was rising at Greenwich: and John Flamsteed, the first astronomer royal, was commencing that long series of observations which is never mentioned without respect and gratitude in any part of the globe.

But the glory of these men, eminent as they were, is cast into the shade by the transcendent lustre of one immortal name. In Isaac Newton two kinds of intellectual power, which have little in common, and which are not often found together in a very high degree of vigour, but which nevertheless are equally necessary in the most sublime departments of physics, were united as they have never been united before or since. There may have been minds as happily constituted as his for the cultivation of pure mathematical science: there may have been minds as happily constituted for the cultivation of science purely experimental: but in no other mind have the demonstrative faculty and the inductive faculty coexisted in such extreme excellence and perfect harmony. Perhaps in an age of Scotists and Thomists even his intellect might have run to waste, as many intellects ran to waste which were inferior only to his. Happily the spirit of the age on which his lot was cast, gave the right direction to his mind: and his mind reacted with tenfold force on the spirit of the age. In the year 1685 his fame, though splendid, was only dawning: but his genius was in the meridian. His great work, that work which effected a revolution in the most important provinces of natural philosophy, had been completed, but was not yet published, and was just about to be submitted to the consideration of the Royal Society.

STATE OF THE FINE ARTS

It is not very easy to explain why the nation which was so far before its neighbours in science should in art have been far behind them all. Yet such was the fact. It is true that in architecture, an art which is half a science, an art in which none but a geometrician can excel, an art which has no standard of grace but what is directly or indirectly dependent on utility, an art of which the creations derive a part, at least, of their majesty from mere bulk, our country could boast of one truly great man, Christopher Wren: and the fire which laid London in ruins had given him an opportunity, unprecedented in modern history, of displaying his powers. The austere beauty of the Athenian portico, the gloomy sublimity of the Gothic arcade, he was, like almost all his contemporaries, incapable of emulating, and perhaps incapable of appreciating: but no man, born on our side of the Alps, has imitated with so much success the magnificence of the palace-like churches of Italy. Even the superb Louis has left to posterity no work which can bear a comparison with Saint Paul's.

But at the close of the reign of Charles II there was not a single English painter or statuary whose name is now remembered.

It is time that this description of the England which Charles II governed should draw to a close. Yet one subject of the highest moment still remains

untouched. Nothing has as yet been said of the great body of the people, of those who held the ploughs, who tended the oxen, who toiled at the looms of Norwich and squared the Portland stone for St. Paul's. Nor can very much be said. The most numerous class is precisely the class respecting which we have the most meagre information. In those times philanthropists did not yet regard it as a sacred duty, nor had demagogues yet found it a lucrative trade, to expatiate on the distress of the labourer. History was too much occupied with courts and camps to spare a line for the hut of the peasant or for the garret of the mechanic. The press now often sends forth in a day a greater quantity of discussion and declamation about the condition of the working man than was published during the twenty-eight years which elapsed between the Restoration and the Revolution. But it would be a great error to infer from the increase of complaint that there has been any increase of misery.

STATE OF THE COMMON PEOPLE

The great criterion of the state of the common people is the amount of their wages; and, as four-fifths of the common people were, in the seventeenth century, employed in agriculture, it is especially important to ascertain what were then the wages of agricultural industry. On this subject we have the means of arriving at conclusions sufficiently exact for our purpose.

Sir William Petty, whose mere assertion carries great weight, informs us that a labourer was by no means in the lowest state who received for a day's work fourpence with food, or eightpence without food. Four shillings a week therefore were, according to Petty's calculation, fair agricultural wages. That this calculation was not remote from the truth we have abundant proof. About the beginning of the year 1685 the justices of Warwickshire, in the exercise of a power entrusted to them by an act of Elizabeth, fixed, at their quarter sessions, a scale of wages for the county, and notified that every employer who gave more than the authorised sum, and every working man who received more, would be liable to punishment. The wages of the common agricultural labourer, from March to September, were fixed at the precise sum mentioned by Petty, namely four shillings a week without food. From September to March the wages were to be only three and sixpence a week.

But in that age, as in ours, the earnings of the peasant were very different in different parts of the kingdom. The wages of Warwickshire were probably about the average, and those of the counties near the Scottish border below it: but there were more favoured districts. In the same year, 1685, a gentleman of Devonshire, named Richard Dunning, published a small tract, in which he described the condition of the poor of that county. That he understood his subject well it is impossible to doubt; for a few months later his work was reprinted, and was, by the magistrates assembled in quarter sessions at Exeter, strongly recommended to the attention of all parochial officers. According to him, the wages of the Devonshire peasant were, without food, about five shillings a week. Still better was the condition of the labourer in the neighbourhood of Bury St. Edmund's. The magistrates of Suffolk met there in the spring of 1682 to fix a rate of wages, and resolved that, where the labourer was not boarded, he should have five shillings a week in winter, and six in summer.

In 1661 the justices at Chelmsford had fixed the wages of the Essex labourer, who was not boarded, at six shillings in winter and seven in summer.

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This seems to have been the highest remuneration given in the kingdom for agricultural labour between the Restoration and the Revolution; and it is to be observed that, in the year in which this order was made, the necessaries of life were immoderately dear. Wheat was at seventy shillings the quarter, which would even now be considered as almost a famine price.

These facts are in perfect accordance with another fact which seems to deserve consideration. It is evident that, in a country where no man can be compelled to become a soldier, the ranks of an army cannot be filled if the government offers much less than the wages of common rustic labour. At present the pay and beer money of a private in a regiment of the line amount to seven shillings and sevenpence a week. This stipend, coupled with the hope of a pension, does not attract the English youth in sufficient numbers; and it is found necessary to supply the deficiency by enlisting largely from among the poorer population of Munster and Connaught. The pay of the private foot soldier in 1685 was only four shillings and eightpence a week; yet it is certain that the government in that year found no difficulty in obtaining many thousands of English recruits at very short notice. The pay of the private foot soldier in the army of the Commonwealth had been seven shillings a week, that is to say as much as a corporal received under Charles II; and seven shillings a week had been found sufficient to fill the ranks with men decidedly superior to the generality of the people. On the whole, therefore, it seems reasonable to conclude that, in the reign of Charles II, the ordinary wages of the peasant did not exceed four shillings a week; but that, in some parts of the kingdom, five shillings, six shillings, and, during the summer months, even seven shillings were paid. At present a district where a labouring man earns only seven shillings a week is thought to be in a state shocking to humanity. The average is very much higher; and, in prosperous counties, the weekly wages of husbandmen amount to twelve, fourteen, and even sixteen shillings.

The remuneration of workmen employed in manufactures has always been higher than that of the tillers of the soil. In the year 1680 a member of the house of commons remarked that the high wages paid in this country made it impossible for our textures to maintain a competition with the products of the Indian looms. An English mechanic, he said, instead of slaving like a native of Bengal for a piece of copper, exacted a shilling a day. Other evidence is extant, which proves that a shilling a day was the pay to which the English workman then thought himself entitled, but that he was often forced to work for less. The common people of that age were not in the habit of meeting for public discussion, of haranguing, or of petitioning parliament. No newspaper pleaded their cause. It was in rude rhyme that their love and hatred, their exultation and their distress found utterance. A great part of their history is to be learned only from their ballads. One of the most remarkable of the popular lays chaunted about the streets of Norwich and Leeds in the time of Charles II may still be read on the original broadside. It is the vehement and bitter cry of labour against capital. It describes the good old times when every artisan employed in the woollen manufacture lived as well as a farmer. But those times were past. Sixpence a day was now all that could be earned by hard labour at the loom. If the poor complained that they could not live on such a pittance, they were told that they were free to take it or leave it. For so miserable a recompense were the producers of wealth compelled to toil, rising early and lying down late, while the master clothier, eating, sleeping, and idling, became rich by their exertions. A shilling a day, the poet declares, is what the weaver would have,

if justice were done. We may therefore conclude that, in the generation which preceded the Revolution, a workman employed in the great staple manufacture of England thought himself fairly paid if he gained six shillings a week.

It may here be noticed that the practice of setting children prematurely to work, a practice which the state, the legitimate protector of those who cannot protect themselves, has, in our time, wisely and humanely interdicted, prevailed in the seventeenth century to an extent which, when compared with the extent of the manufacturing system, seems almost incredible. At Norwich, the chief seat of the clothing trade, a little creature of six years old was thought fit for labour. Several writers of that time, and among them some who were considered as eminently benevolent, mention, with exultation, the fact that in that single city boys and girls of very tender age created wealth exceeding what was necessary for their own subsistence by twelve thousand pounds a year. The more carefully we examine the history of the past, the more reason shall we find to dissent from those who imagine that our age has been fruitful of new social evils. The truth is that the evils are, with scarcely an exception, old. That which is new is the intelligence which discerns and the humanity which remedies them.

When we pass from the weavers of cloth to a different class of artisans, our inquiries will still lead us to nearly the same conclusions. During several generations, the commissioners of Greenwich hospital have kept a register of the wages paid to different classes of workmen who have been employed in the repairs of the building. From this valuable record it appears that, in the course of a hundred and twenty years, the daily earnings of the bricklayer have risen from half a crown to four and tenpence, those of the mason from half a crown to five and threepence, those of the carpenter from half a crown to five and five pence, and those of the plumber from three shillings to five and sixpence.

It must be remembered that those labourers who were able to maintain themselves and their families by means of wages were not the most necessitous members of the community. Beneath them lay a large class which could not subsist without some aid from the parish. There can hardly be a more important test of the condition of the common people than the ratio which this class bears to the whole society. At present the men, women, and children who receive relief appear from the official returns to be, in bad years, one-tenth of the inhabitants of England, and, in good years, one-thirteenth. Gregory King estimated them in his time at more than a fifth; and this estimate, which all our respect for his authority will scarcely prevent us from calling extravagant, was pronounced by Davenant eminently judicious.

We are not quite without the means of forming an estimate for ourselves. The poor rate was undoubtedly the heaviest tax borne by our ancestors in those days. It was computed, in the reign of Charles II, at near seven hundred thousand pounds a year, much more than the produce either of the excise or of the customs, and little less than half the entire revenue of the crown. The poor rate went on increasing rapidly, and appears to have risen in a short time to between eight and nine hundred thousand a year, that is to say, to one-sixth of what it now is. The population was then less than a third of what it now is. The minimum of wages, estimated in money, was half of what it now is; and we can therefore hardly suppose that the average allowance made to a pauper can have been more than half of what it now is. It seems to follow that the proportion of the English people which received parochial relief then must have been larger than the proportion which receives

relief now. It is good to speak on such questions with diffidence: but it has certainly never yet been proved that pauperism was a less heavy burden or a less serious social evil during the last quarter of the seventeenth century than it is in our own time.

In one respect it must be admitted that the progress of civilisation has diminished the physical comforts of a portion of the poorest class. It has already been mentioned that, before the Revolution, many thousands of square miles, now enclosed and cultivated, were marsh, forest, and heath. Of this wild land much was, by law, common, and much of what was not common by law was worth so little that the proprietors suffered it to be common in fact. In such a tract, squatters and trespassers were tolerated to an extent now unknown. The peasant who dwelt there could, at little or no charge, procure occasionally some palatable addition to his hard fare, and provide himself with fuel for the winter. He kept a flock of geese on what is now an orchard rich with apple blossoms. He snared wild fowl on the fen which has long since been drained and divided into corn fields and turnip fields. He cut turf among the furze bushes on the moor which is now a meadow bright with clover and renowned for butter and cheese. The progress of agriculture and the increase of population necessarily deprived him of these privileges.

BENEFITS OF THE PROGRESS OF CIVILISATION

But against this disadvantage a long list of advantages is to be set off. Of the blessings which civilisation and philosophy bring with them a large proportion is common to all ranks, and would, if withdrawn, be missed as painfully by the labourer as by the peer. The market place which the rustic can now reach with his cart in an hour was, a hundred and sixty years ago, a day's journey from him. The street which now affords to the artisan, during the whole night, a secure, a convenient, and a brilliantly lighted walk was, a hundred and sixty years ago, so dark after sunset that he would not have been able to see his hand, so ill paved that he would have run constant risk of breaking his neck, and so ill watched that he would have been in imminent danger of being knocked down and plundered of his small earnings. Every bricklayer who falls from a scaffold, every sweeper of a crossing who is run over by a carriage, may now have his wounds dressed and his limbs set with a skill such as, a hundred and sixty years ago, all the wealth of a great lord like Ormonde, or of a merchant prince like Clayton, could not have purchased. Some frightful diseases have been extirpated by science; and some have been banished by police. The term of human life has been lengthened over the whole kingdom, and especially in the towns. The year 1685 was not accounted sickly; yet in the year 1685 more than one in twenty-three of the inhabitants of the capital died. The difference in salubrity between London of the nineteenth century and the London of the seventeenth century is very far greater than the difference between London in an ordinary season and London in the cholera.

Still more important is the benefit which all orders of society, and especially the lower orders, have derived from the mollifying influence of civilisation on the national character. The groundwork of that character has indeed been the same through many generations, in the sense in which the groundwork of the character of an individual may be said to be the same when he is a rude and thoughtless schoolboy and when he is a refined and accomplished man. It is pleasing to reflect that the public mind of England has softened

while it has ripened, and that we have, in the course of ages, become, not only a wiser, but also a kinder people. There is scarcely a page of the history or lighter literature of the seventeenth century which does not contain some proof that our ancestors were less humane than their posterity. The discipline of workshops, of schools, of private families, though not more efficient than at present, was infinitely harsher. Masters, well born and bred, were in the habit of beating their servants. Pedagogues knew no way of imparting knowledge but by beating their pupils. Husbands, of decent station, were not ashamed to beat their wives.

The implacability of hostile factions was such as we can scarcely conceive. Whigs were disposed to murmur because Stafford was suffered to die without seeing his bowels burned before his face. Tories reviled and insulted Russell as his coach passed from the Tower to the scaffold in Lincoln's Inn Fields. As little mercy was shown by the populace to sufferers of a humbler rank. If an offender was put into the pillory, it was well if he escaped with life from the shower of brick bats and paving stones. If he was tied to the cart's tail, the crowd pressed round him, imploring the hangman to give it the fellow well, and make him howl. Gentlemen arranged parties of pleasure to Bridewell on court days, for the purpose of seeing the wretched women who beat hemp there whipped. A man pressed to death for refusing to plead, a woman burned for coining, excited less sympathy than is now felt for a galled horse or an overdriven ox. Fights compared with which a boxing match is a refined and humane spectacle were among the favourite diversions of a large part of the town. Multitudes assembled to see gladiators hack each other to pieces with deadly weapons, and shouted with delight when one of the combatants lost a finger or an eye. The prisons were hells on earth, seminaries of every crime and of every disease.

But on all this misery society looked with profound indifference. Nowhere could be found that sensitive and restless compassion which has, in our time, extended a powerful protection to the factory child, to the Hindoo widow, to the negro slave, which pries into the stores and watercasks of every emigrant ship, which winces at every lash laid on the back of a drunken soldier, which will not suffer the thief in the hulks to be ill fed or overworked, and which has repeatedly endeavoured to save the life even of the murderer. It is true that compassion ought, like all other feelings, to be under the government of reason, and has, for want of such government, produced some ridiculous and some deplorable effects. But the more we study the annals of the past the more shall we rejoice that we live in a merciful age, in an age in which cruelty is abhorred, and in which pain, even when deserved, is inflicted reluctantly and from a sense of duty. Every class doubtless has gained largely by this great moral change; but the class which has gained most is the poorest, the most dependent, and the most defenceless.[b]



CHAPTER X

JAMES II AND THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION

[1685–1689 A.D.]

> The government of James II will lose little by comparison with that of his father. It is indeed amusing to observe that many who scarcely put bounds to their eulogies of Charles I have been content to abandon the cause of one who had no faults in his public conduct but such as seemed to have come by inheritance The characters of the father and son were very closely similar, both proud of their judgment as well as their station, and still more obstinate in their understanding than in their purpose; both scrupulously conscientious in certain great points of conduct, to the sacrifice of that power which they had preferred to everything else; the one far superior in relish for the arts and for polite letters, the other more diligent and indefatigable in business; the father exempt from those vices of a court to which the son was too long addicted; not so harsh, perhaps, or prone to severity in his temper, but inferior in general sincerity and adherence to his word. They were both equally unfitted for the condition in which they were meant to stand — the limited kings of a wise and free people, the chiefs of the English commonwealth. — HALLAM.P

IMMEDIATELY on the demise of King Charles, the privy council assembled, and the new monarch addressed them, assuring them of his determination to follow the example of his late brother, "especially in that of his great clemency and tenderness to his people"; that "he would make it his endeavour to preserve this government, both in church and state, as it is by law established"; and, "that he would always take care to defend and support the church." His brother-in-law, Lord Rochester, requested that this address, which had filled them all with joy, might be made public. The king said he had no copy; but one of the council wrote it down from memory, and the king, who had not expected this result, found it necessary to consent to its publication. He was forthwith proclaimed, amid the loud acclamations of the populace.

The king's speech gave great satisfaction to those who called themselves the loyal part of the nation. It was regarded as a security greater than any law. "We have now the word of a king, and a word never broken," was the common phrase. The pulpits resounded as usual, loyal addresses poured in from all sides; the University of Oxford promised obedience, "without limitations or restrictions"; the London clergy, more sincere, said, "our religion established by law is dearer to us than our lives"; and this expression gave offence at court, a proof of what was the real feeling in the royal bosom.

The funeral of the late king was private (May 14th), for the successor was unwilling, as he says himself, to communicate with the Church of England in spiritual things, as he must have done had it been public.[c]

The funeral called forth much censure. It would, indeed, hardly have been accounted worthy of a noble and opulent subject. The tories gently blamed the new king's parsimony; the whigs sneered at his want of natural affection; and the fiery covenanters of Scotland exultingly proclaimed that the curse denounced of old against wicked princes had been signally fulfilled, and that the departed tyrant had been buried with the burial of an ass. Yet James commenced his administration with a large measure of public good will.[b]

JAMES ILLEGALLY LEVIES CUSTOMS; AND RELEASES CATHOLIC PRISONERS

James had not been more than three days king, when his government committed an illegal act. The grant of customs for the life of the king expired on the death of Charles. A proclamation was issued ordering that the duties on merchandise should be levied as usual, till the royal revenue had been settled by parliament. This was against the advice of the lord keeper, Guilford, who recommended that the duties should be collected and kept apart in the exchequer, till the parliament should dispose of them. But, says North,[d] "the temper of the public was, then, so propitious to the crown that almost anything would be borne with, which, in other times, would have raised a flame." The counsellors chosen by the king for his especial confidence were his brother-in-law, Rochester; Sunderland, who had been Charles' secretary of state; and Godolphin, who had been first lord of the treasury: Halifax, who had held the privy seal, was appointed to the unimportant office of president of the council. It was nominally a higher office, and therefore a witticism which he had used on the promotion of Rochester was applied to himself — he was kicked up-stairs. The king's other brother-in-law, Clarendon, was made privy seal. Sunderland had voted for the Exclusion Bill, and therefore his continuance in office was a matter of surprise. But, if we are to credit the king's own assertion, this crafty minister saw the policy of connecting himself, however secretly, with the Roman Catholic party. James, in his so-called *Memoirs*,[e] says that in a consultation soon after his accession to the throne between Lord Sunderland, Father Petre, Mr. Jermyn, and Lord Tyrconnel, "it was agreed that Father Petre should be a cardinal, Lord Sunderland lord treasurer, Lord Tyrconnel lord lieutenant of Ireland (who engaged to procure my lord Sunderland £5,000 per annum out of that kingdom, or £50,000 in money), and that Mr. Henry Jermyn should be made a lord, and captain of the horse guards." Tyrconnel and Jermyn were Roman Catholics. The king did not stand alone in his inclination to tread a path beset with dangers.

The apologists of James have endeavoured to induce a belief that, soon after his accession, "he limited his views to the accomplishment of two objects, which he called liberty of conscience and freedom of worship, and which, had he been successful, would have benefited not the Catholics only but every class of religionists." Doctor Lingard[f] expresses this opinion, after having stated that James "gave it in charge to the judges to discourage prosecutions in matters of religion, and ordered by proclamation the discharge of all persons confined for the refusal of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy."

It is implied that the "dissenters" were relieved by this tolerant disposition. The relief extended only to Roman Catholics and Quakers. The Puritan

[1685 A.D.]

dissenters — Presbyterians, or Independents, or Baptists — had evinced no objection to the oath which renounced the authority of the pope. Those who continued in prison were there for offences under the Conventicle Acts and the Five Mile Act. The Roman Catholics would not take the oath of supremacy; the Quakers would not take any oath. "I have not been able," says Macaulay,[b] "to find any proof that any person, not a Roman Catholic or a Quaker, regained his freedom under these orders." The orders, signed by Sunderland, were issued on the 19th of April. The relief to the Roman Catholics was a natural manifestation of the disposition of the government. The relief to Quakers was the result of a conviction that they were a harmless sect, who carefully abstained from all political action, and avoided even political conversation. The influence of William Penn, who had returned home from Pennsylvania, was laudably exercised to obtain this relief for the society of which he was a member.

The number of Quakers liberated was estimated at above fourteen hundred. Roman Catholics were liberated, says Lingard,[f] "to the amount of some thousands." The real disposition of the government towards Protestant dissenters was at that period amply manifested by the proceedings in the Scottish parliament. The meeting of the estates preceded that of the English parliament by nearly a month. In obedience to a special letter from the king, calling for new penal laws against the covenanters, it was enacted on the 8th of May, that the punishment of death, and confiscation of land and goods, should be awarded against those who should preach in a conventicle under a roof, or should attend a conventicle in the open air, either as preacher or auditor.

The persecution of the times of Charles II was continued with increased fury. The soldiery were let loose upon the districts where the covenanters were still unsubdued, to kill and plunder. The tale of two unhappy women who were condemned to be drowned, and were tied to stakes when the tide had receded, there to await the lingering but certain death that would follow its return, is not a fiction.[g]

The king was resolved to make no secret of his own, or his brother's religion. With respect to the latter, he caused Huddleston to publish an account of the late king's reconcilement, and he gave to the world two papers in favour of popery found in that monarch's strong box, and written by his own hand. For himself, on the second Sunday of his reign, he caused the folding doors of the queen's private chapel to be thrown open while he was at mass, that his presence there might be seen. On Holy Thursday (April 16th) he was attended to the door of the chapel by his guards and the pensioners, and on Easter Sunday by the knights of the Garter and several of the nobility — a proceeding which caused great uneasiness in the minds of zealous Protestants. Their suspicions were further excited by a proclamation for the discharge of all recusants. They saw in this a manifest advance to the establishment of popery, which was in reality the object nearest to the king's heart. Meantime every effort was made to get Louis to continue the pension, in order that James might be independent of his parliament.

On the 3rd of May the king and queen were crowned with the usual ceremonies, the only part omitted being the communion. The king of course solemnly swore to maintain the true profession of the Gospel, and the rights and privileges of the church and clergy. Like a true Stuart, he told Barillon that he did so, as these rights and privileges were those which had been granted by King Edward the Confessor, of whose being a Catholic there was not the slightest doubt. During the whole ceremony he had been under apprehensions for his personal safety, though without any just cause,

On the 19th the parliament met. In consequence of the power which the surrender of charters had given to the crown, the returns had been so much to the royal satisfaction that James declared there were not forty members whom he would not have nominated himself. In his speech from the throne, he repeated his address to the privy council; he then called on them to give him a revenue for life such as his brother had enjoyed, and hinting that nothing else would content him, he added, "the best way to engage me to meet you often, is always to use me well": he concluded by informing them of the news he had just received of the landing of Argyll in Scotland, and again calling on them to give him his revenue as he desired it without delay.[c]

THE CONVICTION OF OATES AND BAXTER

There were two remarkable trials at this period, which must have had a considerable influence upon public opinion. The one was the prosecution of Titus Oates for perjury; the other the prosecution of Richard Baxter for libel. Of the justice of the conviction of Oates there can be little doubt. The atrocious severity of his punishment was to gratify the revenge of the Roman Catholics, who crowded Westminster Hall on his trial, on the 7th of May. The chief witness to the popish plot had long been lying in prison, heavily ironed, in default of payment of the excessive fine imposed upon him on his conviction for libelling the duke of York. He had been accustomed to browbeat juries, and to be lauded to the skies by judges. He had now to bear all the tyrannous invective which judges thought it decent to use in state prosecutions; and, what to his unabashed impudence was far more terrible, he was to be pilloried in Palace Yard, and at the Royal Exchange. He was to be whipped from Aldgate to Newgate on one day, and then again to be whipped from Newgate to Tyburn. He was to be imprisoned for life. He was to stand in the pillory five times every year. His conviction, says Reresby,[h] "was a grateful hearing to the king." His Majesty said that, Oates being thus convicted, the popish plot was dead.



JAMES II
(1633–1701)

[1685 A.D.]

Oates was tortured in a way which even the haters of his perjuries must have thought excessive. He was flogged at the cart's tail on the first day, almost to death. Intercession was made to the king to remit the second flogging. The answer was, "He shall go through with it, if he has breath in his body." He did go through with it, and survived even seventeen hundred lashes. It is clear that the judges meant him to be flogged to death. He could not be executed for his offence; but he could be subjected to the torments of a lingering execution. Flogging, under the government of James II, became a favourite punishment. Another of the plot witnesses, Dangerfield, was scourged for a libel, and he died. His death was laid upon a violent man who struck him with a cane, injuring his eye, as he was carried in a coach back to Newgate after his flogging; and that man, Francis, was hanged for murder. The lacerated body of Dangerfield showed that the brutal assault of Francis was a secondary cause of Dangerfield's death.

If Titus Oates was unmercifully scourged for the satisfaction of the papists, Richard Baxter was harassed, insulted, fined, and imprisoned, for the terror of the Puritans. Baxter was tried for a seditious libel, contained in his *Paraphrase on the New Testament*, in which he somewhat bitterly complained of the wrongs of the dissenters. Baxter's counsel moved for a postponement of the trial. "I would not give him a minute more to save his life," exclaimed the brutal Chief-justice Jeffreys: "Yonder stands Oates in the pillory, and if Baxter stood by his side the two greatest rogues and rascals in England would be there." The trial, if trial it could be called, went on. The barristers who defended the venerable man, now in his seventieth year, were insulted by the ermined slave of the crown. Baxter himself attempted to speak, and he was thus met by Jeffreys: "Richard, Richard! dost thou think we will hear thee poison the court? Richard, thou art an old fellow, an old knave; thou hast written books enough to load a cart; every one is as full of sedition (I might say treason), as an egg is full of meat; hadst thou been whipt out of thy writing trade forty years ago it had been happy. Thou pretendest to be a preacher of the gospel of peace, and thou hast one foot in the grave; it is time for thee to begin to think what account thou intendest to give; but leave thee to thyself, and I see thou wilt go on as thou hast begun; but, by the grace of God, I'll look after thee. I know thou hast a mighty party, and I see a great many of the brotherhood in corners, waiting to see what will become of the mighty don; but by the grace of Almighty God I will crush you all." The famous non-conformist — he who, in the earnestness of his piety and the purity of his life, was unsurpassed by the greatest of the great divines of the English church from which he differed so little — was of course found guilty. He was surrounded by friends and admirers, who wept aloud. "Sniveling calves!" exclaimed Jeffreys. He was anxious, it was said, that the prisoner should be whipped at the cart's tail, but that was overruled by the three other judges. Baxter was unable to pay his fine of 500 marks; and he remained in prison for eighteen months; when his pardon was obtained.[9]

MONMOUTH'S REBELLION (1685 A.D.)

In most respects the commons proved as dutiful as the king could have desired. By a unanimous vote, they settled on him for life the same revenue that the late king had enjoyed. They accompanied it with a declaration that they had implicit confidence in his promise to support the church, which, they added, was dearer to them than their lives. On the intelligence of the land-

ing of Monmouth, they made an additional grant of 400,000*l.* and passed a bill for the security of the king's person, in which they enlarged the original statute of treason. In the midst of this exuberant loyalty, however, it was manifest that the parliament, with all its servility, was jealous on the subject of religion.

Immediately on the accession of James, the English and Scottish exiles began to consult on the mode of delivering their country from the yoke of popery and despotism which they were persuaded the new monarch would endeavour to impose on it. They met at Rotterdam, whither Argyll and Monmouth, who were at Brussels, repaired at their invitation, and it was arranged that these noblemen should simultaneously head expeditions to England and Scotland: to keep up the union between them, Argyll was to be attended by two Englishmen, Ayloffe and Rumbold; and Monmouth by two Scots, Ferguson and Fletcher of Saltoun.

Argyll sailed on May 2nd, 1685. He stopped at the Orkney Isles, where two of his party were captured, and the government thus got information of his strength and destination. He landed in his own country on the 17th, and forthwith issued two declarations, and sent the fiery cross, according to Highland usage, to summon his clansmen to arms.[c] The ill success of his adventure, his capture and brave death on the scaffold are described in the history of Scotland, where one must seek the account of the remarkable events of this reign.[a]

Various circumstances detained Monmouth so long, that it was the 11th of June when he landed at Lyme in Dorset. He was attended by Lord Grey of Werk, and about eighty other exiles and their attendants. He forthwith raised his standard, and published a declaration styling James a usurper and charging him with the burning of London and every atrocity which had been laid to the account of the papists, adding that of poisoning the late king. This declaration drew numbers of the people to his standard, and on the fourth day (June 15th) he marched from Lyme at the head of four thousand men. At Taunton he was received with acclamations and presented with a splendid stand of colours; and twenty young ladies in their best attire came to offer him a naked sword and a pocket Bible. He here caused himself to be proclaimed king on the 20th; and, in proof of his royalty, touched for the king's evil. He thence proceeded to Bridgewater, where he was also well received. The militia everywhere retired before him, and he proposed to cross the Avon near Bath and advance against Bristol.

But it was now ascertained that the royal troops, under the earl of Feversham, were at hand; that project therefore was abandoned, and it was debated in his council whether to march for Salop and Cheshire, where he expected good support, or to direct their course into Wiltshire, where he was led to hope for powerful assistance. This last was preferred, and the army arrived on the 26th at Philip's-Norton on the confines of that county, where they had an encounter with a part of the royal forces in which they had rather the advantage. They fell back however to Frome, and here Monmouth first learned of the defeat of Argyll.

He had been for some time desponding; for he saw that none of the nobility or gentry, without whose aid no civil movements have ever succeeded in England, had declared in his favour, and he therefore had begun to view his cause as hopeless. It was proposed that the army should be disbanded, and Monmouth and his friends should endeavour to escape by sea; but this course was vehemently opposed by Lord Grey and others, and the army was led back to Bridgewater, July 1st.

[1685 A.D.]

As the royal forces were reported to be encamped at no great distance on the edge of a morass named Sedgemoor, it was resolved to try the effect of a nocturnal attack. The duke led out his forces, the horse being commanded by Lord Grey, whose courage was very dubious. They reached the moor at about one in the morning of the 6th, but found themselves stopped by a deep drain in front of the royal camp. Grey, on coming to the ditch and perceiving the troops to be on the alert, turned after a brief stand and led his men off the field. The whole plan was now disconcerted; a firing was kept up till daylight, when Feversham ordered his infantry to cross the drain, while his horse took the insurgents in flank. The half-armed peasants made a gallant but ineffectual resistance, then broke and fled in all directions. Their loss was five hundred slain and fifteen hundred taken; the victors had three hundred killed and wounded.



ARMOUR OF JAMES II

Monmouth fled, it is not known at what time: his first thought was to get over to Wales; but Grey, who was his evil genius, dissuaded him from it, and with him and a German named Busse he directed his course toward the New Forest. As a reward had been set on his head, an active search was kept up for them. Early the next morning Grey was captured, and though Monmouth and Busse then escaped, the latter was taken the following morning; and as he owned that he had parted only four hours before from the duke, the search for him was made with redoubled activity. In a couple of hours that unfortunate prince was found in a ditch, covered with fern and nettles. He was in the dress of a peasant, and in his pockets were some green peas, the only sustenance he appears to have had. Broken in mind and body, he wrote a most humble letter to the king, entreating a personal interview and promising to make some important discovery. He was therefore, the very evening he reached London (July 13th), led into the royal presence with his arms pinioned. He threw himself on his knees, confessed his guilt, casting the blame on others, and implored for mercy in the humblest terms, but made no discovery. James, reminding him of his early education, asked him if he would have a priest. "Is there then no hope?" said he. The king made no reply, but ordered him to be taken away to the Tower, where he was told to prepare for death on the second day. When Monmouth was gone, Grey was brought into the royal presence, and he behaved with more spirit than the unfortunate duke.

James is usually condemned for inhumanity on this occasion. It is said that he should not have seen Monmouth, if he was resolved not to pardon him; but there is no proof of this resolution; he saw the prisoner at his own desire, and was led to expect disclosures which he did not receive. Surely Monmouth, after his invasion, his declaration, and his assumption of the title of king, had no claims to mercy. As to his being the king's nephew, this was a dubious

point, and James appears to have always doubted his being his brother's son.

The next morning (July 14th) Monmouth was visited by his duchess, the heiress of Buccleuch, whom he had abandoned to live with Lady Harriet Wentworth. The meeting was a cold one; her object was, for the sake of herself and children, to get him to declare that she was ignorant of his projects. On this subject he gave her ample satisfaction, and she then withdrew. He wrote again to the king and to the queen and the queen-dowager (which last kindhearted princess earnestly interceded for him), and to others, but with no effect. The bishops Ken and Turner came to prepare him for death. When they were announced he was overwhelmed with terror; but it passed away, and henceforth his mind was serene and composed. They found him in a religious frame of mind in general; but on two points he proved immovable; he strenuously maintained the right of resistance to oppression, and he would not allow that there was anything morally wrong in the connection between him and Lady Harriet Wentworth, though she had borne him a child: she, he said, was his real, the duchess was only his legal wife; his love for her had weaned him from vice; both had prayed to God to root out their affection if displeasing to him, but it had only increased with time. The prelates therefore declined giving him the sacrament.

In the morning of the 15th they returned with doctors Hooper and Tenison; but none could make any impression on his mind. The duchess and his children came to take their final leave of him: he was kinder than before; she sank to the ground, and was carried away in a swoon. At ten o'clock he entered the carriage which was to convey him to Tower Hill. The concourse was immense; tears, sighs, and groans were succeeded by an awful silence. On the scaffold the divines conscientiously but cruelly pressed him on the two above-named points: he was still inflexible. He made no speech, but gave a paper to the sheriff. He laid down his head, telling the executioner to do his work better than in the case of Lord Russell. The man, unnerved, it would seem, by the charge, gave but a feeble stroke; the duke raised himself, and turned his head as if to upbraid him; he struck twice more, and then flung down the axe, swearing that his heart failed him. The sheriff made him resume it, and at the fifth blow the head was severed; and thus perished, in his thirty-sixth year, James duke of Monmouth.[c]

CRUELTIES OF THE SOLDIERS IN THE WEST; KIRKE'S "LAMBS" (1685 A.D.)

While the execution of Monmouth occupied the thoughts of the Londoners, the counties which had risen against the government were enduring all that a ferocious soldiery could inflict. Feversham had been summoned to the court, where honours and rewards which he little deserved awaited him. He was made a knight of the Garter and captain of the first and most lucrative troop of life guards: but court and city laughed at his military exploits; and the wit of Buckingham gave forth its last feeble flash at the expense of the general who had won a battle in bed. Feversham left in command at Bridgewater Colonel Percy Kirke, a military adventurer whose vices had been developed by the worst of all schools, Tangier. Kirke had during some years commanded the garrison of that town, and had been constantly employed in hostilities against tribes of foreign barbarians, ignorant of the laws which regulate the warfare of civilised and Christian nations. Within the ramparts of his fortress he was a despotic prince. The only check on his tyranny was the fear of being called to account by a distant and a careless government. He

might therefore safely proceed to the most audacious excesses of rapacity, licentiousness, and cruelty. He lived with boundless dissoluteness, and procured by extortion the means of indulgence. No goods could be sold till Kirke had had the refusal of them. No question of right could be decided till Kirke had been bribed. Once, merely from a malignant whim, he staved all the wine in a vintner's cellar. On another occasion he drove all the Jews from Tangier. Two of them he sent to the Spanish Inquisition, which forthwith burned them. Under this iron domination scarce a complaint was heard; for hatred was effectually kept down by terror. Two persons who had been refractory were found murdered; and it was universally believed that they had been slain by Kirke's order. When his soldiers displeased him he flogged them with merciless severity: but he indemnified them by permitting them to sleep on watch, to reel drunk about the streets, to rob, beat, and insult the merchants and the labourers.

When Tangier was abandoned, Kirke returned to England. He still continued to command his old soldiers, who were designated sometimes as the 1st Tangier regiment, and sometimes as Queen Catharine's regiment. As they had been levied for the purpose of waging war on an infidel nation, they bore on their flag a Christian emblem, the Paschal Lamb. In allusion to this device, and with a bitterly ironical meaning, these men, the rudest and most ferocious in the English army, were called Kirke's Lambs. The regiment, now the second of the line, still retains this ancient badge, which is however thrown into the shade by decorations honourably earned in Egypt, in Spain, and in the heart of Asia.

Such was the captain and such were the soldiers who were now let loose on the people of Somersetshire. From Bridgewater Kirke marched to Taunton. He was accompanied by two carts filled with wounded rebels whose gashes had not been dressed, and by a long drove of prisoners on foot, who were chained two and two. Several of these he hanged as soon as he reached Taunton, without the form of a trial. They were not suffered even to take leave of their nearest relations. The sign post of the White Hart inn served for a gallows. It is said that the work of death went on in sight of the windows where the officers of the Tangier regiment were carousing, and that at every health a wretch was turned off. When the legs of the dying men quivered in the last agony, the colonel ordered the drums to strike up. He would give the rebels, he said, music to their dancing. The tradition runs that one of the captives was not even allowed the indulgence of a speedy death. Twice he was suspended from the sign post, and twice cut down. Twice he was asked if he repented of his treason; and twice he replied that, if the thing were to do again, he would do it. Then he was tied up for the last time.

So many dead bodies were quartered that the executioner stood ankle deep in blood. He was assisted by a poor man whose loyalty was suspected, and who was compelled to ransom his own life by seething the remains of his friends in pitch. The peasant who had consented to perform this hideous office afterwards returned to his plough. But a mark like that of Cain was upon him. He was known through his village by the horrible name of Tom Boilman. The rustics long continued to relate that, though he had, by his sinful and shameful deed, saved himself from the vengeance of the Lambs, he had not escaped the vengeance of a higher power. In a great storm he fled for shelter under an oak, and was there struck dead by lightning.

The number of those who were thus butchered cannot now be ascertained. Nine were entered in the parish registers of Taunton: but those registers contain the names of such only as had Christian burial. Those who were hanged

in chains, and those whose heads and limbs were sent to the neighbouring villages, must have been much more numerous. It was believed in London, at the time, that Kirke put a hundred captives to death during the week which followed the battle.

Cruelty, however, was not this man's only passion. He loved money and was no novice in the arts of extortion. A safe conduct might be bought of him for thirty or forty pounds; and such a safe conduct, though of no value in law, enabled the purchaser to pass the posts of the Lambs without molestation, to reach a seaport, and to fly to a foreign country. The ships which were bound for New England were crowded at this juncture with so many fugitives from Sedgemoor that there was great danger lest the water and provisions should fail.

Kirke was also, in his own coarse and ferocious way, a man of pleasure; and nothing is more probable than that he employed his power for the purpose of gratifying his licentious appetite. It was reported that he conquered the virtue of a beautiful woman by promising to spare the life of one to whom she was strongly attached, and that, after she had yielded, he showed her suspended on the gallows the lifeless remains of him for whose sake she had sacrificed her honour. This tale an impartial judge must reject. It is unsupported by proof. The earliest authority for it is a poem written by Pomfret. The respectable historians of that age, while they expatiate on the crimes of Kirke, either omit all mention of this most atrocious crime, or mention it as a thing rumoured but not proved. Those who tell the story tell it with such variations as deprive it of all title to credit. Some lay the scene at Taunton, some at Exeter. Some make the heroine of the tale a maiden, some a married woman. The relation for whom the shameful ransom was paid is described by some as her father, by some as her brother, and by some as her husband.

Lastly the story is one which, long before Kirke was born, had been told of many other oppressors, and had become a favourite theme of novelists and dramatists. Two politicians of the fifteenth century, Rhynsault, the favourite of Charles the Bold of Burgundy, and Oliver le Dain, the favourite of Louis XI of France, had been accused of the same crime. Cintio had taken it for the subject of a romance; Whetstone had made out of Cintio's narrative the rude play of *Promos and Cassandra;* and Shakespeare had borrowed from Whetstone the plot of the noble tragi-comedy of *Measure for Measure.* As Kirke was not the first, so he was not the last to whom this excess of wickedness was popularly imputed. During the reaction which followed the Jacobin tyranny in France, a very similar charge was brought against Joseph Lebon, one of the most odious agents of the committee of Public Safety, and, after inquiry, was admitted even by his prosecutors to be unfounded.

The government was dissatisfied with Kirke, not on account of the barbarity with which he had treated his needy prisoners, but on account of the interested lenity which he had shown to rich delinquents. He was soon recalled from the west. A less irregular and at the same time a more cruel massacre was about to be perpetrated. The vengeance was deferred during some weeks. It was thought desirable that the western circuit should not begin till the other circuits had terminated. In the meantime the jails of Somersetshire and Dorsetshire were filled with thousands of captives. The chief friend and protector of these unhappy men in their extremity was one who abhorred their religious and political opinions, one whose order they hated, and to whom they had done unprovoked wrong, Bishop Ken. That good prelate used all his influence to soften the gaolers, and retrenched from his own Episcopal state that he might be able to make some addition to the

coarse and scanty fare of those who had defaced his beloved cathedral. His conduct on this occasion was of a piece with his whole life. His intellect was indeed darkened by many superstitions and prejudices: but his moral character, when impartially reviewed, sustains a comparison with any in ecclesiastical history, and seems to approach, as near as human infirmity permits, to the ideal perfection of Christian virtue.

His labour of love was of no long duration. A rapid and effectual jail delivery was at hand. Early in September, Jeffreys, accompanied by four other judges, set out on that circuit of which the memory will last as long as our race and language. The officers who commanded the troops in the districts through which his course lay had orders to furnish him with whatever military aid he might require. His ferocious temper needed no spur.[b]

To Jeffreys, who now enters into his full infamy, it will be well to devote some attention. Lord Campbell,[i] the biographer of the lord chancellors, says of him: "It is hardly known to the multitude that this infamous person ever held the great seal of England; as, from the almost exclusive recollection of his presiding on criminal trials, he has been execrated under the designation of Judge Jeffreys — which is as familiar in our mouths as household words. Yet was he chancellor a considerably longer time than chief justice — and in the former capacity, as well as the latter, he did many things to astonish and horrify mankind.

"He has been so much abused that I began my critical examination of his history in the hope and belief that I should find that his misdeeds had been exaggerated, and that I might be able to rescue his memory from some portion of the obloquy under which it labours; but I am sorry to say that, in my matured opinion, although he appears to have been a man of high talents, of singularly agreeable manners, and entirely free from hypocrisy, his cruelty and his political profligacy have not been sufficiently exposed or reprobated; and that he was not redeemed from his vices by one single solid virtue."[a]

MACAULAY'S ACCOUNT OF JUDGE JEFFREYS AND THE BLOODY ASSIZES

The depravity of Sir George Jeffreys[1] has passed into a proverb. Both the great English parties have attacked his memory with emulous violence: for the whigs considered him their most barbarous enemy; and the tories found it convenient to throw on him the blame of all the crimes which had sullied their triumph. A diligent and candid inquiry will show that some frightful stories which have been told concerning him are false or exaggerated. Yet the dispassionate historian will be able to make very little deduction from the vast mass of infamy with which the memory of the wicked judge has been loaded.

He was a man of quick and vigorous parts, but constitutionally prone to insolence and to the angry passions. When just emerging from boyhood he had risen into practice at the Old Bailey bar, a bar where advocates have always used a license of tongue unknown in Westminster Hall. Here, during many years, his chief business was to examine and cross-examine the most hardened miscreants of a great capital. Daily conflicts with prostitutes and thieves called out and exercised his powers so effectually that be became the

[1 The name is spelled no fewer than eight different ways: "Jeffries," "Jefferies," "Jefferys," "Jeffereys," "Jefferyes," "Jeffrys," "Jeffryes," and "Jeffreys," and he himself spelled it differently at different times of his life; but the last spelling is that which is found in his patent of peerage, and which he always used afterwards. — LORD CAMPBELL.]

most consummate bully ever known in his profession. All tenderness for the feelings of others, all self respect, all sense of the becoming were obliterated from his mind. He acquired a boundless command of the rhetoric in which the vulgar express hatred and contempt. The profusion of maledictions and vituperative epithets which composed his vocabulary could hardly have been rivalled in the fish market or the bear garden. His countenance and his voice must always have been unamiable. But these natural advantages — for such he seems to have thought them — he had improved to such a degree that there were few who, in his paroxysms of rage, could see or hear him without emotion. Impudence and ferocity sat upon his brow. The glare of his eyes had a fascination for the unhappy victim on whom they were fixed. Yet his brow and his eye were said to be less terrible than the savage lines of his mouth. His yell of fury, as was said by one who had often heard it, sounded like the thunder of the judgment day.

These qualifications he carried, while still a young man, from the bar to the bench. He early became common sergeant and then recorder of London. As a judge at the city sessions he exhibited the same propensities which afterwards, in a higher post, gained for him an unenviable immortality. Already might be remarked in him the most odious vice which is incident to human nature, a delight in misery merely as misery. There was a fiendish exultation in the way in which he pronounced sentence on offenders. Their weeping and imploring seemed to titillate him voluptuously; and he loved to scare them into fits by dilating with luxuriant amplification on all the details of what they were to suffer. Thus, when he had an opportunity of ordering an unlucky adventuress to be whipped at the cart's tail: "Hangman," he would exclaim, "I charge you to pay particular attention to this lady! Scourge her soundly, man. Scourge her till the blood runs down! It is Christmas, a cold time for madam to strip in! See that you warm her shoulders thoroughly!" He was hardly less facetious when he passed judgment on poor Lodowick Muggleton, the drunken tailor who fancied himself a prophet. "Impudent rogue!" roared Jeffreys, "thou shalt have an easy, easy, easy punishment!" One part of this easy punishment was the pillory, in which the wretched fanatic was almost killed with brickbats.

By this time the heart of Jeffreys had been hardened to that temper which tyrants require in their worst implements. He had hitherto looked for professional advancement to the corporation of London. He had therefore professed himself a roundhead, and had always appeared to be in a higher state of exhilaration when he explained to popish priests that they were to be cut down alive and were to see their own bowels burned, than when he passed ordinary sentences of death. But, as soon as he had got all that the city could give, he made haste to sell his forehead of brass and his tongue of venom to the court. Chiffinch, who was accustomed to act as broker in infamous contracts of more than one kind, lent his aid. He had conducted many amorous and many political intrigues; but he assuredly never rendered a more scandalous service to his masters than when he introduced Jeffreys to Whitehall.

The renegade soon found a patron in the obdurate and revengeful James, but was always regarded with scorn and disgust by Charles, whose faults, great as they were, had no affinity with insolence and cruelty. "That man," said the king, "has no learning, no sense, no manners, and more impudence than ten carted streetwalkers." Work was to be done, however, which could be trusted to no man who reverenced law or was sensible of shame; and thus Jeffreys, at an age at which a barrister thinks himself fortunate if he is em-

ployed to conduct an important cause, was made chief justice of the King's Bench.

His enemies could not deny that he posessed some of the qualities of a great judge. His legal knowledge, indeed, was merely such as he had picked up in practice of no very high kind. But he had one of those happily constituted intellects which, across labyrinths of sophistry, and through masses of immaterial facts, go straight to the true point. Of his intellect, however, he seldom had the full use. Even in civil causes his malevolent and despotic temper perpetually disordered his judgment. To enter his court was to enter the den of a wild beast, which none could tame, and which was as likely to be roused to rage by caresses as by attacks. He frequently poured forth on plaintiffs and defendants, barristers and attorneys, witnesses and jurymen torrents of frantic abuse, intermixed with oaths and curses. His looks and tones had inspired terror when he was merely a young advocate struggling into practice. Now that he was at the head of the most formidable tribunal in the realm, there were few indeed who did not tremble before him. Even when he was sober, his violence was sufficiently frightful. But in general his reason was overclouded and his evil passions stimulated by the fumes of intoxication.

His evenings were ordinarily given to revelry. People who saw him only over his bottle would have supposed him to be a man gross indeed, sottish, and addicted to low company and low merriment, but social and good humoured. He was constantly surrounded on such occasions by buffoons selected, for the most part, from among the vilest pettifoggers who practised before him. These men bantered and abused each other for his entertainment. He joined in their ribald talk, sang catches with them, and, when his head grew hot, hugged and kissed them in an ecstacy of drunken fondness. But, though wine at first seemed to soften his heart, the effect a few hours later was very different. He often came to the judgment seat, having kept the court waiting long, and yet having but half slept off his debauch, his cheeks on fire, his eyes staring like those of a maniac. When he was in this state, his boon companions of the preceding night, if they were wise, kept out of his way; for the recollection of the familiarity to which he had admitted them inflamed his malignity; and he was sure to take every opportunity of overwhelming them with execration and invective. Not the least odious of his many odious peculiarities was the pleasure which he took in publicly browbeating and mortifying those whom, in his fits of maudlin tenderness, he had encouraged to presume on his favour.

The services which the government had expected from him were performed, not merely without flinching, but eagerly and triumphantly. His first exploit was the judicial murder of Algernon Sidney. What followed was in perfect harmony with this beginning. Respectable tories lamented the disgrace which the barbarity and indecency of so great a functionary brought upon the administration of justice. But the excesses which filled such men with horror were titles to the esteem of James. Jeffreys, therefore, after the death of Charles, obtained a seat in the cabinet and a peerage. This last honour was a signal mark of royal approbation. For, since the judicial system of the realm had been remodelled in the thirteenth century, no chief justice had been a lord of parliament.

Guilford now found himself superseded in all his political functions, and restricted to his business as a judge in equity. At council he was treated by Jeffreys with marked incivility. The whole legal patronage was in the hands of the chief justice; and it was well known by the bar that the surest way to

propitiate the chief-justice was to treat the lord keeper with disrespect. So deeply was Guilford humbled that, when he appeared for the last time in Westminster Hall in 1685 after the failure of Monmouth's rebellion, he took with him a nosegay to hide his face, because, as he afterwards owned, he could not bear the eyes of the bar and of the audience. The prospect of his approaching end seems to have inspired him with unwonted courage. He determined to discharge his conscience, requested an audience of the king, spoke earnestly of the dangers inseparable from violent and arbitrary counsels, and condemned the lawless cruelties which the soldiers had committed in Somersetshire. He soon after retired from London to die. He breathed his last a few days after the judges set out for the west. It was immediately notified to Jeffreys that he might expect the great seal as the reward of faithful and vigorous service.

Trial of Alice Lisle

At Winchester the chief-justice first opened his commission. Hampshire had not been the theatre of war; but many of the vanquished rebels had, like their leader, fled thither. Two of them, John Hickes, a non-conformist divine, and Richard Nelthorpe, a lawyer who had been outlawed for his share in the Rye House Plot, had sought refuge at the house of Alice, widow of John Lisle. John Lisle had sat in the Long Parliament and in the high court of justice, had been a commissioner of the great seal in the days of the commonwealth, and had been created a lord by Cromwell. The titles given by the protector had not been recognised by any government which had ruled England since the downfall of his house; but they appear to have been often used in conversation even by royalists. John Lisle's widow was therefore commonly known as the lady Alice.

The same womanly kindness which had led her to befriend the royalists in their time of trouble would not suffer her to refuse a meal and a hiding place to the wretched men who now entreated her to protect them. She took them into her house, set meat and drink before them, and showed them where they might take rest. The next morning her dwelling was surrounded by soldiers. Strict search was made. Hickes was found concealed in the malt house, and Nelthorpe in the chimney. If Lady Alice knew her guests to have been concerned in the insurrection, she was undoubtedly guilty of what in strictness is a capital crime. For the law of principal and accessory as respects high treason, then was, and is to this day, in a state disgraceful to English jurisprudence. The feeling which makes the most loyal subject shrink from the thought of giving up to a shameful death the rebel who, vanquished, hunted down, and in mortal agony, begs for a morsel of bread and a cup of water, may be a weakness: but it is surely a weakness very nearly allied to virtue. No English ruler, the savage and implacable James alone excepted, has had the barbarity even to think of putting a lady to a cruel and shameful death for so venial and amiable a transgression.

Odious as the law was, it was strained for the purpose of destroying Alice Lisle. She could not, according to the doctrine laid down by the highest authority, be convicted till after the conviction of the rebels whom she had harboured. She was, however, set to the bar before either Hickes or Nelthorpe had been tried. It was no easy matter in such a case to obtain a verdict for the crown. The witnesses prevaricated. The jury, consisting of the principal gentlemen of Hampshire, shrank from the thought of sending a fellow creature to the stake for conduct which seemed deserving rather of

praise than of blame. Jeffreys was beside himself with fury. This was the first case of treason on the circuit; and there seemed to be a strong probability that his prey would escape him. He stormed, cursed, and swore in language which no well bred man would have used at a race or a cockfight.

After the witnesses had been thus handled, the lady Alice was called on for her defence. She began by saying, what may possibly have been true, that, though she knew Hickes to be in trouble when she took him in, she did not know or suspect that he had been concerned in the rebellion. He was a divine, a man of peace. It had, therefore, never occurred to her that he could have borne arms against the government; and she had supposed that he wished to conceal himself because warrants were out against him for field preaching. The chief justice began to storm: "But I will tell you. There is not one of those lying, snivelling, canting Presbyterians but, one way or another, had a hand in the rebellion. Presbytery has all manner of villany in it. Nothing but Presbytery could have made Dunne such a rogue. Show me a Presbyterian; and I'll show thee a lying knave." He summed up in the same style, declaimed during an hour against whigs and dissenters, and reminded the jury that the prisoner's husband had borne a part in the death of Charles I, a fact which was not proved by any testimony, and which, if it had been proved, would have been utterly irrelevant to the issue. The jury retired, and remained long in consultation. The judge grew impatient. He could not conceive, he said, how, in so plain a case, they should even have left the box. He sent a messenger to tell them that, if they did not instantly return, he would adjourn the court and lock them up all night. Thus put to the torture, they came, but came to say that they doubted whether the charge had been made out. Jeffreys expostulated with them vehemently, and, after another consultation, they gave a reluctant verdict of guilty.

On the following morning sentence was pronounced. Jeffreys gave directions that Alice Lisle should be burned alive that very afternoon. This excess of barbarity moved the pity and indignation even of the class which was most devoted to the crown. The clergy of Winchester cathedral remonstrated with the chief justice, who, brutal as he was, was not mad enough to risk a quarrel on such a subject with a body so much respected by the tory party. He consented to put off the execution five days. During that time the friends of the prisoner besought James to show her mercy. Ladies of high rank interceded for her. Clarendon, the king's brother-in-law, pleaded her cause. But all was vain. The utmost that could be obtained was that her sentence should be commuted from burning to beheading. She was put to death on a scaffold in the market-place of Winchester, and underwent her fate with serene courage.

The Bloody Assizes

In Hampshire Alice Lisle was the only victim, but, on the day following her execution, Jeffreys reached Dorchester, the principal town of the county in which Monmouth had landed, and the judicial massacre began. The court was hung, by order of the chief justice, with scarlet; and this innovation seemed to the multitude to indicate a bloody purpose. It was also rumoured that, when the clergyman who preached the assize sermon enforced the duty of mercy, the ferocious mouth of the judge was distorted by an ominous grin. These things made men augur ill of what was to follow.

More than three hundred prisoners were to be tried. The work seemed heavy; but Jeffreys had a contrivance for making it light. He let it be under-

stood that the only chance of obtaining pardon or respite was to plead guilty. Twenty-nine persons, who put themselves on their country and were convicted, were ordered to be tied up without delay. The remaining prisoners pleaded guilty by scores. Two hundred and ninety-two received sentence of death. The whole number hanged in Dorsetshire amounted to seventy-four.

From Dorchester Jeffreys proceeded to Exeter. The civil war had barely grazed the frontier of Devonshire. Here, therefore, comparatively few persons were capitally punished. Somersetshire, the chief seat of the rebellion, had been reserved for the last and most fearful vengeance. In this county two hundred and thirty-three prisoners were in a few days hanged, drawn, and quartered. At every spot where two roads met, on every market place, on the green of every large village which had furnished Monmouth with soldiers, ironed corpses clattering in the wind, or heads and quarters stuck on poles, poisoned the air, and made the traveller sick with horror. In many parishes the peasantry could not assemble in the house of God without seeing the ghastly face of a neighbour grinning at them over the porch.

The chief-justice was all himself. His spirits rose higher and higher as the work went on. He laughed, shouted, joked, and swore in such a way that many thought him drunk from morning to night. But in him it was not easy to distinguish the madness produced by evil passions from the madness produced by brandy. A prisoner affirmed that the witnesses who appeared against him were not entitled to credit. One of them, he said, was a papist, and another a prostitute. "Thou impudent rebel," exclaimed the judge, "to reflect on the king's evidence! I see thee, villain, I see thee already with the halter round thy neck." Another produced testimony that he was a good Protestant. "Protestant!" said Jeffreys; "you mean Presbyterian. I'll hold you a wager of it. I can smell a Presbyterian forty miles." One wretched man moved the pity even of bitter tories. "My lord," they said, "this poor creature is on the parish." "Do not trouble yourselves," said the judge, "I will ease the parish of the burden."

It was not only on the prisoners that his fury broke forth. Gentlemen and noblemen of high consideration and stainless loyalty, who ventured to bring to his notice any extenuating circumstance, were almost sure to receive what he called, in the coarse dialect which he had learned in the pot-houses of Whitechapel, "a lick with the rough side of his tongue." Lord Stawell, a tory peer, who could not conceal his horror at the remorseless manner in which his poor neighbours were butchered, was punished by having a corpse suspened in chains at his park gate. In such spectacles originated many tales of terror, which were long told over the cider by the Christmas fires of the farmers of Somersetshire. Within the last forty years peasants, in some districts, well knew the accursed spots, and passed them unwillingly after sunset.

Jeffreys boasted that he had hanged more traitors than all his predecessors together since the conquest. It is certain that the number of persons whom he executed in one month, and in one shire, very much exceeded the number of all the political offenders who have been executed in our island since the Revolution. The rebellions of 1715 and 1745 were of longer duration, of wider extent, and of more formidable aspect than that which was put down at Sedgemoor. It has not been generally thought that, either after the rebellion of 1715, or after the rebellion of 1745, the house of Hanover erred on the side of clemency. Yet all the executions of 1715 and 1745 added together will appear to have been few indeed when compared with those which disgraced the Bloody Assizes. The number of the rebels whom Jeffreys hanged

on this circuit was three hundred and twenty. Lord Lonsdale[j] says seven hundred; Burnet[k] six hundred. We have followed the list which the judges sent to the treasury, and which may still be seen there in the letter book of 1685.

Such havoc must have excited disgust even if the sufferers had been generally odious. But they were, for the most part, men of blameless life and of high religious profession. They were regarded by themselves, and by a large proportion of their neighbours, not as wrongdoers, but as martyrs who sealed with blood the truth of the Protestant religion. Very few of the convicts professed any repentance for what they had done. Many, animated by the old Puritan spirit, met death, not merely with fortitude but with exultation. It was in vain that the ministers of the established church lectured them on the guilt of rebellion and on the importance of priestly absolution. The claim of the king to unbounded authority in things temporal, and the claim of the clergy to the spiritual power of binding and loosing, moved the bitter scorn of the intrepid sectaries. Some of them composed hymns in the dungeon, and chanted them on the fatal sledge. Christ, they sang while they were undressing for the butchery, would soon come to rescue Zion and to make war on Babylon, would set up his standard, would blow his trumpet, and would requite his foes tenfold for all the evil which had been inflicted on his servants. The dying words of these men were noted down; their farewell letters were kept as treasures; and, in this way, with the help of some invention and exaggeration, was formed a copious supplement to the Marian martyrology.

Yet those rebels who were doomed to death were less to be pitied than some of the survivors. Several prisoners to whom Jeffreys was unable to bring home the charge of high treason were convicted of misdemeanours, and were sentenced to scourging not less terrible than that which Oates had undergone. A woman for some idle words, such as had been uttered by half the women in the districts where the war had raged, was condemned to be whipped through all the market towns in the county of Dorset. She suffered part of her punishment before Jeffreys returned to London: but, when he was no longer in the west, the gaolers, with the humane connivance of the magistrates, took on themselves the responsibility of sparing her any further torture.

A still more frightful sentence was passed on a lad named Tutchin, who was tried for seditious words. He was, as usual, interrupted in his defence by ribaldry and scurrility from the judgment seat. "You are a rebel; and all your family have been rebels since Adam. They tell me that you are a poet. I'll cap verses with you." The sentence was that the boy should be imprisoned seven years, and should, during that period, be flogged through every market town in Dorsetshire every year. The women in the galleries burst into tears. The clerk of the arraigns stood up in great disorder. "My lord," said he, "the prisoner is very young. There are many market towns in our county. The sentence amounts to whipping once a fortnight for seven years." "If he is a young man," said Jeffreys, "he is an old rogue. Ladies, you do not know the villain as well as I do. The punishment is not half bad enough for him. All the interest in England shall not alter it." Tutchin in his despair petitioned, and probably with sincerity, that he might be hanged. Fortunately for him he was, just at this conjuncture, taken ill of the smallpox and given over. As it seemed highly improbable that the sentence would ever be executed, the chief justice consented to remit it, in return for a bribe which reduced the prisoner to poverty. The temper of Tutchin, not originally very mild, was exasperated to madness by what he had undergone. He lived to be known as one of the most acrimonious and pertinacious enemies of the house of Stuart and of the tory party.

Rebels Transported

The number of prisoners whom Jeffreys transported was eight hundred and forty-one. These men, more wretched than their associates who suffered death, were distributed into gangs, and bestowed on persons who enjoyed favour at court. The conditions of the gift were that the convicts should be carried beyond sea as slaves, that they should not be emancipated for ten years, and that the place of their banishment should be some West Indian island. This last article was studiously framed for the purpose of aggravating the misery of the exiles. In New England or New Jersey they would have found a population kindly disposed to them and a climate not unfavourable to their health and vigour. It was therefore determined that they should be sent to colonies where a Puritan could hope to inspire little sympathy, and where a labourer born in the temperate zone could hope to enjoy little health. Such was the state of the slave market that these bondmen, long as was the passage, and sickly as they were likely to prove, were still very valuable. It was estimated by Jeffreys that, on an average, each of them, after all charges were paid, would be worth from ten to fifteen pounds. There was therefore much angry competition for grants. Some tories in the west conceived that they had, by their exertions and sufferings during the insurrection, earned a right to share in the profits which had been eagerly snatched up by the sycophants of Whitehall. The courtiers, however, were victorious.

The misery of the exiles fully equalled that of the negroes who in the nineteenth century were carried from Congo to Brazil. It appears from the best information which is at present accessible that more than one-fifth of those who were shipped were flung to the sharks before the end of the voyage. The human cargoes were stowed close in the holds of small vessels. So little space was allowed that the wretches, many of whom were still tormented by unhealed wounds, could not all lie down at once without lying on one another. They were never suffered to go on deck. The hatchway was constantly watched by sentinels armed with hangers and blunderbusses. In the dungeon below all was darkness, stench, lamentation, disease, and death.

Of ninety-nine convicts who were carried out in one vessel, twenty-one died before they reached Jamaica, although the voyage was performed with unusual speed. The survivors when they arrived at their house of bondage were mere skeletons. During some weeks coarse biscuit and fetid water had been doled out to them in such scanty measure that any one of them could easily have consumed the ration which was assigned to five. They were, therefore, in such a state that the merchant to whom they had been consigned found it expedient to fatten them before selling them.

Confiscation and Extortion

Meanwhile the property, both of the rebels who had suffered death and of those more unfortunate men who were withering under the tropical sun, was fought for and torn in pieces by a crowd of greedy informers. By law a subject attainted of treason forfeits all his substance; and this law was enforced after the Bloody Assizes with a rigour at once cruel and ludicrous. The broken-hearted widows and destitute orphans of the labouring men whose corpses hung at the cross roads were called upon by the agents of the treasury to explain what had become of a basket, of a goose, of a flitch of bacon, of a keg of cider, of a sack of beans, of a truss of hay. While the humbler retainers of the government were pillaging the families of the slaughtered peasants, the

[1685 A.D.]

chief justice was fast accumulating a fortune out of the plunder of a higher class of whigs. He traded largely in pardons. His most lucrative transaction of this kind was with a gentleman named Edmund Prideaux. The unfortunate man lay long in gaol, and at length, overcome by fear of the gallows, consented to pay £15,000 for his liberation. This great sum was received by Jeffreys. He bought with it an estate, to which the people gave the name of Aceldama, from that accursed field which was purchased with the price of innocent blood.

Some courtiers contrived to obtain a small share of this traffic. The ladies of the queen's household distinguished themselves pre-eminently by rapacity and hard-heartedness. Part of the disgrace which they incurred falls on their mistress: for it was solely on account of the relation in which they stood to her that they were able to enrich themselves by so odious a trade; and there can be no question that she might with a word or a look have restrained them. But in truth she encouraged them by her evil example, if not by her express approbation. She seems to have been one of that large class of persons who bear adversity better than prosperity. While her husband was a subject and an exile, shut out from public employment, and in imminent danger of being deprived of his birthright, the suavity and humility of her manners conciliated the kindness even of those who most abhorred her religion. But when her good fortune came her good nature disappeared. The meek and affable duchess turned out an ungracious and haughty queen. The misfortunes which she subsequently endured have made her an object of some interest; but that interest would be not a little heightened if it could be shown that, in the season of her greatness, she saved, or even tried to save, one single victim from the most frightful proscription that England has ever seen. Unhappily the only request that she is known to have preferred touching the rebels was that a hundred of those who were sentenced to transportation might be given to her.

The profit which she cleared on the cargo, after making large allowance for those who died of hunger and fever during the passage, cannot be estimated at less than a thousand guineas. We cannot wonder that her attendants should have imitated her unprincely greediness and her unwomanly cruelty. They exacted a thousand pounds from Roger Hoare, a merchant of Bridgewater, who had contributed to the military chest of the rebel army. But the prey on which they pounced most eagerly was one which it might have been thought that even the most ungentle natures would have spared. Already some of the girls who had presented the standard to Monmouth at Taunton had cruelly expiated their offence. One of them had been thrown into a prison where an infectious malady was raging. She had sickened and died there. Another had presented herself at the bar before Jeffreys to beg for mercy. "Take her, gaoler," vociferated the judge, with one of those frowns which had often struck terror into stouter hearts than hers. She burst into tears, drew her hood over her face, followed the gaoler out of court, fell ill of fright, and in a few hours was a corpse.

Most of the young ladies, however, who had walked in the procession, were still alive. Some of them were under ten years of age. All had acted under the orders of their schoolmistress, without knowing that they were committing a crime. The queen's maids of honour asked the royal permission to wring money out of the parents of the poor children: and the permission was granted. An order was sent down to Taunton that all these little girls should be seized and imprisoned. The maids of honour were at last forced to content themselves with less than a third part of what they had demanded.

"Odious Mercy"

No English sovereign has ever given stronger proofs of a cruel nature than James II. Yet his cruelty was not more odious than his mercy. Or perhaps it may be more correct to say that his mercy and his cruelty were such that each reflects infamy on the other. Our horror at the fate of the simple clowns, the young lads, the delicate women, to whom he was inexorably severe, is increased when we find to whom and for what considerations he granted his pardon.

The rule by which a prince ought, after a rebellion, to be guided in selecting rebels for punishment is perfectly obvious. The ringleaders, the men of rank, fortune, and education, whose power and whose artifices have led the multitude into error, are the proper objects of severity. The deluded populace, when once the slaughter on the field of battle is over, can scarcely be treated too leniently. This rule, so evidently agreeable to justice and humanity, was not only not observed, it was inverted. While those who ought to have been spared were slaughtered by hundreds, the few who might with propriety have been left to the utmost rigour of the law were spared. This eccentric clemency has perplexed some writers, and has drawn forth ludicrous eulogies from others. It was neither at all mysterious nor at all praiseworthy. It may be distinctly traced in every case either to a sordid or to a malignant motive, either to thirst for money or to thirst for blood.

In the case of Grey there was no mitigating circumstance. He was suffered to redeem himself by giving a bond for £40,000 to the lord treasurer, and smaller sums to other courtiers. Sir John Cochrane had held among the Scotch rebels the same rank which had been held by Grey in the west of England. His father, Lord Dundonald, offered a bribe of £5,000 to the priests of the royal household; and a pardon was granted.

None of the traitors had less right to expect favour than Wade, Goodenough, and Ferguson. These three chiefs of the rebellion had fled together from the field of Sedgemoor, and had reached the coast in safety. But they had found a frigate cruising near the spot where they had hoped to embark. They had then separated. Wade and Goodenough were soon discovered and brought up to London. Deeply as they had been implicated in the Rye House Plot, conspicuous as they had been among the chiefs of the western insurrection, they were suffered to live, because they had it in their power to give information which enabled the king to slaughter and plunder some persons whom he hated, but to whom he had never yet been able to bring home any crime.

How Ferguson escaped was, and still is, a mystery. Of all the enemies of the government he was, without doubt, the most deeply criminal. He was the original author of the plot for assassinating the royal brothers. He had written that declaration which, for insolence, malignity, and mendacity, stands unrivalled even among the libels of those stormy times. He had instigated Monmouth first to invade the kingdom and then to usurp the crown. It was reasonable to expect that a strict search would be made for the arch traitor, as he was often called; and such a search a man of so singular an aspect and dialect could scarcely have eluded. It was confidently reported in the coffee houses of London that Ferguson was taken, and this report found credit with men who had excellent opportunities of knowing the truth. The next thing that was heard of him was that he was safe on the Continent. It was strongly suspected that he had been in constant communication with the government against which he was constantly plotting, that he had, while

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urging his associates to every excess of rashness, sent to Whitehall just so much information about their proceedings as might suffice to save his own neck, and that therefore orders had been given to let him escape.

JEFFREYS MADE LORD CHANCELLOR

And now Jeffreys had done his work, and returned to claim his reward. He arrived at Windsor from the west, leaving carnage, mourning, and terror behind him. The hatred with which he was regarded by the people of Somersetshire has no parallel in our history. It was not to be quenched by time or by political changes, was long transmitted from generation to generation, and raged fiercely against his innocent progeny. When he had been many years dead, when his name and title were extinct, his granddaughter the countess of Pomfret, travelling along the western road, was insulted by the populace, and found that she could not safely venture herself among the descendants of those who had witnessed the Bloody Assizes.

But at the court Jeffreys was cordially welcomed. He was a judge after his master's own heart. James had watched the circuit with interest and delight. In his drawing-room and at his table he had frequently talked of the havoc which was making among his disaffected subjects with a glee at which the foreign ministers stood aghast. With his own hand he had penned accounts of what he facetiously called his lord chief justice's campaign in the west. Some hundreds of rebels, his majesty wrote to the Hague, had been condemned. Some of them had been hanged, more should be so; and the rest should be sent to the plantations. It was to no purpose that Ken wrote to implore mercy for the misguided people, and described with pathetic eloquence the frightful state of his diocese. He complained that it was impossible to walk along the highways without seeing some terrible spectacle, and that the whole air of Somersetshire was tainted with death. The king read, and remained, according to the saying of Churchill, hard as the marble chimney pieces of Whitehall.

At Windsor the great seal of England was put into the hands of Jeffreys, and in the next *London Gazette* it was solemnly notified that this honour was the reward of the many eminent and faithful services which he had rendered to the crown. At a later period, when all men of all parties spoke with horror of the Bloody Assizes, the wicked judge and the wicked king attempted to vindicate themselves by throwing the blame on each other. Jeffreys, in the Tower, protested that, in his utmost cruelty, he had not gone beyond his master's express orders, nay, that he had fallen short of them. James, at St. Germain, would willingly have had it believed that his own inclinations had been on the side of clemency, and that unmerited obloquy had been brought on him by the violence of his minister. But neither of these hard-hearted men must be absolved at the expense of the other. The plea set up for James can be proved under his own hand to be false in fact. The plea of Jeffreys even if it be true in fact, is utterly worthless.

THE SLAUGHTER IN LONDON

The slaughter in the west was over. The slaughter in London was about to begin. The government was peculiarly desirous to find victims among the great whig merchants of the city. They had, in the last reign, been a formidable part of the strength of the opposition. They were wealthy; and their wealth was not, like that of many noblemen and country gentlemen, protected

by entail against forfeiture. One of the most considerable among them was Henry Cornish. He had been an alderman under the old charter of the city, and had filled the office of sheriff when the question of the Exclusion Bill occupied the public mind. In politics he was a whig: his religious opinions leaned towards Presbyterianism: but his temper was cautious and moderate. It is not proved by trustworthy evidence that he ever approached the verge of treason. He had, indeed, when sheriff, been very unwilling to employ as his deputy a man so violent and unprincipled as Goodenough. When the Rye House Plot was discovered, great hopes were entertained at Whitehall that Cornish would appear to have been concerned: but these hopes were disappointed. One of the conspirators, indeed, John Rumsey, was ready to swear anything: but a single witness was not sufficient; and no second witness could be found. More than two years had since elapsed. Cornish thought himself safe: but the eye of the tyrant was upon him. Goodenough, terrified by the near prospect of death, and still harbouring malice on account of the unfavourable opinion which had always been entertained of him by his old master, consented to supply the testimony which had hitherto been wanting. Cornish was arrested while transacting business on the exchange, was hurried to jail, was kept there some days in solitary confinement, and was brought altogether unprepared to the bar of the Old Bailey. The case against him rested wholly on the evidence of Rumsey and Goodenough. Both were, by their own confession, accomplices in the plot with which they charged the prisoner. Both were impelled by the strongest pressure of hope and fear to criminate him. Evidence was produced which proved that Goodenough was also under the influence of personal enmity. Rumsey's story was inconsistent with the story which he had told when he appeared as a witness against Lord Russell. But these things were urged in vain. On the bench sat three judges who had been with Jeffreys in the west; and it was remarked by those who watched their deportment that they had come back from the carnage of Taunton in a fierce and excited state. It is indeed but too true that the taste for blood is a taste which even men not naturally cruel may, by habit, speedily acquire. The bar and the bench united to browbeat the unfortunate whig. The jury, named by a courtly sheriff, readily found a verdict of guilty; and, in spite of the indignant murmurs of the public, Cornish suffered death within ten days after he had been arrested. That no circumstance of degradation might be wanting, the gibbet was set up where King street meets Cheapside, in sight of the house where he had long lived in general respect, of the exchange where his credit had always stood high, and of the Guildhall where he had distinguished himself as a popular leader.

Black as this case was, it was not the blackest which disgraced the sessions of that autumn at the Old Bailey. Among the persons concerned in the Rye House Plot was a man named James Burton. By his own confession he had been present when the design of assassination was discussed by his accomplices. When the conspiracy was detected, a reward was offered for his apprehension. He was saved from death by an ancient matron of the Baptist persuasion, named Elizabeth Gaunt. This woman, with the peculiar manners and phraseology which then distinguished her sect, had a large charity. Her life was passed in relieving the unhappy of all religious denominations, and she was well known as a constant visitor of the gaols. Her political and theological opinions, as well as her compassionate disposition, led her to do everything in her power for Burton. She procured a boat which took him to Gravesend, where he got on board of a ship bound for Amsterdam. At the moment of parting she put into his hand a sum of money which, for her means,

was very large. Burton, after living some time in exile, returned to England with Monmouth, fought at Sedgemoor, fled to London, and took refuge in the house of John Fernley, a barber in Whitechapel. Fernley was very poor. He was besieged by creditors. He knew that a reward of £100 had been offered by the government for the apprehension of Burton. But the honest man was incapable of betraying one who, in extreme peril, had come under the shadow of his roof. Unhappily it was soon noised abroad that the anger of James was more strongly excited against those who harboured rebels than against the rebels themselves. James had publicly declared that of all forms of treason the hiding of traitors from his vengeance was the most unpardonable. Burton knew this. He delivered himself up to the government; and he gave information against Fernley and Elizabeth Gaunt. They were brought to trial. The villain whose life they had preserved had the heart and the forehead to appear as the principal witness against them. They were convicted. Fernley was sentenced to the gallows, Elizabeth Gaunt to the stake. Even after all the horrors of that year, many thought it impossible that these judgments should be carried into execution. But the king was without pity. Fernley was hanged. Elizabeth Gaunt was burned alive at Tyburn on the same day on which Cornish suffered death in Cheapside. She left a paper written, indeed, in no graceful style, yet such as was read by many thousands with compassion and horror. "My fault," she said, "was one which a prince might well have forgiven. I did but relieve a poor family, and lo! I must die for it." To the last she preserved a tranquil courage, which reminded the spectators of the most heroic deaths of which they had read in Foxe. When she calmly disposed the straw about her in such a manner as to shorten her sufferings, all the bystanders burst into tears. It was much noticed that, while the foulest judicial murder which had disgraced even those times was perpetrating, a tempest burst forth, such as had not been known since that great hurricane which had raged round the death bed of Oliver. The oppressed Puritans reckoned up, not without a gloomy satisfaction, the houses which had been blown down, and the ships which had been cast away, and derived some consolation from thinking that heaven was bearing awful testimony against the iniquity which afflicted the earth. Since that terrible day no woman has suffered death in England for any political offence.

CRUEL PERSECUTION OF THE PROTESTANT DISSENTERS

Never, not even under the tyranny of Laud, had the condition of the Puritans been so deplorable as at that time. Never had spies been so actively employed in detecting congregations. Never had magistrates, grand jurors, rectors, and churchwardens been so much on the alert. Many dissenters were cited before the ecclesiastical courts. Others found it necessary to purchase the connivance of the agents of the government by presents of hogsheads of wine, and of gloves stuffed with guineas. It was impossible for the separatists to pray together without precautions such as are employed by coiners and receivers of stolen goods. The places of meeting were frequently changed. Worship was performed sometimes just before break of day and sometimes at dead of night. Round the building where the little flock was gathered together sentinels were posted to give the alarm if a stranger drew near. The minister in disguise was introduced through the garden and the back yard. In some houses there were trap doors through which, in case of danger, he might descend. Where non-conformists lived next door to each other, the walls were often broken open, and secret passages were made from dwelling

to dwelling. No psalm was sung; and many contrivances were used to prevent the voice of the preacher, in his moments of fervour, from being heard beyond the walls. Yet, with all this care, it was often found impossible to elude the vigilance of informers. In the suburbs of London, especially, the law was enforced with the utmost rigour. Several opulent gentlemen were accused of holding conventicles. Their houses were strictly searched, and distresses were levied to the amount of many thousands of pounds.

Through many years the autumn of 1685 was remembered by the nonconformists as a time of misery and terror. Yet in that autumn might be discerned the first faint indications of a great turn of fortune; and before eighteen months had elapsed, the intolerant king and the intolerant church were eagerly bidding against each other for the support of the party which both had so deeply injured.[b]

THE KING AT ODDS WITH PARLIAMENT (1685 A.D.)

The suppression of the rebellion had elated James, and led him to think that nothing now could oppose his will. He had three objects in view as the means of establishing despotism; these were, the abolition of the Test, which would enable him to fill all offices with papists; the repeal of the Habeas Corpus Act, which the late king and himself had often declared to be subversive of government, *i.e.* of despotism; to keep up the army, which now amounted to nearly twenty thousand men, and in which there were several Catholic officers, as a permanent force. As he knew that Halifax was opposed to all these projects, he lost no time in dismissing him from the council.

When the parliament met (November 9th, 1685) James addressed them from the throne. Late events, he said, had shown that the militia was inadequate to the defence of the country, and that a permanent force was necessary; he had, therefore, increased the regular army, and he now called on them for the funds for maintaining it. He then noticed the employment of Catholics. "And I will deal plainly with you," said he: "after having had the benefit of their services in such a time of need and danger, I will not expose them to disgrace, nor myself to the want of them, if there should be another rebellion."

From this haughty tone, it is plain that James reckoned on absolute submission, and that the parliament would simply register his edicts, but here, as on most occasions, his blind fatuity led him astray. The dread and the hatred of popery were implanted in every Protestant bosom; and, in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis, at this very time, they had had a specimen of good faith and tolerance. The commons, therefore, when voting a supply of 700,000*l.*, coupled with it a bill for the improvement of the militia; and while offering to pass a bill of indemnity for the Catholic officers, prayed that they might be discharged. The danger of a standing army and the employment of Catholic officers was also strongly exposed in the house of peers by lords Halifax, Nottingham, Anglesea, Mordaunt, Compton, bishop of London, and others and, in spite of the opposition of Jeffreys, it was resolved to take the king's speech into consideration.[c]

James now saw that to proceed cordially with either house of parliament it would be necessary he should retreat from the position which he had taken in regard both to the army and the Test Act. But mistaking obstinacy of purpose for vigour of understanding, he resisted every thought tending to such a surrender. He prorogued the parliament, and resolved that it should not meet again except under some better auspices. The king, as his manner

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was, had been present in the house of lords during the debate on the nineteenth, and had expressed himself much displeased with the speeches then made. On the following morning, he suddenly presented himself, in his usual state, and declared, by the chancellor, to both houses, that, for certain weighty reasons, he had determined to prorogue the parliament to the 10th of February. By this act, the incomplete money bill, which, in the time specified, would have yielded £700,000, was lost to the exchequer; nor could James conceal from himself that it was a proceeding which would increase the suspicion and irritation of the discontented everywhere; but looking at the general posture of affairs, it was the course attended, in his judgment, with the least degree of evil. It was hardly possible he should hope ever to convene another house of commons so subservient; and it was difficult accordingly to imagine by what means, short of a complete abeyance of the constitution, he could expect to carry on the government of the country.

France and the allies were equally watchful of these proceedings, and equally prepared to purchase the assistance of the crown, the court, or the opposition, as circumstances might suggest. At present the scale turned in favour of France. James assured his parliament in July that he had "a true English heart"; but only six weeks before, he had written to Louis, entreating a secret subsidy, and declaring, with the same emphasis, that his heart was French. Having come to this rupture with his parliament, his views were naturally directed to Versailles.[l]

Parliament met no more during his reign, except to be prorogued anew. It was fortunate for the country that James's bigotry led him to assail the Test Act first, for in all probability this subservient assembly would have surrendered the Habeas Corpus Act without a struggle.

James was resolved, come what might, not to part with his army. The annual cost of it was £600,000; and, by frugality, by neglecting the navy, by putting off the payment of his brother's debts, and by other expedients, he could defray it without the aid of parliament. To put the chief commands into the hands of Catholics was necessary for his ulterior projects, and to effect this he had recourse to the following plan.

JAMES TAMPERS WITH THE BENCH AND USURPS THE DISPENSING POWER

It had from very ancient times been a part of the prerogative to grant dispensations from the penalties of particular laws. This had, as usual, been spoken of in exaggerated terms by courtiers and lawyers, even Coke saying that no act of parliament can restrain it. Practice, however, had for many years confined it to merely trifling cases; but Sir Edward Herbert, the present chief-justice, had formerly suggested to the king, when duke of York, that by means of it the Test Act might be eluded, and James now resolved to bring it into action through a legal decision. Of Herbert himself he was sure, and, as he could dismiss the judges at his pleasure, he reckoned on the obedience of the others, but, on privately asking their opinions he found four refractory: these he dismissed forthwith, and appointed others; and the bench being now adjusted, a sham action was brought for their decision. Sir Edward Hales, a recent convert, was appointed to the command of a regiment, and his coachman was directed to bring an action for the penalty of £500 incurred by his holding a command without having qualified. Hales pleaded a dispensation under the great seal. The case was tried before the twelve judges, and eleven decided, June 21, 1686, in favour of the dispensation.[c]

The language in which the judges expressed their decision was of the most

absolute description, and went to show that the whole fabric of English liberty was a matter of royal sufferance. "The kings of England," they said, "are sovereign princes; the laws of England are the king's laws; therefore it is an inseparable prerogative in the king of England to dispense with penal laws in particular cases, and for particular necessary reasons, of which reasons and necessities he is the sole judge; and this is not a trust vested in the king, but the ancient remains of the sovereign power of the kings of England, which never yet was taken from them, nor can be." This decision, and the manner in which it was obtained, filled all good men with a mixture of sorrow and indignation, and to the government which it was designed to uphold it became a new occasion of weakness.[1]

This decision was not, properly speaking, illegal, but it was highly unconstitutional; and, as it declared that no restraint could be placed on the monarch, and that acts of parliament were mere cobwebs, there being a power paramount to them, men plainly saw that there was no alternative between a tame submission to the overthrow of their religion and liberties and a bold effort to maintain them. In effect, this decision sealed the doom of the house of Stuart.

THE KING INTERFERES WITH THE CHURCH

James little thought so; he had gained, he considered, a complete victory; the Test Act and all other barriers against popery could no longer impede him, and the army, the council, and every department of the state might now be filled with Catholics. He had even, as he conceived, the power of gradually making the church itself Catholic. Early in this year, Obadiah Walker, master of University College, Oxford, and three of the fellows, had declared themselves Catholics, as also had Sclater, the curate of Esher and Putney, and a royal dispensation allowed them still to enjoy the emoluments of their situations; Sclater, however, being enjoined to provide for the performance of divine service in his churches. Walker was allowed to have a Catholic chapel in his college, and a press for printing Catholic books of theology. But the spirit of Compton, bishop of London, gave occasion to a further mode of bridling the church, or rather of accelerating the downfall of the monarch.

Compton, brother to the earl of Northampton, had been a soldier. He was a man of a bold spirit, and a zealous Protestant. To punish his late opposition in parliament, the king struck him out of the list of the privy council, and deprived him of his office of dean of the chapel. This only increased his popularity and the suspicion of the king's designs, and the London pulpits thundered with controversy. The king, as head of the church, issued orders for the clergy to abstain from controversy in the pulpit. Few obeyed; it was therefore resolved to make an example. Doctor Sharp, dean of Norwich and rector of St. Giles, was fixed on, and Compton was ordered to suspend him, but he replied that he must hear him first in his defence. It was now determined to make the bishop himself the victim.

The odious court of high commission had been abolished in 1641. A part of the act of abolition was repealed at the Restoration, but a clause of it, prohibiting the erection of any similar court, had been retained. James, however, issued a commission, in nearly the very words of that of Elizabeth, to certain persons to act as a court of commissioners in ecclesiastical causes. These were the primate, chancellor, bishops of Durham and Rochester, the earls of Rochester and Sunderland, and Chief Justice Herbert. Three were to form a *quorum*, of whom Jeffreys was always to be one. "God," said James

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to Barillon, "has permitted that all the laws made to establish Protestantism now serve as a foundation for my measures to re-establish true religion."

Before this court Compton was summoned. He defended himself with much address. The primate Sancroft was not there to uphold the interests of the church, for he had timidly obtained leave to be absent on the plea of age and infirmity; but the earl and the bishop of Rochester and the chief justice took the side of Compton, and even Jeffreys, who, in the midst of his excesses, clung to the Protestant faith, supported them. The presence, however, and the influence of the king prevailed, and Compton was suspended by a commission, three-fourths of whose members had declared in his favour. The people soon nick-named the commission the *Congregatio de propaganda fide.*

Of the royal advisers there were two classes, the Protestant and the Catholic. The former, headed by the earl of Rochester, seem to have been willing to aid the king in all his projects against liberty, but they were steadfast in their adherence to the church. The Catholics were divided into two parties: most of the laymen, such as Bellasis and Powis, were for moderation; they saw the difficulties in the way of establishing their faith, and they would have been content with the repeal of the penal statutes, and security for their religion under a Protestant successor. The queen herself was inclined to this party; but the king was under the influence of Father Petre and the Jesuits; and these, with the usual heat and imprudence of political churchmen, urged him on to extreme measures. Sunderland, an ambitious, unprincipled statesman, though still professing himself a Protestant, allied himself closely with this party, in the hope of supplanting Rochester; and the influence of Father Petre, when all other applications had failed, raised him to the post of president of the council, in the room of Halifax, with which he still retained his post of secretary.

But the Protestant party had a supporter who they thought might counterbalance the queen and the priests. James, with all his zeal for his religion, and his anxiety to diffuse it, made no scruple of violating one of its most important precepts. His amours had always been notorious, and neither of his wives could boast of his fidelity. Arabella Churchill, maid of honour to his first duchess, had borne him two children. She was a sister to Lord Churchill, afterwards duke of Marlborough. One of her children by James was the celebrated duke of Berwick. She afterwards married Colonel Godfrey. His present mistress, Catherine, daughter of the witty, profligate Sir Charles Sedley, was a woman so devoid of personal attractions that King Charles used to say his brother kept her by way of penance; but she had a coarse, roystering kind of humour, which pleased her lover, who was a man of no delicacy whatever, though she did not spare to employ it even on his religion and his priests. In the beginning of his reign he had been induced to break off his intercourse with her, but he afterwards renewed it, and, at the suggestion, it is said, of Rochester, created her countess of Dorchester.

The queen, who was a woman of spirit, testified the utmost indignation, and, by Sunderland's advice, she assembled one day in her apartments the chancellor and himself, with the priests and the Catholic nobles; and when the king entered it, he was assailed by their united reproaches and remonstrances. He promised to separate from the countess, and he sent her orders to retire to the Continent; but she asserted her rights as a free-born English woman, and appealed to Magna Charta. She at length consented to go to Ireland, where Rochester's brother, Clarendon, was lord-lieutenant. She returned, however, within six months, and the king renewed his intercourse

with her: but it was of no political effect, as the Jesuits "had got the advowson of his conscience."

ADVANCES TOWARD CATHOLICISM

It might be supposed that the court of Rome would have co-operated zealously with James in his project of re-establishing the Catholic faith; but so adverse were all things to this prince that even there he found no support. The reigning pontiff, Innocent XI, who had been a soldier, was a man who knew or cared nothing about the disputes and differences of theologians, but he was an able temporal prince and statesman; he was on ill-terms with Louis XIV, on account of that monarch's insolence; and he regarded with little complacency both the Jesuits and the king of England, whom he looked on as partisans of Louis. James, on his accession, had sent Mr. Caryl as his private minister to Rome to solicit the purple for the queen's uncle, the title of bishop for one Doctor Leyburn, and the appointment of a nuncio to the court of St. James. Caryl succeeded in the two last points; and the count d'Adda came over in November, 1685, but did not assume any public character. The zeal of the king, however, was not to be restrained, and the following February he insisted on d'Adda's taking the title of nuncio, to which the papal court gave a reluctant consent. The nuncio, a prudent, clear-sighted man, viewed with concern the rate at which the king and his advisers were disposed to drive matters, and he gave the weight of his authority to the moderate Catholic party.

James, being resolved to have a resident minister at the papal court, chose for this purpose, with his usual infelicity, the earl of Castlemain, the husband of the duchess of Cleveland, a man who owed his title to the infamy of his wife. Castlemain behaved at Rome with such indiscretion [and familiarity toward the pope] that the nuncio was directed to make a formal complaint of his conduct. All the influence of James failed to procure a nominal bishopric for Petre, whom he is thought to have designed to place in the see of York, which he kept vacant. He was equally unsuccessful in his efforts to procure for him a cardinal's hat.

If the pontiff was more swayed by politics than religion, we may easily believe the same to have been the case with the courts of Madrid and Vienna; and accordingly we find the Spanish and imperial ministers co-operating with the Dutch and opposing the French ambassador. James, who, to his misfortune, had some vague ideas of the dignity belonging to a king of England, and of the line of policy which, as such, he should adopt, irritated Louis by vain assumptions of independence, at the very time that he was receiving his money and relying on him for aid in his projects.

To accustom the public eye to the view of papacy, convents were established in various parts of London: that of the Carmelites was in the city, that of the Franciscans in Lincoln's Inn Fields, while the Benedictines were at St. James' and the Jesuits opened a school at the Savoy. They all went about publicly in their habits, and London was gradually assuming the appearance of a Catholic city. To awe the tumultuous, the army, of fifteen thousand men, was encamped on Hounslow heath; and in the tent of Lord Dumbarton, the second in command, mass was openly celebrated, and missionaries laboured to convert the soldiers. A paper calling on them to adhere to their religion being circulated through the camp, Johnson, its author, the chaplain of the late Lord Russell, was tried, found guilty, and sentenced to stand thrice in the pillory and to be whipped from Newgate to Tyburn,

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which sentence was executed with the utmost rigour and cruelty, he being previously degraded from his sacred character.

In the laxity of principle which may be supposed to have prevailed in a court for five-and-twenty years the abode of profligacy and corruption, conversions, real or pretended, might be expected to be abundant; yet the failures of the king were numerous and mortifying. Lady Dorchester, as we have seen, stuck to her religion, reconciling it, like her royal paramour, with the breach of its duties. A priest came to convert Secretary Middleton: "Your lordship believes the Trinity?" began he. "Who told you so? You are come here to prove your own opinions, not to ask about mine," was the reply, and the priest retired in confusion. Sheffield, earl of Mulgrave, is said to have replied to a monk, "I have convinced myself, by much reflection, that God made man, but I cannot believe that man can make God."

Colonel Kirke is reported to have told the king that he was pre-engaged, having promised the emperor of Morocco to become a Mohammedan, if ever he changed. But the great object was to gain the princess Anne, and for this purpose the lure of the succession was held out to her; but, though of weak disposition, she was firm. The bishop of London had been her tutor; Lord and Lady Churchill,[1] who ruled her, were zealous for Protestantism; and all the efforts made on her proved abortive. Lord Dartmouth, though sincerely attached to James, refused to abandon his religion. When Admiral Herbert, a man of loose life and laden with the royal favours, refused him, James said to Barillon that he never could put confidence in any man, however attached to him, who affected the character of a zealous Protestant.

The year 1686 closed with an act which convinced the people that the overthrow of their religion was the object really proposed by the king. This was the dismissal of Rochester from his office of treasurer, effected by the secret influence of Petre and Sunderland. The king was really attached to his brother-in-law, but he now told him that he must either go to mass or go out of office. Rochester's friends and the Spanish and Dutch ambassadors were desirous that he should keep office at any rate. A conference, it was agreed, should be held in his presence on the points in dispute between the two churches. At the end of it he desired a further delay to consider, but, as his object evidently was to gain time, the king consented to dismiss him. The treasury was then managed by a board, of which Lord Bellasis [or Bellasys], a Catholic, was the head; and he, Powis, and Dover were now members of the privy council. The king was also about to appoint Father Petre to a seat in it, and he was only withheld from doing it by the entreaties of the queen.

A dismissal of Protestants from office and a resignation of commissions in the army soon followed. The king, previous to the meeting of parliament, wishing to ascertain the opinions of the members who held offices, summoned them separately to his closet in order to confer with them. The result of these "closetings," as they were named, proving unsatisfactory, they were either dismissed from their offices or they resigned. Their places were generally supplied with Catholics.

[1] John eldest son of Sir Winston Churchill of Devon; at twelve years of age he was made one of the royal pages, but showing a preference for a military life, he got an ensigncy. He served in the auxiliary force under Monmouth in 1672, when he attracted the notice of the great Turenne. He attached himself to the duke of York, through whose influence he obtained a regiment and a Scottish barony; and when that prince came to the throne, he created him an English baron. Churchill married in 1681 the beautiful Sarah Jennings, maid of honour to the princess Anne. [Churchill, when urged to change his religion, said that he had never lived as a saint, but that he could die as a martyr.]

THE ATTACK ON THE UNIVERSITIES (1687 A.D.)

It being now evident that a sufficient number of the members of the established church could not be induced to betray it, the king was advised to endeavour to gain the non-conformists; not but that there were even on the Episcopal bench men who set little value on religion as compared with their interest: such were Crew of Durham, Cartwright, and Parker, to whom the king had lately given the sees of Chester and Oxford, knowing them to be men for his purpose, to whom may perhaps be added Sprate of Rochester, and one or two more. A Declaration of Indulgence was issued accordingly, suspending the penal laws and forbidding the imposition of tests. Of this the dissenters took advantage, though dubious of the motives whence it proceeded; and many addresses of thanks were presented from them at court. The king in his self-delusion congratulated himself on the success of this measure in weakening the church party, and he now thought he might venture to attack them in their strongholds, the universities. [The power of these institutions had always been great, but it reached its height in this century.]

As Oxford had so strongly asserted the doctrine of passive obedience, James commenced his attack on the church in that university. He appointed Massey, a fellow of Merton and a recent convert, to the deanery of Christ Church, and, true to its principles, the university made no opposition. The king next made trial of Cambridge University. He wrote (February 7th, 1687) to the vice-chancellor, Doctor Peachell, commanding him to admit to the degree of master of arts, without the usual oaths, a Benedictine monk, named Alban Francis, who was acting as a missionary in that neighbourhood. Peachell refused, and he was summarily summoned before the ecclesiastical commission; the university supported him, and it ended in the compromise of the appointment of a new vice-chancellor and the withdrawal of the claim of Francis.

Shamed or emboldened by the example of Cambridge, Oxford soon began to shake off its slavish trammels. On the death of the president of Magdalen College, letters mandatory were sent (April 4th); recommending Mr. Anthony Farmer, a man of low, dissolute habits, but a recent proselyte. The fellows petitioned the king, but to no purpose; they then proceeded to the election, and chose Mr. Hough. They were summoned before the ecclesiastical commission, and the election was pronounced void. But Farmer was withdrawn, his character being too notorious, and they were directed to choose Parker bishop of Oxford. They still refused, and when the king came to Oxford the following month on his progress, he chid them severely and insisted on their obedience. Still they would not yield. A commission was then issued, appointing extraordinary visitors of their college (October 21st), and Hough and twenty-five of the fellows were expelled and declared incapable of holding any clerical preferment (December 10th). The king thus gained a victory, but, as Lingard *f* justly observes, "he had no reason to be proud of it, for it betrayed the hollowness of his pretensions to good faith and sincerity, and earned him the enmity of the great body of the clergy, and of all who were devoted to the interests of the church."

In the summer the king had given another intimation of his designs, by publicly receiving D'Adda as the papal nuncio, a measure to which the pope had yielded an unwilling consent. He now advanced a step further, and by the royal command Father Petre took his seat among the privy councillors, to the grief and dismay of the moderate Catholics and the astonishment and vexation of the people.

THE KING AND THE PARLIAMENT (1687 A.D.)

The king had also dissolved the parliament (July 2nd). It was represented to him in vain that in all points but that of religion this was a more compliant assembly than he could ever again expect to obtain; religion was with him the point, and he resolved to make the trial. In order to get a more complete control over the corporations, he appointed a board of seven regulators, all Catholics except the chancellor, with powers to appoint and remove officers and freemen at their discretion. To obtain county members to his purpose the lords-lieutenant were directed to inquire of their deputies and the magistrates whether, if elected to parliament, they would vote for the repeal of the Test Act and the penal laws; whether they would support candidates who would promise to do so; and whether they would support the declaration. Loss of office was to be the penalty of non-compliance. This measure however did not succeed. Fourteen lords-lieutenant were removed, and their places supplied with Catholics; a like change was made among the sheriffs and in the magistracy; yet, after all, James saw that he could not have a parliament to his mind, and of the house of lords there was no hope. Sunderland, however, had conceived the then unknown project of "swamping," as it is termed, this house by a large creation. "O Silly!" cried he to Lord Churchill, when the opposition of the peers was spoken of, "why your troop of guards shall be called to the house of lords." This bold measure was not ventured on; the king seemed inclined, if he could not get a pliant house of commons, to continue to rule by prerogative.

The Scottish parliament had proved as uncomplying as the English on the subject of religion. The king had there in like manner issued a proclamation, granting toleration to sectaries and suspending all laws against Catholics, "by his sovereign authority, prerogative, royal and absolute power" — words which he did not as yet venture to employ in England.

THE KING AND IRELAND (1687 A.D.)

In Ireland the lord-lieutenancy had been given to Lord Clarendon, but the command of the forces was separated from it for the first time, and entrusted to Richard Talbot, now earl of Tyrconnel, an Irish Catholic of the English race, a man of some talent but hardly any judgment; rude and boisterous in manners, with no control over his passions and appetites; handsome and showy in his person: he was in effect a genuine Anglo-Irishman of that day. Being in the confidence of the king, he treated the viceroy with insolence and contempt, and though the object for which he was sent was to raise the Catholic interest, he could not refrain from insulting the native Irish by calling them the O's and Mac's. Having aided Sunderland in overthrowing the Hydes [Rochester and Clarendon] he bullied him out of the chief government of Ireland, though he was known to be the enemy of the Act of Settlement, and the devoted slave of Louis XIV. He was appointed lord deputy (February 1687).

The Protestants now began to emigrate in great numbers; the officers sold their commissions for little or nothing, and sought service with the prince of Orange. The object of the king was to make Ireland an asylum for the Catholics, and for himself if needful; but Tyrconnel had a deeper design, and he proposed to the French envoy, Bonrepaux, that in case of the succession of the prince of Orange, Ireland should become an independent state under the protection of France. To this project Louis gave a most willing consent, but it was studiously concealed from James, and even from Barillon. Yet suspi-

cion was afloat; and it was one of the objects of Dyckveldt, whom the prince of Orange sent over in the beginning of the year, to ascertain the king's designs with respect to Ireland.[c]

Tyrconnel went about his work in a wild way. He displaced the Protestant judges, and filled their seats with Catholics. He terrified the cities and towns into surrender of their charters, and gave them new charters which made parliamentary representation a mockery. He had a scheme for dispossessing the English settlers of the property which they had acquired in the forfeitures of half a century previous. His projects were opposed by grave Catholic peers, who said that the lord deputy was fool and madman enough to ruin ten kingdoms. His character and that of his master were ridiculed in the famous ballad of *Lillibullero:*

> Dare was an old prophecy found in a bog,
> Lilli burlero, bullen a-la;
> Ireland shall be ruled by an ass and a dog,
> Lilli burlero, bullen a-la.

James was the ass and Tyrconnel the dog. This ribaldry of Lord Wharton was adapted to a spirited air of Purcell, published ten years before. "The whole army," says Burnet,[k] "and at last the people both in city and country, were singing it perpetually." Wharton afterwards boasted that he had rhymed James out of his dominions. He had produced a song, like many other songs, of wondrous popularity with little intrinsic merit. But those whose conviviality, even in our own days, has been stirred by its fascinating melody, may well believe that it was whistled and sung in every street in 1688.[g]

Concerning the fall of the Hydes, Rochester and Clarendon, Macaulay says: "The dismission of the two brothers is a great epoch in the reign of James. From that time it was clear that what he really wanted was not liberty of conscience for the members of his own church, but liberty to persecute the members of other churches. Pretending to abhor tests, he had himself imposed a test. He thought it hard, he thought it monstrous, that able and loyal men should be excluded from the public service solely for being Roman Catholics. Yet he had himself turned out of office a treasurer, whom he admitted to be both loyal and able, solely for being a Protestant. The cry was that a general proscription was at hand, and that every public functionary must make up his mind to lose his soul or to lose his place. Who indeed could hope to stand where the Hydes had fallen? They were the brothers-in-law of the king, the uncles and natural guardians of his children, his friends from early youth, his steady adherents in adversity and peril, his obsequious servants since he had been on the throne. Their sole crime was their religion; and for this crime they had been discarded. In great perturbation men began to look round for help; and soon all eyes were fixed on one whom a rare concurrence both of personal qualities and of fortuitous circumstances pointed out as the deliverer — William of Orange."[b]

THE CALM BEFORE THE STORM

James now fondly deemed that the overthrow of the Protestant church was nearly certain. The steadfastness of his daughters in their religion had been to him a source of anxiety, as they might undo all his work; but an event had occurred which promised to relieve him from all apprehension. The queen, who had ceased from child-bearing for five years, announced that she was pregnant. This event, which the king and his friends ascribed to the

efficacy of his prayers at St. Winifred's Well, which he had lately visited, or to the prayers on earth and intercession in heaven of the late duchess of Modena, was hailed by the whole Catholic party with transports of joy, and they even, as formerly in the case of Queen Mary, ventured to assign the sex of the embryo. The Protestants, on the other hand, openly expressed their doubts, and hesitated not to assert that those whose interest it was to have a prince of Wales would be at no loss to procure one.

We now enter on the year 1688, a year ever memorable in the annals of England, and even in those of the world. To the royal view the whole political horizon seemed calm and unclouded. The king had triumphed in his contest with the church; in his late progress he had been greeted and cheered by bodies of the dissenters, whom he took for the nation; he had the prospect of the birth of a son to exclude his heretical daughters, and to go on with the good work of spreading the true faith; London was even already, as he said, putting on the appearance of a Catholic city; monks and friars in their appropriate habits were to be seen parading the streets; a papal nuncio sanctified the court by his presence; and Corker, a Benedictine, who had been tried for his life during the Popish Plot, being appointed envoy by the elector of Cologne, the king insisted that he and his attendant monks should come to court in the habit of their order — a piece of folly which the more sagacious Louis XIV strongly condemned. Finally, James had filled Magdalen College with Catholic fellows; and on the death of Bishop Parker (March 23rd), Doctor Giffard, one of the four Catholic prelates whom he had induced the pontiff to consecrate for England, was by the royal mandate chosen to succeed him.

But all this triumph and all this security was fallacious; the tempest was secretly brewing which was to level the fabric in the dust. The tories, who had long been restrained by their notions of unlimited obedience, now alarmed for their religion by the queen's pregnancy, began to unite with the whigs; several influential noblemen were in secret correspondence with the prince of Orange, and an armed resistance to the crown with his aid was contemplated. In this state of the national feeling, the king made his final and fatal step.[c]

MACAULAY ON THE DECLARATION OF INDULGENCE (1687 A.D.)

It was now evident that all hope of an alliance between the churches of England and of Rome, for the purpose of sharing offices and emoluments and of crushing the Puritan sects, must be abandoned. Nothing remained but to try a coalition between the church of Rome and the Puritan sects against the Church of England. On the 18th of March, 1687, the king had informed the privy council that he had determined to prorogue the parliament till the end of November, and to grant, by his own authority, entire liberty of conscience to all his subjects. On the 4th of April had appeared the memorable Declaration of Indulgence.

In this declaration the king avowed that it was his earnest wish to see his people members of that church to which he himself belonged. But, since that could not be, he announced his intention to protect them in the free exercise of their religion. He repeated all those phrases which, eight years before, when he was himself an oppressed man, had been familiar to his lips, but which he had ceased to use from the day on which a turn of fortune had put it into his power to be an oppressor. He had long been convinced, he said, that conscience was not to be forced, that persecution was unfavourable to

population and to trade, and that it never attained the ends which persecutors had in view. He repeated his promise, already often repeated and often violated, that he would protect the established church in the enjoyment of her legal rights. He then proceeded to annul, by his own sole authority, a long series of statutes. He suspended all penal laws against all classes of non-conformists. He authorised both Roman Catholics and Protestant dissenters to perform their worship publicly. He forbade his subjects, on pain of his highest displeasure, to molest any religious assembly. He also abrogated all those acts which imposed any religious test as a qualification for any civil or military office.

That the Declaration of Indulgence was unconstitutional is a point on which both the great English parties have always been entirely agreed. Every person capable of reasoning on a political question must perceive that a monarch who is competent to issue such a declaration is nothing less than an absolute monarch. Fifteen years before that time, a declaration of indulgence had been put forth by his brother with the advice of the Cabal. That declaration, when compared with the declaration of James, might be called modest and cautious. Yet the declaration of Charles had been pronounced illegal in the most formal manner. The commons had resolved that the king had no power to dispense with statutes in matters ecclesiastical. Charles had ordered the obnoxious instrument to be cancelled in his presence, had torn off the seal with his own hand, and had, both by message under his sign manual, and with his own lips from his throne in full parliament, distinctly promised the two houses that the step which had given so much offence should never be drawn into precedent. The two houses had then, without one dissentient voice, joined in thanking him for this compliance with their wishes. No constitutional question had ever been decided more deliberately, more clearly, or with more harmonious consent. That the sovereign could by one sweeping edict authorise all his subjects to disobey whole volumes of laws, no tribunal had ventured, in the face of the solemn parliamentary decision of 1673, to affirm.

Such, however, was the position of parties that James' Declaration of Indulgence, though the most audacious of all the attacks made by the Stuarts on public freedom, was well calculated to please that very portion of the community by which all the other attacks of the Stuarts on public freedom had been most strenuously resisted. It could scarcely be hoped that the Protestant non-conformist, separated from his countrymen by a harsh code harshly enforced, would be inclined to dispute the validity of a decree which relieved him from intolerable grievances. A cool and philosophical observer would undoubtedly have pronounced that all the evil arising from all the intolerant laws which parliaments had framed was not to be compared to the evil which would be produced by a transfer of the legislative power from the parliament to the sovereign. But such coolness and philosophy are not to be expected from men who are smarting under present pain, and who are tempted by the offer of immediate ease.

A Puritan divine could not indeed deny that the dispensing power now claimed by the crown was inconsistent with the fundamental principles of the constitution. But he might perhaps be excused if he asked. What was the constitution to him? The Act of Uniformity had ejected him, in spite of royal promises, from a benefice which was his freehold, and had reduced him to beggary and dependence. The Five Mile Act had banished him from his dwelling, from his relations, from his friends, from almost all places of public resort. Under the Conventicle Act his goods had been distrained; and he

had been flung into one noisome gaol after another among highwaymen and housebreakers. Out of prison he had constantly had the officers of justice on his track; he had been forced to pay hush money to informers; he had stolen, in ignominious disguises, through windows and trapdoors, to meet his flock, and had, while pouring the baptismal water, or distributing the eucharistic bread, been anxiously listening for the signal that the tipstaves were approaching. Was it not mockery to call on a man thus plundered and oppressed to suffer martyrdom for the property and liberty of his plunderers and oppressors? The declaration, despotic as it might seem to his prosperous neighbours, brought deliverance to him. He was called upon to make his choice, not between freedom and slavery, but between two yokes; and he might not unnaturally think the yoke of the king lighter than that of the church.

While thoughts like these were working in the minds of many dissenters, the Anglican party was in amazement and terror. This new turn in affairs was indeed alarming. The house of Stuart leagued with republican and regicide sects against the old cavaliers of England; popery leagued with Puritanism against an ecclesiastical system with which the Puritans had no quarrel, except that it had retained too much that was popish; these were portents which confounded all the calculations of statesmen. The church was then to be attacked at once on every side; and the attack was to be under the direction of him who, by her constitution, was her head. She might well be struck with surprise and dismay. And mingled with surprise and dismay came other bitter feelings; resentment against the perjured prince whom she had served too well, and remorse for the cruelties in which he had been her accomplice, and for which he was now, as it seemed, about to be her punisher.

Her chastisement was just. She reaped that which she had sown. After the Restoration, when her power was at the height, she had breathed nothing but vengeance. She had encouraged, urged, almost compelled the Stuarts to requite with perfidious ingratitude the recent services of the Presbyterians. Had she, in that season of her prosperity, pleaded, as became her, for her enemies, she might now, in her distress, have found them her friends. Perhaps it was not yet too late. Perhaps she might still be able to turn the tactics of her faithless oppressor against himself. There was among the Anglican clergy a moderate party which had always felt kindly towards the Protestant dissenters. That party was not large; but the abilities, acquirements, and virtues of those who belonged to it made it respectable. It had been regarded with little favour by the highest ecclesiastical dignitaries, and had been mercilessly reviled by bigots of the school of Laud: but, from the day on which the Declaration of Indulgence appeared to the day on which the power of James ceased to inspire terror, the whole church seemed to be animated by the spirit, and guided by the counsels, of the calumniated Latitudinarians.

Then followed an auction, the strangest that history has recorded. On one side the king, on the other the church, began to bid eagerly against each other for the favour of those whom up to that time king and church had combined to oppress. The Protestant dissenters, who, a few months before, had been a despised and proscribed class, now held the balance of power. The harshness with which they had been treated was universally condemned The court tried to throw all the blame on the hierarchy. The hierarchy flung it back on the court. The king declared that he had unwillingly persecuted the separatists only because his affairs had been in such a state that he could not venture to disoblige the established clergy. The established clergy protested that they had borne a part in severity uncongenial to their feelings only

from deference to the authority of the king. The king got together a collection of stories about rectors and vicars who had by threats of prosecution wrung money out of Protestant dissenters. He talked on this subject much and publicly, threatened to institute an inquiry which would exhibit the parsons in their true character to the whole world, and actually issued several commissions empowering agents on whom he thought that he could depend to ascertain the amount of the sums extorted in different parts of the country by professors of the dominant religion from sectaries. The advocates of the church, on the other hand, cited instances of honest parish priests who had been reprimanded and menaced by the court for recommending toleration in the pulpit, and for refusing to spy out and hunt down little congregations of non-conformists. The king asserted that some of the churchmen whom he had closeted had offered to make large concessions to the Catholics, on condition that the persecution of the Puritans might go on. The accused churchmen vehemently denied the truth of this charge.[b]

THE CLERGY RESIST THE DECLARATION OF INDULGENCE (1688 A.D.)

In the popular conception, the Catholic religion and intolerance were identical; and the conduct of James, while commissioner of Scotland, had done more than any other occurrence in recent history to confirm that impression. It is now also well known that the king of England, while discoursing to his subjects in this manner concerning the justice and expediency of allowing men a full liberty of conscience in matters of religion, was secretly applauding the king of France in prosecuting his barbarous measures against the Protestants of that kingdom.

On the 27th of April, 1688, James re-published the Declaration of Indulgence which he had issued the year before, adding to it the assurance that a parliament should be assembled "at farthest" in the following November. Some days afterwards, an order in council required the clergy, both in the metropolis and through the kingdom, to read the Declaration from the pulpit at the usual time of service. This measure, so important in its consequences, appears to have been precipitated by the influence of Father Petre, and by the less considerate party with whom he acted. James had assigned as a reason of again issuing the Declaration, that his purpose as expressed in it had been greatly confirmed by the many addresses which had been presented to him, showing that its purport was generally approved by his subjects. The clergy, moreover, had not only indulged since the king's accession in the strongest expressions of unlimited obedience to the civil power, but in conformity with the usage of the times of Charles I, had read to their congregations the lengthened paper made public by the late king after dismissing the Oxford Parliament, and other documents of the same partial and inflammatory character still more recently. It is highly probable, accordingly, that this order was issued without the slightest expectation that any material opposition would be made to it, though when its consequences began to assume so formidable a shape, Sunderland and others were concerned to have it understood that they had not been parties to it. The Rubric, however, which declared that nothing should be published in the church, except as prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, "or enjoined by the king," might have been pleaded by the privy council as a plausible, if not a sufficient authority for what they had done.

The order was published in the *Gazette*, and devolved upon the bishops the responsibility of sending the Declaration to the clergy of their respective

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dioceses to be read in their churches. This novel method of proceeding was regarded as a studied exposure of the subjection of the prelates, not only to the pleasure of the king, but to the secret influence of those members of the Catholic priesthood who were always about his person. Sixteen days only were allowed to intervene between the publication of the Declaration and the obedience demanded; and after fourteen days of that interval had been variously occupied in partial or general conferences among the bishops and the clergy of London, six of the prelates obtained audience of the king, and presented to him a paper headed "The petition of the archbishop of Canterbury, with divers suffragan bishops of his province, in behalf of themselves and several of their absent brethren, and of the clergy of their respective dioceses." James received their lordships with much apparent cordialty, supposing the extent of their petition to be, that he would command the chancellors and archdeacons, according to ancient practice, to send the Declaration to the clergy, and not require that service from themselves. The king then opened the petition, and observed that he recognised in it the handwriting of Archbishop Sancroft. In it the bishops stated that their averseness to read the king's Declaration arose neither from want of the duty and obedience which the Church of England had always practised, nor from want of tenderness to dissenters, to whom they were willing to come to such a temper as might be thought fit in parliament and convocation, but because it is founded in a dispensing power declared illegal in parliament; and that they could not in prudence or conscience make themselves so far parties to it as the publication of it in the church at the time of divine service must amount to in common and reasonable construction. The petitioners concluded accordingly with "humbly and earnestly beseeching his majesty not to insist on their distributing and reading the said Declaration."

As the king read these sentences his countenance changed: having folded up the paper, he glanced angrily at the prelates and said, "This is a great surprise to me. These are strange words. I did not expect this from you; this is a standard of rebellion." The bishops deprecated his majesty's displeasure in the most earnest terms, assuring him that in all matters not affecting their conscience toward God, their loyalty would be found unimpeachable.

But this exception was of large import; it had been the great plea of the Puritans and non-conformists in their contentions with the ruling clergy and the civil power, and though little respected, for the most part, when so employed, was as valid in that connection as in the present. James had given sufficient attention to the bearing of such exceptions to perceive at once that the ground taken by the prelates was the most hostile to his plans that they could possibly have chosen, and he concluded his angry and incoherent expressions by saying, "If I think fit to alter my mind I will send to you. God has given me this dispensing power, and I will maintain it. I tell you there are seven thousand men, and of the Church of England too, that have not bowed the knee to Baal."

The Clergy in General Refuse to Read the Declaration

The Episcopal body at this time consisted of twenty-two persons, three-fourths of whom approved in whole or in part of the petition presented to the king. The chief persons in the minority were Sprat, Cartwright, Crew, and Watson. Sprat had written a history of the Rye House Plot, and owed his distinction to the readiness with which he had prostituted his talents to

the service of the court; Cartwright and Crew were men governed by servility and selfishness; and Watson disgraced his office by so many vices that he was at length deprived of his see. The bishops presented themselves to the king with their petition on May 18th, late in the evening; that night the petition was printed, and the next morning it was in considerable circulation. The prelates were no parties to this proceeding, nor do we know to whom it should be attributed. But this was on the Saturday morning, and on the following day, according to the order in council, the Declaration should be read in all the churches of London.

Among the London clergy the names of three only are preserved as those of persons who were obedient to the command of the king in this particular; no account exhibits more than seven, out of nearly a hundred, as being thus compliant. On that day Sprat chose to officiate as dean in Westminster abbey, but when the moment came for reading the Declaration, his trepidation was such that he could scarcely hold the document in his hands; the people rose from their seats with loud murmuring, so that nothing could be heard, and before the reading was concluded, the only persons remaining in the church were the Westminster scholars, the choristers, and some of the prebendaries. Over the kingdom the same spirit prevailed, so much so that among ten thousand clergymen, not more it appears than two hundred could be induced to read the obnoxious proclamation. D'Adda, the papal nuncio, declared accordingly: "The whole church espouses the cause of the bishops. There is no reasonable expectation of a division among the Anglicans, and our hopes from the non-conformists are vanished." Baxter[1] applauded the conduct of the bishops from the pulpit, and the dissenters in general followed his example.

The difficulties with which the king had thus surrounded himself were in every view almost equally perilous. To proceed was to augment the spirit of resistance everywhere manifested, and to a degree that might be fatal to his sovereignty; while to retreat, would be to make a confession of weakness, and to invite aggression, the limits of which no mind could foresee. The method of proceeding agreed upon, after much discussion and wavering, was meant to be a middle course, but was in fact open to as much objection as were the extremes which it was framed to avoid.

THE BISHOPS PROSECUTED, AND SENT TO THE TOWER

The archbishop of Canterbury was summoned to appear before the king in council, to answer charges of misdemeanour. At the appointed time the primate, and the six bishops who had signed the petition, Lloyd of St. Asaph, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, Ken of Bath and Wells, White of Peterborough, and Trelawney of Bristol, all made their appearance in the council chamber. Jeffreys then took a paper from the table and inquired of the archbishop whether that was the petition which he had signed, and which the bishops had presented. Sancroft, addressing himself to the king, said that, since it was his unhappiness to appear before his majesty as a criminal, he hoped that he should not be obliged to answer questions which might tend to the accusing of himself. James censured this hesitation as chicanery, and,

[1 On the very 20th of May, the venerable Richard Baxter, the renowned non-conformist who had been so often persecuted by the church, praised from his pulpit the bishops for their resistance to that declaration by virtue of which he was then able to preach publicly. It was thus plain that all hopes from the dissenters were vanished. The whole church party were firm to the prelates, and the king must now either yield at discretion or engage in a contest with all his Protestant subjects.—KEIGHTLEY.c]

still pressed, the bishops were required by the chancellor, and by the king, to answer the questions which had been put to them, and they did so, confessing that the signatures were in their writing, and that they had delivered the petition. The lord chancellor then informed them that it was the king's pleasure they should be proceeded against for their petition; and that the proceedings should be with all fairness in Westminster Hall, by information, and that in the mean time they must enter into a recognisance. The bishops declined entering into recognisance, pleading that it was contrary to precedent, and to the privilege of parliament, for peers of the realm to be so bound. James stated that his offer to release them on such terms was intended as a favour, and bid them think of the consequences which might attend the refusal; but the accused were not to be moved from their purpose on that point; and it was in consequence agreed, after some deliberation, that they should all be sent to the Tower, as the writers and publishers of a seditious libel against the king and the government.

The summons of the bishops to attend at Whitehall being publicly known, great crowds of people thronged about the palace, waiting with anxiety the result of the examination. At length the petitioners made their appearance, but it was in the condition of culprits, under a guard of soldiers. The people were moved greatly at this sight; alarm, grief, and indignation, took possession of them as the rumours passed from one to another that the prelates were on their way to imprisonment in the Tower. The boldness of such a proceeding seemed to realise their worst fears concerning the intentions of the government, and the prisoners moved before them as a procession of confessors and martyrs — as the holy men whose piety and patriotism had prompted them to take their stand in the breach for the protection of the faith and liberty of their country. It was altogether a new thing to see such persons in such circumstances; it was a picture of injury and subjection made peculiarly affecting, as allied with exalted station, eminent piety, and generous virtue.

The crowd, accordingly, followed the sufferers from the palace toward the river, many throwing themselves at their feet to implore their benediction, and others weeping aloud, or exclaiming, "God save the bishops! God save the church!" When the procession reached the side of the river, and the prelates had taken their place in the barge provided to convey them to the stairs of their prison, numbers of the people rushed into the water to express their sympathy, and to beseech some parting word from them. In the midst of this excitement the bishops conducted themselves with great self-possession and dignity, exhorting the people to patience and loyalty. As the royal barge floated down the river, the banks of the Thames were seen crowded with people, many of whom cast themselves upon their knees and raised their hands towards heaven, in token of their earnest prayer for the safety of the good men who were regarded as hazarding so much in their behalf. By the time the prisoners had reached the entrance to the Tower the impulse had become so general, that the men on guard, and even some of the officers, received them kneeling, and entreated their benediction.

On the following day crowds were constantly assembled in the open space near the Tower; numbers, of both sexes, and in the highest station, visited the prisoners. In the words of Reresby,[h] "Among the rest were ten nonconformist ministers, which the king took so heinously, that he sent for four of them to reprimand them; but their answer was that they could not but adhere to the prisoners, as men constant to the Protestant faith; nay, what is more extraordinary, the very soldiers who kept guard in the Tower would

frequently drink good health to the bishops, which being understood by Sir Edward Hales, the constable, he sent orders by the captain of the guard to see that it was done no more; but the answer he received was, that they were doing it at the very instant, and would drink that health, and no other so long as the bishops were there."

On finding himself thus opposed by the clergy and the populace, and thus completely deserted by the nobility, the gentry, and the non-conformists, the councils of the monarch became more than ever unsteady. He had once resolved to let these proceedings fall, and to make the birth of the prince of Wales, which had occurred a few days since, on June 10th, the apparent cause of doing so; but, in the language of Jeffreys, "some men would hurry him to destruction." Accordingly, on the fifteenth of June, the bishops were brought before the court of King's Bench, by a writ of *habeas corpus*. On landing from the barge at Westminister, they passed along an extended avenue opened for them by the crowds assembled to do them honour. The greater part of the people, covering the whole space from the place of landing to the entrance of Westminster Hall, were upon their knees, and with tears commended them to the Divine protection, or implored a passing benediction from them. The bishops laid their hands on many as they moved along, and exhorted them to be loyal subjects and steadfast in their faith. On taking their place in the court, they were attended by twenty-nine peers, who had previously offered themselves as sureties for their appearance, if such should be demanded; along with these noblemen were numbers of gentlemen deeply interested in the expected proceedings, while the populace not only filled every corner and avenue of the court, but the whole of the great hall, and the open street to a considerable distance in its neighbourhood. The proceedings of this day, however, were only preliminary to the day of trial.

THE ACQUITTAL OF THE BISHOPS (1688 A.D.)

The prelates being obliged to plead, pleaded "Not Guilty," and the 29th of the month was fixed upon for their trial. They were not reconducted to the Tower, but released on their own recognisance. This temporary liberation seems to have been regarded by the people as an omen of triumph. It was hailed with loud shouts in the court, and everywhere among the populace; the bells of Westminster were rung, until silenced by an order from the dean, and bonfires in the evening testified the general delight.

The counsel for the bishops consisted of the most able men at the bar, including Sawyer, and Somers, who was then young and little known, but who was soon to become a much greater man than the greatest of his colleagues. It was unfortunate that some of these distinguished persons did not appear in the cause of justice and liberty on this occasion with clean hands.

When the bishops appeared in the court on the appointed day of trial, the attorney-general, Sir Thomas Powis, opened the case on the part of the crown. In stating the law of libel, he observed: "The bishops are prosecuted for censuring his majesty and his government, and for giving their opinions in matters wholly relating to government and to law. And I cannot omit to take notice that there is not any one thing of which the law is so jealous, or for the prosecution and punishment of which the law more carefully provides, than all accusations and arraignments of the government. No man may say of the great men of the nation, much less of the great officers of the kingdom, that they act unreasonably or unjustly, least of all may any man say such a thing of the king.

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For these matters tend to possess the people that the government is ill administered; and the consequence of that is, to set them upon desiring a reformation; and what that tends to, and will end in, we have all had a sad and a too dear-bought experience. The last age will abundantly satisfy us whither such a thing does tend." Thus the law of libel was to be in England what the law of leasing-making had long been in Scotland — an instrument exposing all persons to the peril of a criminal information who should venture to utter the slightest or the most guarded censure upon the government, or concerning the persons whom it might include.[l]

The king had taken pains to have a jury returned that he could rely on; and at court there was not a doubt felt of the result. The speech of the attorney-general was timid, and there was great difficulty in proving the signatures; a question then arose, whether the petition which had been written in Surrey, and not proved to have been published in Middlesex, could be tried in the latter county. At every failure of the crown-lawyers, the audience set up a laugh or a shout which the court was unable to repress. Wright began to sum up; but he was interrupted by Finch, one of the prisoners' counsel. Williams, the solicitor-general, then requested the court to wait for the appearance of a person of great quality. After a delay of an hour, Lord Sunderland arrived in a chair, amid the hootings of the populace. He proved that the bishops came to him with a petition, and that he introduced them to the king.

But now the counsel for the accused took new ground, and assumed a bolder tone; they arraigned the dispensing power; they maintained the right of the subject to petition. Wright and Allibone charged against, Holloway and Powell in favour of, the prisoners. The jury retired at seven in the evening; the obstinacy of Arnold, the king's brewer, one of their number, kept them in debate till the morning, when at nine o'clock they came into court and pronounced their verdict, Not Guilty. Instantly a peal of joy arose; it was taken up without; it spread over the city; it reached the camp at Hounslow, and was repeated by the soldiers. The king, who was dining with Lord Feversham, on inquiring, was told it was nothing but their joy for the acquittal of the bishops: "Call you that nothing? It is so much the worse for them," was his reply.[c]

When the jury left the court they were hailed with the most enthusiastic cheers, as the defenders of Protestantism and the deliverers of their country; while, upon Bishop Cartwright, and Williams, the solicitor-general, the crowd heaped every expression of reproach and derision. In the city all business was suspended for some hours, and men seemed to exist but to congratulate each other with tears of delight on what had happened. In the evening the bells were rung, and bonfires kindled, in all parts of the metropolis. Before the windows of the royal palace the pope was burned in effigy, and the toast everywhere went round — health to the bishops and the jury, and confusion to the papists. The principal towns through the country vied with the capital in these expressions of feeling; the proudest churchmen, and every class of dissenters, seemed to be of one mind; and the parties who had done most towards urging the king to prosecute his obnoxious measures, began to express their utter despair of seeing a people whose heresy partook of so much "rancour and malignity" ever brought within the fold of the church. Nor was it at all surprising that so much feeling should have been evinced in relation to this struggle on both sides; for in the words of Sir James Mackintosh[m]: "it was the prosecution of men of the most venerable character and manifestly innocent intention, after the success of which no good man could have been secure.

It was an experiment of some measure, to ascertain the means and probabilities of deliverance. The government was on its trial, and by the verdict of acquittal, the king was justly convicted of a conspiracy to maintain usurpation by oppression."

One of the first acts of the king, in consequence of these proceedings, was to create Williams a baronet, and to punish the integrity of Powell, and the scruples of Holloway, by removing them from the bench. The manner of the king also was much changed. He was observed to be more thoughtful and abstracted, and less disposed to talk on public affairs.[l]

BUCKLE ON THE INTOLERANCE OF THE CLERGY

The heroism of the bishops has not seemed so noble to the philosophical historian, Buckle,[n] as to the majority of writers. Without sympathy for either Catholic or Protestant bigotry, he sees in the resistance to the Declaration of Indulgence much more of hypocrisy and intolerance than of consistent humanity. We will quote his powerful comments, and follow them by the words of another historian who adduces reasons for discounting the value of the Declaration of Indulgence.[a]

The sudden death of Charles II placed on the throne a prince whose most earnest desire was to restore the Catholic church. This change in affairs was, if we consider it in its ultimate results, the most fortunate circumstance which could have happened to our country. In spite of the difference of their religion, the English clergy had always displayed an affection towards James, whose reverence for the priesthood they greatly admired; though they were anxious that the warmth of his affections should be lavished on the Church of England and not on the church of Rome. They were sensible of the advantages which would accrue to their own order, if his piety could be turned into a new channel. They saw that it was for his interest to abandon his religion; and they thought that to a man so cruel and so vicious his own interest would be the sole consideration.

The consequence was, that in one of the most critical moments of his life, they made in his favour a great and successful effort; and they not only used all their strength to defeat the bill by which it was proposed to exclude him from the succession, but when the measure was rejected, they presented an address to Charles II, congratulating him on the result. When James actually mounted the throne, they continued to display the same spirit. Whether they still hoped for his conversion, or whether, in their eagerness to persecute the dissenters, they overlooked the danger to their own church, is uncertain; but it is one of the most singular and unquestionable facts in English history, that for some time there existed a strict alliance between a Protestant hierarchy and a popish king.

The terrible crimes which were the result of this compact are but too notorious. But what is more worthy of attention is, the circumstance that caused the dissolution of this conspiracy between the crown and the church. The ground of the quarrel was an attempt made by the king to effect, in some degree, a religious toleration. By the celebrated Test and Corporation acts, it had been ordered, that all persons who were employed by government should be compelled, under a heavy penalty, to receive the sacrament according to the rites of the English church. The offence of James was that he now issued what was called a Declaration of Indulgence, in which he announced his intention of suspending the execution of these laws. From this moment, the position of the two great parties was entirely changed. The bishops clearly per-

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ceived that the statutes which it was thus attempted to abrogate, were highly favourable to their own power; and hence, in their opinion, formed an essential part of the constitution of a Christian country.

They had willingly combined with James, while he assisted them in persecuting men who worshipped God in a manner different from themselves.[1] So long as this compact held good, they were indifferent as to matters which they considered to be of minor importance. They looked on in silence, while the king was amassing the materials with which he hoped to turn a free government into an absolute monarchy. They saw Jeffreys and Kirke torturing their fellow-subjects; they saw the gaols crowded with prisoners, and all the scaffold streaming with blood. They were well pleased that some of the best and ablest men in the kingdom should be barbarously persecuted; that Baxter should be thrown into prison, and that Howe should be forced into exile.

They witnessed with composure the most revolting cruelties, because the victims of them were the opponents of the English church. Although the minds of men were filled with terror and with loathing, the bishops made no complaint. They preserved their loyalty unimpaired, and insisted on the necessity of humble submission to the Lord's anointed. But the moment James proposed to protect against persecution those who were hostile to the church; the moment he announced his intention of breaking down that monopoly of offices and of honours which the bishops had long secured for their own party; — the moment this took place, the hierarchy became alive to the dangers with which the country was threatened from the violence of so arbitrary a prince. The king had laid his hand on the ark, and the guardians of the temple flew to arms. How could they tolerate a prince who would not allow them to persecute their enemies? How could they support a sovereign who sought to favour those who differed from the national church? They soon determined on the line of conduct it behooved them to take. With an almost unanimous voice, they refused to obey the order by which the king commanded them to read in their churches the edict for religious toleration. Nor did they stop there. So great was their enmity against him they had recently cherished, that they actually applied for aid to those very dissenters whom, only a few weeks before, they had hotly persecuted; seeking by magnificent promises to win over to their side men they had hitherto hunted even to the death. The most eminent of the non-conformists were far from being duped by this sudden affection. But their hatred of popery, and their fear of the ulterior designs of the king, prevailed over every other consideration; and there arose that singular combination between churchmen and dissenters, which has never since been repeated. This coalition, backed by the general voice of the people, soon overturned the throne, and gave rise to what is justly deemed one of the most important events in the history of England.

Thus it was, that the proximate cause of that great revolution which cost James his crown, was the publication by the king of an edict of religious toleration, and the consequent indignation of the clergy at seeing so audacious an act performed by a Christian prince. It is true, that if other things had not conspired, this alone could never have effected so great a change. But it was the immediate cause of it, because it was the cause of the schism between the church and the throne, and of the alliance between the church and the dis-

[1] It was in the autumn of 1685, that the clergy and the government persecuted the dissenters with the greatest virulence. It is said, by Bishop Burnet,[k] that on many occasions the church party made use of the ecclesiastical courts to extort money from the non-conformists and for confirmation of this, see Mackintosh.[m]

senters. This is a fact never to be forgotten. We ought never to forget that the first and only time the Church of England has made war upon the crown was when the crown had declared its intention of tolerating, and in some degree protecting, the rival religions.[n]

FAILURE OF THE THEORY OF TOLERANCE

While the words of Buckle have much to justify them, it is only fair that they should be qualified by certain considerations of historical perspective. These Knight has vigorously set forth.[o] There is no error [he says] more common, even amongst educated persons, than to pronounce upon the opinions of a past age according to the lights of their own age. In February, 1687, James issued in Scotland a Declaration for Liberty of Conscience. In April, 1687, he issued a Declaration for Liberty of Conscience in England. Why, it is asked, were these declarations regarded with suspicion by churchmen and by dissenters? Why could not all sincere Christians, of whatever persuasion, have accepted the king's noble measures for the adoption of that tolerant principle which is now found to be perfectly compatible with the security of an established church.

It was precisely because the principle has been slowly making its way during the contests of a hundred and fifty years, that it is now all but universally recognised as a safe and wholesome principle. It is out of the convictions resulting from our slow historical experience that all tests for admission to civil offices are now abolished for ever. Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Quaker, Methodist, Independent, Unitarian, Jew, all stand upon the same common ground as the churchman, of suffering no religious disqualification for the service of their country. But to imagine that such a result could have been effected by the interested will of a papist king, who had himself been the fiercest of persecutors — who had adopted, to their fullest extent, the hatred of his family to every species of non-conformity — is to imagine that the channels in which the great floods and little rills of religious opinion had long been flowing were to be suddenly diverted into one mighty stream, for which time and wisdom had prepared no bed.[p]

The acquittal of the bishops was not the only event which makes the 30th of June, 1688, a great epoch in history. On that day, while the bells of a hundred churches were ringing, while multitudes were busied, from Hyde Park to Mile End, in piling faggots and dressing popes for the rejoicings of the night, was despatched from London to the Hague an instrument scarcely less important to the liberties of England than the Great Charter.

The prosecution of the bishops and the birth of the prince of Wales had produced a great revolution in the feelings of many tories. At the very moment at which their church was suffering the last excess of injury and insult, they were compelled to renounce the hope of peaceful deliverance. Hitherto they had flattered themselves that the trial to which their loyalty was subjected would, though severe, be temporary, and that their wrongs would shortly be redressed without any violation of the ordinary rule of succession. A very different prospect was now before them.

One remedy there was, quick, sharp, and decisive, a remedy which the whigs had been but too ready to employ, but which had always been regarded by the tories as, in all cases, unlawful. The greatest Anglican doctors of that age had maintained that no breach of law or contract, no excess of cruelty, rapacity, or licentiousness, on the part of a rightful king, could justify his people in withstanding him by force. Some of them had delighted to exhibit

the doctrine of non-resistance in a form so exaggerated as to shock common sense and humanity. They frequently and emphatically remarked that Nero was at the head of the Roman government when St. Paul inculcated the duty of obeying magistrates. The inference which they drew was that, if an English king should, without any law but his own pleasure, persecute his subjects for not worshipping idols, should fling them to the lions in the Tower, should wrap them up in pitched cloth and set them on fire to light up St. James' park, and should go on with these massacres till whole towns and shires were left without one inhabitant, the survivors would still be bound meekly to submit, and to be torn in pieces or roasted alive without a struggle.

The arguments in favour of this proposition were futile indeed, but the place of sound argument was amply supplied by the omnipotent sophistry of interest and of passion. Many writers have expressed wonder that the high-spirited cavaliers of England should have been zealous for the most slavish theory that has ever been known among men. The truth is that this theory at first presented itself to the cavalier as the very opposite of slavish. Its tendency was to make him not a slave but a freeman and a master. It exalted him by exalting one whom he regarded as his protector, as his friend, as the head of his beloved party and of his more beloved church. When republicans were dominant the royalist had endured wrongs and insults which the restoration of the legitimate government had enabled him to retaliate. Rebellion was therefore associated in his imagination with subjection and degradation, and monarchical authority with liberty and ascendency. It had never crossed his imagination that a time might come when a king, a Stuart, would persecute the most loyal of the clergy and gentry with more than the animosity of the Rump or the protector. That time had however arrived. It was now to be seen how the patience which churchmen professed to have learned from the writings of Paul would stand the test of a persecution by no means so severe as that of Nero. The event was such as everybody who knew anything of human nature would have predicted. Oppression speedily did what philosophy and eloquence would have failed to do. The system of Filmer might have survived the attacks of Locke: but it never recovered from the death-blow given by James.

That logic, which, while it was used to prove that Presbyterians and Independents ought to bear imprisonment and confiscation with meekness, had been pronounced unanswerable, seemed to be of very little force when the question was whether Anglican bishops should be imprisoned and the revenues of Anglican colleges confiscated. It had been often repeated, from the pulpits of all the cathedrals in the land, that the apostolical injunction to obey the civil magistrate was absolute and universal, and that it was impious presumption in man to limit a precept which had been promulgated without any limitation in the word of God. Now, however, divines, whose sagacity had been sharpened by the imminent danger in which they stood of being turned out of their livings and prebends to make room for papists, discovered flaws in the reasoning which had formerly seemed so convincing. The ethical parts of Scripture were not to be construed like acts of parliament, or like the casuistical treatises of the schoolmen. What Christian really turned the left cheek to the ruffian who had smitten the right? What Christian really gave his cloak to the thieves who had taken his coat away? Both in the Old and in the New Testament general rules were perpetually laid down unaccompanied by the exceptions. Thus there was a general command not to kill, unaccompanied by any reservation in favour of the warrior who kills in defence of his king and country. There was a general

command not to swear, unaccompanied by any reservation in favour of the witness who swears to speak the truth before a judge. Yet the lawfulness of defensive war, and of judicial oaths, was disputed only by a few obscure sectaries, and was positively affirmed in the articles of the Church of England.[b]

THE KING'S ISOLATION: THE PRINCE OF WALES

Thus, during the short interval since his accession, James had severed himself from the Church of England and from the Protestant non-conformists. His only remaining dependence was on the navy and army, both of which had already given alarming indications of participation in the popular feeling. The intrusion of several monks and Catholic priests into the fleet at the Nore, called forth strong signs of insubordination among the seamen, which even the presence and affabilities of the king did not suffice to allay, until the obnoxious persons were ordered on shore.

But the army was regarded by the monarch as his grand instrument. He had taken great pains to place it in such hands as might best secure it to his service, and he sometimes boasted of the number of Catholics to be found in that body, not only among the officers, but in the ranks. The royal condescension displayed at the Nore, was more studiously exhibited in the camp at Hounslow. At length, to place the fidelity of this great stay of his power beyond doubt, James ventured to issue a test, which required both officers and men to pledge their assistance for a repeal of the penal laws.

This ill-advised experiment was first tried on the regiment under the command of Lord Litchfield, which was regarded as the most manageable. Those who were not prepared to take the test were called upon to lay down their arms; and the whole regiment, with the exception of two captains and a few Catholic soldiers, placed their arms on the ground. The disclosure of this dreadful secret filled the unhappy monarch with astonishment and dismay. He looked for a moment in silence and ill-concealed anguish on the scene before him; he then commanded the disobedient to take up their weapons, adding, that he should not again do them the honour to consult them on such matters. An attempt was afterwards made to infuse a mixture of Irish Catholic recruits into the regiment which garrisoned Portsmouth. Ten of these strangers were to be incorporated with each company, but the five captains and the lieutenant-colonel openly refused to receive them; these officers were summoned to Windsor and cashiered, but with such manifest reluctance and trepidation, as rendered the proceeding a display of the weakness more than of the strength of the government.

To so feeble a condition had James reduced himself from the height of that power in which he had revelled on the death of Argyll and Monmouth only three years before. Ireland, indeed, was still, on the whole, in his interest; and the established church in Scotland was governed by men incapable of manifesting any sympathy with the better spirit which had begun to display itself among the clergy of the Church of England. Louis and his ambassadors also, still spoke of the military aid which his majesty might obtain from France, should the exigency of his affairs become such as to need it. But James appears to have regarded the power of France with a new feeling of jealousy, as his own was seen to be everywhere declining; and while Scotland had long been too much injured to be relied upon in a time of weakness, the attempts which had been made to derive assistance from the Catholics of Ireland, had served to awaken a degree of suspicion and disaffection which no help from that quarter could be expected to subdue.[l]

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The birth of his son might seem a sufficient consolation to the king under this defeat; but here too his usual ill-fortune pursued him. If ever there was a prince about whose birth there would seem to be no possibility of doubt, it was this prince of Wales. His mother had long since spoken of her pregnancy; the birth took place in the morning, in the presence of the queen-dowager, most of the privy council, and several ladies of quality, many of whom were Protestants — yet not one in a thousand of the Protestants believed in its reality. Some maintained that the queen had never been pregnant; others, that she had miscarried at Easter, and that one child, or even two successive children, had been substituted. The princess Anne remained incredulous; so did the learned bishop Lloyd for many years. It was in fact a general delusion, from which neither reason nor good sense preserved men; it was most certainly no party fiction, though party might, and did, take advantage of it.

The birth of the prince seems to have decided the unprincipled Lord Sunderland to make public at this time his apostasy from the Protestant faith. He and the earl of Mulgrave, a man as devoid of principle as himself, had been privately reconciled by Father Petre a year before.

THE PRINCE OF ORANGE, AND HIS RELATIONS TO THE THRONE

On the other hand, the birth of the prince decided those who were in communication with the prince of Orange. While the next heir was a Protestant, the attempts of James might be borne with patience, as they could only continue for a few years; but now there was born a successor who would be nurtured in Catholicism, and a papal regency under the queen would be formed in case of the king's demise. No time was therefore to be lost; an invitation to the prince to come to the relief of the country was drawn out and signed in cipher (June 30th), by the earls of Shrewsbury, Danby, and Devonshire, Lord Lumley, the bishop of London, Admiral Russell, and Colonel Sidney. The bearer of it to Holland is supposed to have been Admiral Herbert, in the disguise of a common sailor.[c]

The position of the United Provinces, with regard both to France and England, rendered it imperative that the statesmen of that republic should be constant observers of public affairs, and studious to defeat political intrigue in those quarters. In the case of the prince of Orange, many circumstances contributed to render this policy as necessary to his self-preservation as to the attainment of those higher objects on which his honourable ambition had been long fixed. In 1672, when in the twenty-second year of his age, a popular revolution raised the prince to the possession of the supreme authority in the United Provinces under the title Stadholder. The courage and the transcendent skill and perseverance with which the prince resisted the concentrated power of France has been already narrated. No struggle in the history of ancient or modern warfare has called forth a greater display of those qualities which command and deserve admiration. When the prince who had thus kept the great despot of Europe at bay became the husband of the princess Mary, the fact that in the event of the death of Charles and James without children his consort would become queen of England, of necessity brought his name into more frequent and much nearer connection with English politics, and naturally disposed him to watch the course of events in this country with a new feeling of interest. Until the recent birth of the prince of Wales, the only life between the princess Mary and the throne was that of her father; and it was only a little before the birth of the prince

that the extreme Catholic party in the court, despairing of so happy an event, had devised their scheme for thrusting aside the claim of the princess Mary and William, in favour of her younger sister the princess Anne, and Prince George, who, as we have seen, were regarded as much less fixed in their principles as Protestants. James is described as being greatly incensed by this project, and as declaring that much as he might deplore leaving his unfinished plans to be wholly frustrated by a Protestant successor, even such an evil was not to be guarded against by such means.[1]

The prince of Orange, by far the greatest man of his time, had for many years devoted all his thoughts and energies to the humbling of the power of Louis XIV. In 1686 he had succeeded in engaging the emperor, the kings of Spain and Sweden, and several of the German princes to subscribe the league of Augsburg, or Grand Alliance, of which this was the real object. The following year, some of the Italian states, the pope himself included, joined the league, and the greater part of Europe was thus banded, under the prince of Orange, to check the ambition of Louis. The proper place of England was in this confederation; but the policy of her king withheld her from it: hence the prince aspired to the power of directing her councils and adding her means to the great cause of national independence.

The death of the elector of Cologne in the spring of this year proved most favourable to the designs of the prince, as it brought Louis and the confederacy into collision. This elector, who also held the bishoprics of Liège, Münster, and Hildesheim, had proved a most useful ally to Louis in 1672; and all the efforts of this monarch were directed to procure the election of the coadjutor, the cardinal of Fürstenberg, who was his creature, and to whom he had given the bishopric of Strasburg, of which it was requisite that he should previously divest himself. The pope however, out of hostility to Louis, refused to accept his resignation; and at the election (July 9th), though Fürstenberg had a majority of votes over his competitor, Prince Clement of Bavaria, he did not obtain the requisite two-thirds. The appointment then fell to the pope, and he named Clement, who was only a youth of seventeen years of age. The candidates of the allies were equally successful at Liège, Münster, and Hildesheim, and both sides now began to prepare for war.

This gave the prince of Orange an opportunity of making his preparations for the invasion of England, under colour of providing for the defence of his own country and the empire. A large force was encamped near Nimeguen; cannon and ammunition were taken from the arsenals to be sent to it; soldiers and sailors were engaged; the Dutch navy was augmented, and the different fleets were placed in adjoining ports. These mighty preparations naturally awakened the suspicions of D'Avaux, the French minister at the Hague; but it was long before he could get certain information of their object. When at length he ascertained that they were destined for the invasion of England, and had informed his court, Louis lost no time in communicating the intelligence to James, making at the same time an offer of his aid; but that infatuated prince refused to give credit to it. Skelton, the English minister at Paris, then proposed to Louis that D'Avaux should declare to the states that there was an alliance between his master and James, and that Louis would regard as a breach of peace any attempt against his ally. This manœuvre disconcerted the friends of the prince of Orange; but James, instead of seeking to derive advantage from it, in his silly pride took offence at it, denied the alliance, recalled Skelton, and committed him to the Tower. Had he owned the alliance, Louis would perhaps have made war on Holland, and thus have prevented the expedition of the prince; whereas he now declared war against

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the emperor alone, put his troops in motion, and laid siege to Philippsburg on the Upper Rhine (September 14th). All was now tranquil on the side of Holland; the prince found his motions unimpeded; and having arranged with his German allies for the defence of the republic during his absence, he lost no time in preparing for the invasion of England.

The eyes of James at length were opened to his danger, and he attempted to retrace his steps. Almost every day of the month of October was marked by some concession. He asked and graciously received the advice of the bishops; he restored the bishop of London and the president and fellows of Magdalen College; he gave the city of London and the towns and boroughs back their charters; recalled the writs he had issued for a parliament, etc. Meantime he was active in preparing the means of resistance; a fleet of thirty-seven sail, with seventeen fire-ships, was stationed at the gun-fleet under Lord Dartmouth, whose fidelity was beyond suspicion; he called out the militia; gave commissions for raising regiments and companies; recalled troops from Scotland and Ireland; and the army, under the command of Lord Feversham, soon amounted to forty thousand men.

WILLIAM OF ORANGE INVADES ENGLAND (1688 A.D.)

The prince of Orange had declarations prepared, addressed to the people of England and Scotland, stating the motives of his coming over: namely, to procure a free parliament; the redress of grievances; the security of the church; a comprehension for dissenters who desired it, and toleration for all others; and to inquire into the birth of the prince of Wales. He also wrote to his Catholic allies, disclaiming all intention of injuring the king or his rightful heirs, and assuring them that he would employ all his influence to secure toleration for the Catholics.[1] The states issued a circular letter to the same effect.

The fleet collected for the invasion consisted of sixty men of war and seven hundred transports; the troops were four thousand five hundred horse and eleven thousand foot [with arms for a much greater number]. Marshal Schomberg and the counts of Nassau and Solms, with General Ginkel and other able Dutch officers; a band of eight hundred French refugees; the English exiles, such as Lord Macclesfield, Doctor Burnet, and others, and those recently arrived, namely, the earl of Shrewsbury, who had raised £40,000 for the expedition, the sons of the marquises of Winchester and Halifax, and of Lord Danby, admirals Russell and Herbert — all prepared to share the fortunes of the prince.

The first full moon after the equinox was the time appointed for sailing; but for the first half of October the wind blew tempestuously from the west. Public prayers to heaven were made in all the churches; on the 13th the storm abated, and William then (October 15th) took a solemn leave of the states, commending to them the princess if anything should happen to himself. The aged pensionary Fagel replied in their name. The whole audience were deeply affected; William alone remained apparently unmoved. A solemn fast was held on the 17th, and two days after the expedition sailed from Hellevoetsluis; but during the night a storm came on and dispersed the

[1 The great point at issue between James and William at this moment, was the repeal of the Test laws. William declared himself willing to tolerate the Catholic worship, but spoke of being immovably opposed to the admission of Catholics into parliament and places of trust. Whatever his private convictions may have been concerning the utility or the justice of such intolerant restrictions, the prince knew that tories and whigs, churchmen and dissenters, were all agreed in insisting on their continuance.— VAUGHAN.]

fleet, and next day the ships were obliged to return to the different ports to repair and to lay in additional stores. At length the "Protestant east-wind," as it was termed, came, and the prince again put to sea (November 1st). He first sailed northwards, intending to land in Yorkshire; but then changing his course he passed (on the 3rd) between Dover and Calais; wind and tide prevented Lord Dartmouth from attacking; the people of the opposite coasts gazed with various emotions on the magnificent spectacle of a fleet extending twenty miles in length and laden with the fate of empires. On Monday the 5th of November the fleet safely anchored at Tor Bay in Devon.

The king had in the interim been making new efforts to sustain his sinking power. He caused a solemn investigation to be made into the birth of the prince of Wales, and the numerous depositions to be enrolled in chancery, in order that his title, in case of his own death, might be put beyond doubt. He dismissed from his council (October 27th) Sunderland, whose fidelity, after all the lengths he had gone, was now suspected, and not wholly without reason. Father Petre had already ceased to appear at the council-board. As the prince had stated in his declaration that "he had been invited by divers lords spiritual and temporal," the king called upon the prelates and peers in the capital to admit or deny the truth of this assertion. They all denied it; for none of them had signed the invitation but Bishop Compton, who adroitly evaded the question by saying, "I am confident the rest of the bishops will as readily answer in the negative as myself." The king insisted on having their denial in writing, with an "abhorrence" of the designs of the prince; but this they declined to give (November 6th). He then left them in anger, telling them that he would trust to his army.

The prince was now at Exeter, but hardly anyone as yet had joined him, for the memory of [Monmouth's failure and] Jeffrey's campaign was still fresh in the minds of the people of Devon. He suspected that he was deceived and he began to think of reimbarking, being resolved on his return to Holland to publish the names of those who had invited him. At length Sir Edward Seymour and some of the western gentry came in to him; and at the suggestion of Seymour, a bond of association was drawn out, engaging the subscribers to support one another in defence of the laws and liberties of the three kingdoms, the Protestant religion, and the prince of Orange. They were followed by Lord Colchester, Lord Wharton, Mr. Russell, and the earl of Abingdon. Soon after on the 10th, Lord Cornbury, son of the earl of Clarendon, attempted to carry over three regiments of horse that were stationed at Salisbury; but the far greater part of the officers and men proving loyal, he led but a small party to join the army of the prince. The ice was now broken; distrust spread through the whole army; the friends of the prince were emboldened; the lords Danby and Lumley began to raise men in Yorkshire, Lord Delamere in Cheshire, and Lord Devonshire in Derbyshire and the adjoining counties.

James was strongly urged to seek an accommodation with the prince, but he still confided in the loyalty of his troops, and he resolved to put himself at their head. Father Petre, anxious perhaps for his own safety, pressed him to remain in London, as quitting it had been the ruin of his father. At his suggestion the infant prince was sent to Portsmouth, and he himself made his escape to France after the king's departure for the army.

On reaching Salisbury on the 20th, James reviewed the troops that were there. He was to go the next day to Warminster, to inspect the division of General Kirke, but a violent bleeding of the nose came on him, which continued, with intervals, for three days. During this time a council of war was held. Lord Churchill, the lieutenant-general, advised to remain at Salisbury;

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Feversham and his brother, the count de Roye, proposed to retire behind the Thames. This last course was approved of by the king; and that very night Churchill, the duke of Grafton, and others went over to the prince, and they were followed by several of their officers in the morning. It is even said that Churchill, Kirke and some other officers had conspired to seize the king at Warminster, and deliver him up to the prince.

The king on his return to London stopped the first night (November 24th) at Andover. He invited Prince George of Denmark to sup with him. After supper, that prince, the duke of Ormonde, and two others mounted their horses and rode off to the prince of Orange. When James reached London, the first news that met him was that of the flight of his daughter Anne.[1] He burst into tears: "God help me," he cried; "my very children have forsaken me." The princess had left her bed-chamber in the night of the 25th with Lady Churchill and Mrs. Berkeley; the bishop of London and Lord Dorset had a carriage ready for her, and she was conveyed to the bishop's house, and thence to Northampton. Disaffection now spread rapidly over the whole kingdom. Bristol, Hull, York, and other towns, were occupied by the adherents of the prince. The University of Oxford sent him its adhesion and an offer of its plate.

The first act of the king was to hold a great council of the peers who were in London, and by their advice he issued writs for a parliament, and sent lords Halifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin, as his commissioners, to treat with the prince; but some days elapsed before they were admitted to his presence, and meantime a spurious proclamation in his name, menacing all papists bearing arms or holding office, was circulated in London.

JAMES II TAKES FLIGHT AND IS RECAPTURED

James was now resolved on placing himself and his family under the protection of the king of France. He had his son brought back from Portsmouth, whence he could not now be conveyed; and, on a dark and stormy night (December 9th), the queen, with her babe and his nurse, crossed the river in an open boat to Lambeth; but the expected carriage was not there, and they had to stand for some time, only sheltered by an old wall from the torrents of rain. At length the coach arrived, and the queen proceeded to Gravesend where she got on board a yacht which conveyed her to Calais.

The king had promised the queen to follow her in twenty-four hours. The letter which he received next day (December 10th) from his commissioners, stating the prince's terms, made no change in his resolution. He wrote to Lord Feversham, dispensing with the further services of the troops; and he called for and burned the writs for a parliament, and then retired to rest. At one in the morning he rose, and telling Lord Northumberland, who lay on a

[1 The desertion of his own family gave a severe blow to the unhappy James. De Foe, alluding to the event, gives the following account of the sensation which it produced in the metropolis. "I cannot but remember the consternation among the people, when it was first noised abroad that the princess was missing; it being at first warm among the people that they had murdered or made away with her. I want words to express the compassion that appeared in the countenances of the people: and so much was she then beloved that the very soldiers talked of setting Whitehall on fire, and cutting the throats of all the papists about the court. The people ran raving up and down, and the confused crowds thronged into the apartments of Whitehall, inquiring of everyone they met if they had seen the princess. Had it not presently been made public that she was withdrawn; nay, had not the letters she left behind her been made public, some fatal disturbance had been seen in the very palace, and that within a very few hours." It was the occurrence of such scenes as these that contributed to the alarm of the king for the safety of his person and family. — WILSON.]

pallet in his chamber, not to open the door till the usual hour in the morning, he went down the back stairs, and being joined by Sir Edward Hales, got into a hackney coach and drove to the horse ferry, and there getting into a small boat crossed over to Vauxhall, throwing the great seal into the river on his way. Horses were there ready for them, and at ten in the morning they reached Feversham, where they got on board a custom house hoy which had been engaged for the purpose.

As soon as the news of the king's flight was known in London, the mob attacked the Catholic chapels and the residences of the Catholic ambassadors. Those who felt themselves to be obnoxious attempted to fly to the coast, but several were taken and committed to prison. Jeffreys was discovered at Wapping, in the disguise of a common sailor. It was with difficulty that he was saved from the rage of the mob. At his own desire he was committed to the Tower, where he died shortly afterwards. The nuncio, disguised as a footman of the ambassador of Savoy, was seized at Gravesend, but the prince sent him a passport without delay.[c] It is honourable to the English character that, notwithstanding the aversion with which the Roman Catholic religion and the Irish race were then regarded, notwithstanding the anarchy which was the effect of the flight of James, notwithstanding the artful machinations which were employed to scare the multitude into cruelty, no atrocious crime was perpetrated at this conjuncture. Much property, indeed, was destroyed and carried away. The houses of many Roman Catholic gentlemen were attacked. Parks were ravaged. Deer were slain and stolen. But in all this confusion, which lasted several days and extended over many counties, not a single Roman Catholic lost his life. The mob showed no inclination to blood, except in the case of Jeffreys; and the hatred which that bad man inspired had more affinity with humanity than with cruelty.[b]

The government meantime was exercised by a council of peers, with the lord mayor and alderman. They sent a declaration of adhesion to the prince, on condition of his procuring a free parliament: but their deliberations were soon disturbed by tidings of the detention of the king. The hoy having stopped to get in more ballast, was surrounded by three boats, and the crews, taking the king and his companions for Jesuits, brought it back to Feversham. The king, being recognised, sent for Lord Winchelsea, the lord-lieutenant of the county, and he was placed at the house of the mayor, whence he wrote to the supreme council at London, who forthwith ordered Lord Feversham to take two hundred of the guards for the protection of the royal person.[c]

Had the monarch succeeded in making his escape to France, the course open to the prince of Orange would have been much less difficult than it now proved, and the powerful jacobite party would, perhaps, scarcely have been heard of in our history. On the flight of the king, the most scrupulous began to conclude, that to invite the prince to take the government upon him was the only just and safe method of proceeding. By this act the throne was vacated, and might be filled by the most eligible successor from the royal family at the pleasure of parliament. But the arrest of the monarch at Feversham on Wednesday was followed by an order of the privy council, commanding that his carriage and the royal guards should be sent to reconduct him to the capital, which took place accordingly on the Saturday, when many of the people, touched with compassion toward him, appeared to hail his return with great delight — "so slight and unstable a thing," says Burnet,[k] "is a multitude, and so soon altered." The difficult question now was, how to dispose of the king's person, it being deemed impossible that the king and the prince should be together in London, with their respective forces, without great danger to both.[l]

James now resolved to return to the capital. He sent Lord Feversham to the prince, who was now at Windsor, to propose a personal conference, but the envoy was placed under arrest, on the pretext of his having come without a passport. The king on reaching London, was received with every demonstration of popular joy: the crowds shouted, the bells were rung, and the bonfires were kindled, in the usual manner. Next day he held a court, met his council, and exercised other acts of sovereignty. But the prince and his council had decided that James should not remain at Whitehall; and the following evening Count Solms came with a body of the Dutch guards, and, having occupied St. James', led them to Whitehall. Lord Craven, who commanded the English guards, was preparing to resist; but James, knowing opposition to be useless, repressed the ardour of the veteran of eighty, and the Dutch guards took the place of the English. A little before midnight the king went to rest, but he had not been long asleep when he was waked to receive the lords Halifax, Shrewsbury, and Delamere, who were come with a message from the prince. He had them admitted. They told him it was the prince's wish that, for the safety of his person, he should go to Ham House in Surrey, where he would be attended by his own guards, and that he must depart at ten in the morning, as the prince would arrive by noon. James objected to Ham, as damp and cold, and proposed Rochester. They departed, and returned at nine next morning with the requisite permission.

JAMES II LEAVES ENGLAND FOREVER (1688 A.D.)

At noon the king took leave of the nobility and entered the royal barge, and went down the river, followed by a party of the Dutch guards in boats. The assembled crowds viewed with mournful looks this final departure of their sovereign, a captive in the hands of foreigners. James slept that night at Gravesend, and next day came to Rochester, where he remained for four days, deliberating on his further course. His friends in general urged him not to think of quitting the kingdom, as it was the very course his enemies seemed to wish him to adopt; for, though the front of the house in which he resided was guarded, the rear was neglected. He sent, offering to place himself in the hands of the prelates, if they would answer for his safety; but they declined so delicate a charge. He then resolved on flight, to which he was moreover urged by a letter from the queen; and, having written a declaration explanatory of his motives, and informed some friends of his design, he went to bed as usual. After midnight he rose, and, with his natural son the duke of Berwick and three other persons, he went out through the garden. A fishing smack had been hired to convey him to France, but the weather was so rough that he could not reach it. He got on board the *Eagle* fire-ship, where he was received with all marks of respect by the crew, and next morning he embarked on the smack. On Christmas Day he landed at Ambleteuse in Picardy, and he hastened to join his queen at St. Germain. His reception by Louis was cordial and generous.

As the reign of this ill-judging prince had now reached its close, we will here insert his character as drawn in true but more favourable colours than one might have expected by the pen of Bishop Burnet*: "He was a prince that seemed made for greater things than will be found in the course of his life, more particularly of his reign. He was esteemed in the former parts of his life a man of great courage, as he was, quite through it, a man of great application to business. He had no vivacity of thought, invention or expression, but he had a good judgment where his religion or his education gave him not a bias, which

it did very often. He was bred with strange notions of the obedience due to princes, and came to take up as strange ones of the obedience due to priests. He was naturally a man of truth, fidelity and justice, but his religion was so infused in him and he was so managed in it by his priests, that the principles which nature had laid in him had little power over him when the concerns of his church stood in the way. He was a gentle master, and was very easy to all who came near him, yet he was not so apt to pardon as one ought to be that is the viceregent of that God who is slow to anger and ready to forgive. He had no personal vices but of one sort; he was still wandering from one amour to another, yet he had a real sense of sin, and was ashamed of it. In a word, if it had not been for his popery, he would have been, if not a great, yet a good prince."

THE INTERREGNUM; THE CONVENTION PARLIAMENT (1689 A.D.)

To resume our narrative. At two o'clock on the day of the king's departure from the capital, the prince of Orange came to St. James. All classes crowded to do him homage. He summoned the lords spiritual and temporal to meet on the 21st, to consider the state of the nation. They came on the appointed day, to the number of about seventy: five lawyers, in the absence of the judges, were appointed to assist them. It was proposed that they should previously sign the Exeter Association: the temporal peers, with four exceptions, subscribed; the prelates, all but Compton, refused. Next day (the 22nd) they met in the house of peers, and, having chosen Lord Halifax their speaker, issued an order for all papists, except householders and some others, to remove ten miles from London. On Christmas Day they resolved that the prince should be requested to take on him the administration [1] of all public affairs till the 22nd of January, and to issue letters for persons to be elected to meet as a convention on that day. The following day all those who had served in any of the parliaments of Charles II, and were in town, with the aldermen and fifty common-council-men, waited on the prince by invitation, and thence went to the house of commons, where next day they voted an address similar to that of the peers. The prince accepted the charge, and issued the letters of summons for the convention. Next day, being Sunday, he received the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England.

On the 22nd of January, 1689, the memorable convention met. A joint address of thanks, praying him to continue the administration of affairs was presented to the prince. After a few days' necessary delay, the commons entered on the great question of the state of the nation; and it was resolved, "That king James II having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom by breaking the original contract between king and people; and, by the advice of jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of this kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby become vacant." Next day it was resolved, "That it hath been found by experience to be inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this Protestant kingdom to be governed by a popish prince." It is remarkable that this is the very principle of the Exclusion Bill which had brought such odium on its supporters.

In the lords, this last vote was unanimously agreed to, but various questions arose on the former. The first was, supposing the throne vacant, whether they would have a regent or a king. It was decided in favour of the

[1 The so-called Interregnum is usually dated from December 23rd, 1688, to February 18th, 1689.]

latter by a majority of only two. It was then carried, that there was an original contract between king and people. For the word "abdicated" they substituted "deserted"; and they struck out the clause declaring the throne to be vacant, as it was maintained that the crown devolved to the princess of Orange. To these amendments the commons refused to agree. Two conferences took place between committees of the houses, which terminated in the lords giving way to the firmness of the commons; the cogent motive was political necessity. The wholesome regard for the forms of the constitution certainly involved the whigs in apparent absurdity, for the word "abdicated" it was acknowledged was used in an improper sense; "deserted" was in truth no better, but it sounded softer; the proper word was "forfeited," but all parties shrank from employing it.

The throne being vacant, the next question was, by whom it should be filled. The young prince of Wales was passed over by common consent; for his birth should be previously inquired into; and should his legitimacy be proved, as there was no doubt but that he would be brought up a Catholic, it would be necessary to appoint a Protestant regent, and then the strange appearance might be presented of a succession of kings with the rights and title of the crown, and of regents exercising all its power. The simple course seemed to be to make the princess of Orange queen; but the prince signified his dislike of that; the princess had also strongly expressed her disapprobation of it.[c]

William, who had carefully abstained from everything that might have borne the appearance of effort to influence the late elections, observed the same silent and cautious neutrality in regard to the deliberations of the two houses when assembled. But when the points adverted to had been debated for some time with much warmth, and with little prospect of any desirable issue, the prince sent for Halifax, Shrewsbury, and Nottingham, and told them that he wished to have avoided making any disclosure of his own sentiments in relation to the matters which were now occupying so much of the public attention, but that he thought it might expedite affairs, and prevent mischiefs, to inform them that he could not accept the office of regent, nor take any share in the English government merely by courtesy, as the husband of the princess ["he would not hold anything by apron-strings"]; that the condition indispensable was that sovereignty should be vested in his person; that, should it be the pleasure of the parliament to come to some other settlement, he should not oppose its proceedings, but willingly return to Holland and meddle no more with English affairs; that, whatever others might think of a crown, it was no such thing in his eyes but that he could be well content without it.

This manly avowal — in present circumstances the only one that became him — was made with the intention of its being generally known. It conduced to the settlement which followed. The contest about words had led to learned conferences between the two houses, in which the commons prevailed, and the throne was at length declared "vacant." The way was thus prepared for the Declaration of Right (February 12th, 1689), proclaiming William and Mary as conjoint sovereigns, the administration, to prevent distractions, being placed singly in the prince.

It may be added, also, that the former was chargeable with a violence of conduct towards the representatives of the people that cannot be urged against the latter; and that he manifested a less doubtful inclination to rule without the intervention of parliaments. The contest, therefore, which has rendered the year 1688 so memorable, was the same that had been maintained, with greater violence indeed, but also with greater intelligence, and a much larger

measure of public spirit, in 1641; in both cases the same great principles were involved, and the same character, in many of its leading features, was observable in the men who filled the throne.

Nor was this right of parliament to alter the succession the most remarkable or the most important doctrine involved in the revolution thus accomplished, inasmuch as this had been often asserted, and sometimes exercised, in the course of English history. The main principle and effect of this proceeding resulted, as a consequence, from its great act in relation to the throne, *viz.*, the practical subjection of the king to the laws, instead of the total, or even partial, subjection of the laws to the king. It at once annihilated the doctrines of divine right and non-resistance, brought into easy and undisturbed practice those ancient rights and liberties which the Plantagenets had attempted in vain to subvert, which the Tudors had often been allowed to trample upon, and which the Stuarts sacrificed their throne to destroy.[1]

MACAULAY'S REVIEW OF THE DECLARATION OF RIGHT, AND THE REVOLUTION

The commons wisely determined to postpone all reforms till the ancient constitution of the kingdom should have been restored in all its parts, and forthwith to fill the throne without imposing on William and Mary any other obligations than that of governing according to the existing laws of England. In order that the questions which had been in dispute between the Stuarts and the nation might never again be stirred, it was determined that the instrument by which the prince and princess of Orange were called to the throne, and by which the order of succession was settled, should set forth, in the most distinct and solemn manner, the fundamental principles of the constitution. This instrument, known by the name of the Declaration of Right, was prepared by a committee, of which Somers was chairman. The fact that the low born young barrister was appointed to so honourable and important a post in a parliament filled with able and experienced men, only ten days after he had spoken in the house of commons for the first time, sufficiently proves the superiority of his abilities. In a few hours the declaration was framed and approved by the commons. The lords assented to it with some amendments of no great importance.

The declaration began by recapitulating the crimes and errors which had made a revolution necessary. James had invaded the province of the legislature; had treated modest petitioning as a crime; had oppressed the church by means of an illegal tribunal; had, without the consent of parliament, levied taxes and maintained a standing army in time of peace; had violated the freedom of election, and perverted the course of justice. Proceedings which could lawfully be questioned only in parliament had been made the subjects of prosecution in the King's Bench. Partial and corrupt juries had been returned: excessive bail had been required from prisoners: excessive fines had been imposed: barbarous and unusual punishments had been inflicted: the estates of accused persons had been granted away before conviction. He, by whose authority these things had been done, had abdicated the government. The prince of Orange, whom God had made the glorious instrument of delivering the nation from superstition and tyranny, had invited the estates of the realm to meet and to take counsel together for the securing of religion, of law, and of freedom.

The lords and commons, having deliberated, had resolved that they would first, after the example of their ancestors, assert the ancient rights and liber-

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ties of England. Therefore it was declared that the dispensing power, lately assumed and exercised, had no legal existence; that, without grant of parliament, no money could be exacted by the sovereign from the subject; that, without consent of parliament, no standing army could be kept up in time of peace. The right of subjects to petition, the right of electors to choose representatives freely, the right of parliaments to freedom of debate, the right of the nation to a pure and merciful administration of justice according to the spirit of its own mild laws, were solemnly affirmed. All these things the convention claimed, in the name of the whole nation, as the undoubted inheritance of Englishmen. Having thus vindicated the principles of the constitution, the lords and commons, in the entire confidence that the deliverer would hold sacred the laws and liberties which he had saved, resolved that William and Mary, prince and princess of Orange, should be declared king and queen of England for their joint and separate lives, and that, during their joint lives, the administration of the government should be in the prince alone. After them the crown was settled on the posterity of Mary, then on Anne and her posterity, and then on the posterity of William.

On the morning of Wednesday, the 13th of February, the court of Whitehall and all the neighbouring streets were filled with gazers. The magnificent banqueting house, the masterpiece of Inigo, embellished by masterpieces of Rubens, had been prepared for a great ceremony. The walls were lined by the yeomen of the guard. Near the northern door, on the right hand, a large number of peers had assembled. On the left were the commons with their speaker, attended by the mace. The southern door opened: and the prince and princess of Orange, side by side, entered, and took their place under the canopy of state.

Both houses approached bowing low. William and Mary advanced a few steps. Halifax on the right, and Powle on the left, stood forth; and Halifax spoke. The convention, he said, had agreed to a resolution which he prayed their highnesses to hear. They signified their assent: and the clerk of the house of lords read, in a loud voice, the Declaration of Right. When he had concluded, Halifax, in the name of all the estates of the realm, requested the prince and princess to accept the crown.

William, in his own name and in that of his wife, answered that the crown was, in their estimation, the more valuable because it was presented to them as a token of the confidence of the nation. "We thankfully accept," he said, "what you have offered us." Then, for himself, he assured them that the laws of England, which he had once already vindicated, should be the rules of his conduct, that it should be his study to promote the welfare of the kingdom, and that, as to the means of doing so, he should constantly recur to the advice of the houses, and should be disposed to trust their judgment rather than his own.

These words were received with a shout of joy which was heard in the streets below, and was instantly answered by huzzas from many thousands of voices. The lords and commons then reverently retired from the banqueting house and went in procession to the great gate of Whitehall, where the heralds and pursuivants were waiting in their gorgeous tabards. All the space as far as Charing Cross was one sea of heads. The kettle-drums struck up; the trumpets pealed: and garter king-at-arms, in a loud voice, proclaimed the prince and princess of Orange king and queen of England, charged all Englishmen to pay, from that moment, faith and true allegiance to the new sovereigns, and besought God, who had already wrought so signal a deliverance for our church and nation, to bless William and Mary with a long and happy reign.

Thus was consummated the English Revolution. When we compare it with those revolutions which have recently overthrown so many ancient governments, we cannot but be struck by its peculiar character. Why that character was so peculiar is sufficiently obvious, and yet seems not to have been always understood either by eulogists or by censors.

The continental revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries took place in countries where all trace of the limited monarchy of the middle ages had long been effaced. The right of the prince to make laws and to levy money had, during many generations, been undisputed. His throne was guarded by a great regular army. His administration could not, without extreme peril, be blamed even in the mildest terms. His subjects held their personal liberty by no other tenure than his pleasure. Not a single institution was left which had, within the memory of the oldest man, afforded efficient protection to the subject against the utmost excess of tyranny. Those great councils which had once curbed th regal power had sunk into oblivion. Their composition and their privileges were known only to antiquaries. We cannot wonder, therefore, that, when men who had been thus ruled succeeded in wresting supreme power from a government which they had long in secret hated, they should have been impatient to demolish and unable to construct, that they should have been fascinated by every specious novelty, that they should have proscribed every title, ceremony, and phrase associated with the old system, and that, turning away with disgust from their own national precedents and traditions, they should have sought for principles of government in the writings of theorists, or aped, with ignorant and ungraceful affectation, the patriots of Athens and Rome. As little can we wonder that the violent action of the revolutionary spirit should have been followed by reaction equally violent, and that confusion should speedily have engendered despotism sterner than that from which it had sprung.

Had we been in the same situation; had Strafford succeeded in his favourite scheme of Thorough; had he formed an army as numerous and as well disciplined as that which, a few years later, was formed by Cromwell; had a series of judicial decisions, similar to that which was pronounced by the Exchequer Chamber in the case of shipmoney, transferred to the crown the right of taxing the people; had the Star Chamber and the high commission continued to fine, mutilate, and imprison every man who dared to raise his voice against the government; had the press been as completely enslaved here as at Vienna or at Naples; had our kings gradually drawn to themselves the whole legislative power; had six generations of Englishmen passed away without a single session of parliament; and had we then at length risen up in some moment of wild excitement against our masters — what an outbreak would that have been! With what a crash, heard and felt to the farthest ends of the world, would the whole vast fabric of society have fallen! How many thousands of exiles, once the most prosperous and the most refined members of this great community, would have begged their bread in con inental cities, or have sheltered their heads under huts of bark in the uncleared forests of America! How often should we have seen the pavement of London piled up in barricades, the houses dinted with bullets, the gutters foaming with blood! How many times should we have rushed wildly from extreme to extreme, sought refuge from anarchy in despotism, and been again driven by despotism into anarchy! How many years of blood and confusion would it have cost us to learn the very rudiments of political science! How many childish theories would have duped us! How many rude and ill poised constitutions should we have set up, only to see them tumble down! Happy would it have been for us if a sharp disci-

pline of half a century had sufficed to educate us into a capacity of enjoying true freedom.

These calamities our Revolution averted. It was a revolution strictly defensive, and had prescription and legitimacy on its side. Here, and here only, a limited monarchy of the thirteenth century had come down unimpaired to the seventeenth century. Our parliamentary institutions were in full vigour. The main principles of our government were excellent. They were not, indeed, formally and exactly set forth in a single written instrument; but they were to be found scattered over our ancient and noble statutes: and, what was of far greater moment, they had been engraven on the hearts of Englishmen during four hundred years. That, without the consent of the representatives of the nation, no legislative act could be passed, no tax imposed, no regular soldiery kept up, that no man could be imprisoned, even for a day, by the arbitrary will of the sovereign, that no tool of power could plead the royal command as a justification for violating any right of the humblest subject, were held, both by whigs and tories, to be fundamental laws of the realm. A realm of which these were the fundamental laws stood in no need of a new constitution.

But, though a new constitution was not needed, it was plain that changes were required. The misgovernment of the Stuarts, and the troubles which that misgovernment had produced, sufficiently proved that there was somewhere a defect in our polity; and that defect it was the duty of the convention to discover and to supply.

Some questions of great moment were still open to dispute. Our constitution had begun to exist in times when statesmen were not much accustomed to frame exact definitions. Anomalies, therefore, inconsistent with its principles and dangerous to its very existence, had sprung up almost imperceptibly, and, not having, during many years, caused any serious inconvenience, had gradually acquired the force of prescription. The remedy for these evils was to assert the rights of the people in such language as should terminate all controversy, and to declare that no precedent could justify any violation of those rights.

When this had been done it would be impossible for our rulers to misunderstand the law: but, unless something more were done, it was by no means improbable that they might violate it. Unhappily the church had long taught the nation that hereditary monarchy, alone among our institutions, was divine and inviolable; that the right of the house of commons to a share in the legislative power was a right merely human, but that the right of the king to the obedience of his people was from above; that the Great Charter was a statute which might be repealed by those who had made it, but that the rule which called the princes of the blood royal to the throne in order of succession was of celestial origin, and that any act of parliament inconsistent with that rule was a nullity.

It is evident that, in a society in which such superstitions prevail, constitutional freedom must ever be insecure. A power which is regarded merely as the ordinance of man cannot be an efficient check on a power which is regarded as the ordinance of God. It is vain to hope that laws, however excellent, will permanently restrain a king who, in his own opinion, and in that of a great part of his people, has an authority infinitely higher in kind than the authority which belongs to those laws. To deprive royalty of these mysterious attributes, and to establish the principle that kings reigned by a right in no respect differing from the right by which freeholders chose knights of the shire, or from the right by which judges granted writs of *habeas corpus*, was absolutely necessary to the security of our liberties.

Thus the convention had two great duties to perform. The first was to clear the fundamental laws of the realm from ambiguity. The second was to eradicate from the minds, both of the governors and of the governed, the false and pernicious notion that the royal prerogative was something more sublime and holy than those fundamental laws. The former object was attained by the solemn recital and claim with which the Declaration of Right commences: the latter by the resolution which pronounced the throne vacant, and invited William and Mary to fill it.

The change seems small. Not a single flower of the crown was touched. Not a single new right was given to the people. The whole English law, substantive and adjective, was, in the judgment of all the greatest lawyers, of Holt and Treby, of Maynard and Somers, exactly the same after the Revolution as before it. Some controverted points had been decided according to the sense of the best jurists; and there had been a slight deviation from the ordinary course of succession. This was all; and this was enough.

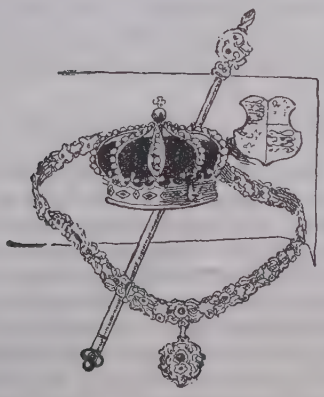
As our Revolution was a vindication of ancient rights, so it was conducted with strict attention to ancient formalities. In almost every word and act may be discerned a profound reverence for the past. The estates of the realm deliberated in the old halls and according to the old rules. Powle was conducted to his chair between his mover and his seconder with the accustomed forms. The sergeant with his mace brought up the messengers of the lords to the table of the commons; and the three obeisances were duly made. The conference was held with all the antique ceremonial. On one side of the table, in the Painted Chamber, the managers of the lords sat covered and robed in ermine and gold. The managers of the commons stood bareheaded on the other side. The speeches presented an almost ludicrous contrast to the revolutionary oratory of every other country. Both the English parties agreed in treating with solemn respect the ancient constitutional traditions of the state. The only question was, in what sense those traditions were to be understood. The assertors of liberty said not a word about the natural equality of men and the inalienable sovereignty of the people, about Harmodius or Timoleon, Brutus the elder or Brutus the younger. When they were told that, by the English law, the crown, at the moment of a demise, must descend to the next heir, they answered that, by the English law, a living man could have no heir. When they were told that there was no precedent for declaring the throne vacant, they produced from among the records in the Tower a roll of parchment, near three hundred years old, on which, in quaint characters and barbarous Latin, it was recorded that the estates of the realm had declared vacant the throne of a perfidious and tyrannical Plantagenet. When at length the dispute had been accommodated, the new sovereigns were proclaimed with the old pageantry. All the fantastic pomp of heraldry was there, Clarencieux and Norroy, Portcullis and Rouge Dragon, the trumpets, the banners, the grotesque coats embroidered with lions and lilies. The title King of France, assumed by the conqueror of Cressy, was not omitted in the royal style. To us, who have lived in the year 1848, it may seem almost an abuse of terms to call a proceeding, conducted with so much deliberation, with so much sobriety, and with such minute attention to prescriptive etiquette, by the terrible name of Revolution.

And yet this Revolution of all revolutions the least violent, has been of all revolutions the most beneficent. It finally decided the great question whether the popular element which had, ever since the age of Fitzwalter and De Montfort, been found in the English polity, should be destroyed by the monarchical element, or should be suffered to develope itself freely, and to become

dominant. The strife between the two principles had been long, fierce, and doubtful. It had lasted through four reigns. It had produced seditions, impeachments, rebellions, battles, sieges, proscriptions, judicial massacres. Sometimes liberty, sometimes royalty, had seemed to be on the point of perishing. During many years one half of the energy of England had been employed in counteracting the other half. The executive power and the legislative power had so effectually impeded each other that the state had been of no account in Europe. The king-at-arms, who proclaimed William and Mary before Whitehall Gate, did in truth announce that this great struggle was over; that there was entire union between the throne and the parliament; that England, long dependent and degraded, was again a power of the first rank; that the ancient laws by which the prerogative was bounded would thenceforth be held as sacred as the prerogative itself, and would be followed out to all their consequences; that the executive administration would be conducted in conformity with the sense of the representatives of the nation; and that no reform, which the two houses should, after mature deliberation, propose, would be obstinately withstood by the sovereign.

The Declaration of Right, though it made nothing law which had not been law before, contained the germ of the law which gave religious freedom to the dissenter, of the law which secured the independence of the judges, of the law which limited the duration of parliaments, of the law which placed the liberty of the press under the protection of juries, of the law which prohibited the slave trade, of the law which abolished the sacramental test, of the law which relieved the Roman Catholics from civil disabilities, of the law which reformed the representative system, of every good law which has been passed during a hundred and sixty years, of every good law which may hereafter, in the course of ages, be found necessary to promote the public weal, and to satisfy the demands of public opinion.

The highest eulogy which can be pronounced on the Revolution of 1688 is this, that it was our last revolution. Several generations have now passed away since any wise and patriotic Englishman has meditated resistance to the established government. In all honest and reflecting minds there is a conviction, daily strengthened by experience, that the means of effecting every improvement which the constitution requires may be found within the constitution itself.[b]





CHAPTER XI

WILLIAM AND MARY

[1689–1702 A.D.]

It is, indeed, difficult to conceive the full amount of the impetus given to English civilisation by the expulsion of the house of Stuart. Among the most immediate results, may be mentioned the limits that were set to the royal prerogative ; the important steps that were taken towards religious toleration ; the remarkable and permanent improvement in the administration of justice ; the final abolition of a censorship over the press ; and, what has not excited sufficient attention, the rapid growth of those great monetary interests by which, as we shall hereafter see, the prejudices of the superstitious classes have in no small degree been counterbalanced. These are the main characteristics of the reign of William III ; a reign often aspersed, and little understood, but of which it may be truly said, that, taking its difficulties into due consideration, it is the most successful and the most splendid recorded in the history of any country.— BUCKLE.[b]

PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS: THE BILL OF RIGHTS

THE new reign was commenced (February 14th) with a proclamation confirming all Protestants in the offices which they held. The king then nominated the privy-council and appointed to the offices of state; in both cases selecting from the ranks of whigs and tories, with a preponderance however of the former. Danby was made president of the council; Halifax, privy-seal; Nottingham and Shrewsbury, secretaries of state. The treasury, admiralty, and chancery, were put into commission.

Judging it inexpedient, under the present circumstances of the country, to risk the experiment of a new election, the king and council resolved to convert the convention into a parliament. This was effected by the simple expedient of the king's going in state to the house of peers on the 18th, and

addressing both houses from the throne. A bill declaring the lords and commons assembled at Westminster to be the two houses of parliament was then passed, and the royal assent being given on the 23rd, the convention became a parliament. In this act a new oath to be taken on the first of March was substituted for the old ones of allegiance and supremacy. It was refused by the primate and seven of his suffragans; and among the temporal peers, by the duke of Newcastle, the earls of Litchfield, Exeter, Yarmouth, and Stafford, and the lords Griffin and Stawell. Hence the party of which they were the heads derived the name of nonjurors; their principle was a blind, stupid veneration for absolute power, and for the hereditary divine rights of princes — a principle, if followed out, utterly subversive of every kind of liberty.

The pernicious distinction between a king *de jure* and a king *de facto*, now first came into operation. It answers no purpose but to foster disloyalty and occasion rebellion. A Bill of Rights the same in substance with the Declaration of Right was passed. One of its provisions was, that all persons holding communion with the church of Rome, or marrying a papist, should be excluded from the crown and government, and that in such cases the people should be absolved from their allegiance, and the crown should descend to the next heir being a Protestant.

The settlement of the revenue was an important question. The courtiers maintained that the revenue settled on the late king for life came of course to the present king; but the commons could only be induced to grant it for one year. They readily granted a sum of £600,000 to remunerate the states for the expense they had been at; and on information of King James having landed in Ireland, they voted funds for an army and navy. *g*

William looked upon many unsettled questions with a wider range of view than his own council, or the grand council of the nation. He was confident in the justice and necessity of the objects for which he desired to have his hands strengthened. The parliament refused its confidence. The king desired to carry out the fullest principles of religious liberty that were consistent with the public safety. The parliament thought that there was a very strict limit even for toleration. And yet, out of these differences, resulted much practical good. The king wished to have ample means for maintaining the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland, for the pacification of Scotland, for giving efficiency to the confederacy against the ambition of the French. The commons manifested a greater jealousy of entrusting the supplies to their deliverer than they had manifested towards their oppressor. There were immediate evil consequences. The Roman Catholic adherents of James devastated the Protestant settlements in Ireland; the standard of resistance was successfuly reared in Scotland; Louis threatened England with invasion, and was marching a great army upon Holland.

But the benefits of the jealousy of the commons are felt to this day. Those whigs who carried their confidence in the intentions of William to an extreme, were of opinion that the revenue which had been settled upon King James for life should revert to the sovereign who had taken his place. Some tories, who were adverse to the government, but were eager to secure power by a simulated confidence in the king, agreed in this view. The majority in parliament successfully resisted it. To abolish the hearth-money, or chimney-tax, an especial tax upon the poor, was a duty to which William was called by the earnest solicitations of the crowds who followed his march from Tor Bay to London. But he frankly said to parliament, "as in this his majesty doth consider the ease of the subject, so he doth not doubt but you will be careful of the support of the crown." The official biographer of James II sneers at

William's self-denial; "He wheedled them [the commons] with a remission of chimney-money, when he was well assured he should be no loser by his generosity, and that it would be only like throwing water into a dry pump to make it suck better below, and cast it out with more abundance above." This was not exactly the best mode of wheedling the rich country gentlemen by removing a tax from the cottage to put it in some shape upon the mansion. Yet the commons respected the motive of the king, and substituted less oppressive taxes. But they declined to grant the temporary revenue for the lives of the king and queen. The hereditary revenue they did not touch. Moreover they resolved that whatever sums they voted should be appropriated to particular services, according to estimates.



WILLIAM III
(1650–1702)

This principle, partially adhered to in the time of Charles II, but wholly disregarded by the parliament of his successor, has from the time of the revolution been the great security of the nation against the wanton and corrupt expenditure of the crown. Parliament may make lavish votes; but there must be a distinct vote in every case for the service of a particular department which renders the legislative power so really supreme in England; it is this which renders it impossible that an executive can subsist except in concord with the representatives of the people. England therefore owes a debt of gratitude to the parliament of the revolution, that they clung to a principle and established a practice which have never since been departed from. A temporary vote of credit is sometimes asked under extraordinary circumstances; but the constitutional right of appropriation, always secured in the express words of a grant of supply, is the general rule which no minister would dare to ask the representatives of the people to forego.

But if the parliament of William and Mary is to be commended for their jealousy of the king in the matter of revenue, we may doubt if they were equally wise in halting far short of his known wishes in the great questions of religious liberty and religious union. If the king's abstract sense of what was due to the consciences of men could have been carried out, England might have been saved from a century and a quarter of bitter animosities; and the Church of England might have been more secure and more influential, than during the long period when the Test Act remained in force against Protestants, and Roman Catholics were not only ineligible to civil offices, but

had to undergo what we now justly regard as persecution. But in this, as in all other cases, no reform can be permanent which is premature.[c]

The coronation took place on the 11th of April; the bishop of London officiating in place of the nonjuring primate. Several titles and honours had previously been conferred. The marquis of Winchester was made duke of Bolton; lords Mordaunt and Churchill, earls of Monmouth and Marlborough; Henry Sidney, Viscount Sidney; the king's Dutch favourite Bentinck, earl of Portland, etc. Shortly after (24th), the earl of Danby was created marquis of Carmarthen. The celebrated Dr. Burnet was also rewarded for his exertions in the cause of civil and religious liberty by being raised to the see of Salisbury. The judicial bench was purified and filled with men of sound constitutional principles; Holt, Pollexfen, and Atkins being placed at the head of the three law-courts: Treby was made attorney- and Somers solicitor-general. Somers was the son of a highly respectable attorney at Worcester, and having graduated at Oxford he went to the bar. He distinguished himself as one of the counsel for the seven bishops, and he was one of the managers in the conference between the two houses at the time of the Revolution. He was henceforth regarded as a leader of the whig party.

THE ACT OF TOLERATION

It was the earnest wish of the king and of the more liberal statesmen, to reward the dissenters for their meritorious conduct during the late crisis by removing all disqualifications under which they laboured. It was first attempted to have the sacramental test omitted in the new oaths; but that failing, a bill was brought in to exempt them from the penalties of certain laws. This, named the Act of Toleration, was passed: though the Catholics were not included in it, they felt the benefit of it, and William always treated them with lenity. A bill of comprehension passed the lords, but miscarried in the commons. The attainders of Lord Russell, Algernon Sidney, Alderman Cornish, and Mrs. Lisle, were reversed. Johnson's sentence was annulled, and he received 1,000*l.* and a pension. Among those rewarded at this time was the notorious Titus Oates.

William's main object, as we have seen, was to engage England in the great confederacy lately formed against the French king. As Louis was now openly assisting King James, the commons presented an address (April 26th) assuring the king of their support in case he should think fit to engage in the war with France. William required no more; he declared war without delay (May 7th).

We must now take a view of the state of affairs in Scotland and Ireland at this time [leaving the reader to find fuller details in the separate histories of those countries]. As Scotland had been the victim of a civil and religious despotism such as the Stuarts had never dared to exercise in England, the friends of William were necessarily the majority in that country. After the flight of James, such of the Scottish nobility and gentry as were in London presented an address to the prince, vesting in him the administration and the revenue, and requesting him to call a convention of the states of Scotland. With this request he of course complied; and when the convention met (March 14th), the whigs had a decided majority. It was voted, that King James "had forfaulted [forfeited] the right of the crown, and the throne was become vacant." On the 11th of April William and Mary were proclaimed king and queen of Scotland, and three deputies were sent to London to admin-

ister to them the coronation-oath. The convention was converted into a parliament as in England.

The adherents of the late king, foiled in the convention, resolved to appeal to force; the duke of Gordon, a Catholic, refused to surrender the castle of Edinburgh, of which he was governor; and Graham of Claverhouse (later Viscount Dundee), the ruthless persecutor of the Cameronians, fired with the idea of emulating the fame of Montrose, quitted Edinburgh with a party of fifty horse and directed his course toward the Highlands. General Mackay, who had been sent with five regiments from England, was despatched in pursuit of him. [At the battle of Killiecrankie, May 26th, Dundee received a mortal wound.] There was no one to take his place; the clans gradually laid down their arms and took advantage of the pardon offered by King William. The duke of Gordon also submitted and delivered up the castle of Edinburgh (June 13th), and the cause of James became hopeless in Scotland. The abolition of Episcopacy and the re-establishment of Presbytery took place soon after; and thus finally terminated the struggle between the crown and the people of Scotland on the subject of religion.

THE TWO ENGLISH KINGS IN IRELAND (1689–1690 A.D.)

It was different in Ireland, where the whole power of the state was in the hands of the Catholics. Tyrconnel had at first signified an inclination to submit to William, who had sent over General Hamilton, one of the officers of James's army, with proposals to him; but Hamilton proved a traitor and advised against submission; and Tyrconnel, whose only object had been to gain time, had already sent to assure James of his fidelity. He also disarmed the Protestants in Dublin, and he augmented his Catholic army. It has always been the fate of the Irish Protestants to have their interests postponed to those of party in England; and they were now neglected by William. It is said by some, that Halifax suggested this course to him, as if Ireland submitted he would have no pretext for keeping up an army, on which his retention of England depended; but in truth he does not seem to have had an army to send at that time; he could not rely on the English troops, and he therefore could not venture to part with the foreigners. In the month of March two Scottish regiments actually mutinied, and having disarmed some of their officers, and seized the money provided for their pay, set out for their own country. This gave occasion for passing the first Mutiny Bill, which has ever since been annually renewed. *g*

Hallam thus characterises the importance of the Mutiny Bill: "The annual assembly of parliament was rendered necessary, in the first place, by the strict appropriation of the revenue according to votes of supply. It was secured, next, by passing the Mutiny Bill, under which the army is held together, and subjected to military discipline, for a short term, seldom or never exceeding twelve months. These are the two effectual securities against military power: that no pay can be issued to the troops without a previous authorisation by the commons in a committee of supply, and by both houses in an act of appropriation; and that no officer or soldier can be punished for disobedience, nor any court-martial held, without the annual re-enactment of the Mutiny Bill. Thus it is strictly true that, if the king were not to summon parliament every year, his army would cease to have a legal existence; and the refusal of either house to concur in the Mutiny Bill would at once wrest the sword out of his grasp. By the Bill of Rights it is declared unlawful to keep any forces in time of peace without consent of parliament. This

consent, by an invariable and wholesome usage, is given only from year to year: and its necessity may be considered perhaps the most powerful of those causes which have transferred so much even of the executive power into the management of the two houses of parliament." [d]

James embraced a resolution worthy of a sovereign. Having obtained from Louis a supply of arms, ammunition and money, with some officers, and collected about twelve hundred of his own subjects, he hastened to Brest, and embarking in a French fleet of twenty-one sail, proceeded to Ireland. He landed in safety at Kinsale (March 12th). At Cork he was met by Tyrconnel, who gave him an account of the state of affairs. He described the army as numerous, but ill-armed; and the Protestants as being in possession of Ulster alone. On the 24th the king made his solemn entrance into Dublin amid the acclamations of the Catholics. He forthwith removed all the Protestant members of the council. He issued proclamations; by one raising the value of the current coin; by another summoning a parliament for the 7th of May; and having created Tyrconnel a duke, he set out for his army in the north.

The only towns that offered resistance were Londonderry and Enniskillen. On July 31st the besieging army retired from Londonderry, having lost between eight and nine thousand men before the heroic town. The besieged had lost three thousand — nearly the half of their original number. The Enniskilleners showed equal courage, and defeated the papists wherever they encountered them.

The houses of parliament which met in Dublin were filled with Catholic members, the Protestants not exceeding half a dozen in either house. James, in his speech, made his usual parade of respect for the rights of conscience; and in a subsequent declaration he expatiated on his regard and favour to his Protestant subjects. One of his earliest measures, however, was to give his assent to an act for robbing them of their properties. The bill passed; in vain the purchasers under the Act of Settlement petitioned the king; he replied, "that he would not do evil that good might come of it"; yet he gave his assent to the bill. Even the Protestant worship was suppressed, for an order was issued forbidding more than five Protestants to meet together for any purpose on pain of death.

While James was thus exemplifying his notions of religious liberty, William was preparing the means of recovering Ireland. A force consisting of eighteen regiments of foot and five of horse having been levied, the command was given to Duke Schomberg. But various delays occurred, and it was late in the summer (August 13th) when the duke landed at Bangor in Down, with a body of ten thousand men, leaving the remainder to follow. He invested Carrickfergus, which surrendered after a siege of a few days. The enemy continually retired before him, and he reached Dundalk on his way to Dublin. At length, after losing one-half of his men by disease, Schomberg placed his army in winter-quarters in the northern towns.

This year was marked by only one naval engagement. Louis had sent a squadron under Count Chateau-Renault, to convoy some transports with supplies to Ireland. Herbert, who had been sent to intercept them, having been driven by stress of weather into Milford haven, they got safe into Bantry Bay. When Herbert found them there (May 1st), he stood in to attack them though he was much inferior in force. The French weighed and stood out; Herbert tried in vain to get the weather-gauge, and after a running fight of some hours he bore away, leaving the honour of the day to the French. On his return to Portsmouth, as the crews were discontented with their want of success, King William came down, dined aboard the admiral's ship, knighted

captains Ashby and Shovel, and gave the men ten shillings each. Herbert was soon after created earl of Torrington.

William meantime, aware of the importance of reducing Ireland, had resolved to conduct the war there in person. He landed at Carrickfergus (June 14th), and declaring that "he was not come to let the grass grow under his feet," summoned all his troops to his standard. On reviewing them at Loughbrickland, he found himself at the head of thirty-six thousand effective men. He moved southwards without delay: James, who had left Dublin for his army (16th), advanced to Dundalk, but not thinking that post tenable, he fell back and took a position near Oldbridge, on the right bank of the river Boyne, near Drogheda, with a bog on his left and the pass of Duleek in his rear. His army is said to have numbered thirty-three thousand men. On the morning of the last day of June the English army reached the Boyne. William rode out to reconnoitre the enemy; he was recognised, and two pieces of cannon were secretly planted behind a hedge opposite an eminence where he had sat down to rest. As he was mounting his horse, they were fired, and one of the balls having touched the bank of the river, rose and grazed his right shoulder, tearing his coat and flesh. His attendants gathered round him, a cry of joy rose in the Irish camp, the report of his death flew to Dublin, and thence to Paris, where the firing of cannon and lighting of bonfires testified the exultation of Louis.

The armies cannonaded each other during the remainder of the day. At nine o'clock at night William held a council, and gave his orders for the battle next day; at twelve he rode by torchlight through the camp; the word given was "Westminster"; each soldier was directed to wear a green bough in his hat, as the enemy was observed to wear white paper. The army was to pass the river in three divisions; the right, led by young Schomberg and General Douglas, at the ford of Slane; the centre, under Schomberg himself, in front of the camp; and the left, under the king, lower down toward Drogheda.

Early next morning (Tuesday, July 1st) the right division set out for Slane, where it forced the passage, and passing the bog, drove off the troops opposed to it. The centre crossed unopposed; on the further bank they met a vigorous resistance, but they finally forced the enemy to fall back to the village of Donor, where James stood, a spectator of the battle. William meantime had crossed at the head of his cavalry; the Irish horse, led by Hamilton, fought gallantly, but they were broken at length, and their commander made a prisoner.[1] Lausun now urged James to remain no longer, but to retire with all speed to Dublin before he was surrounded. He forthwith quitted the field; his army then poured through the pass of Duleek, and forming on the other side, retreated in good order. Their loss had been fifteen hundred men, that of the victors was only a third of that number, among whom were Duke Schomberg, and Walker, the brave governor of Derry.

Macaulay has this comment on the flight of James II: "Whether James had owed his early reputation for valour to accident and flattery, or whether, as he advanced in life, his character underwent a change, may be doubted. But it is certain that, in his youth, he was generally believed to possess, not merely that average measure of fortitude which qualifies a soldier to go through a campaign without disgrace, but that high and serene intrepidity which is

[1] William asked Hamilton, the traitorous messenger to Tyrconnel, if he thought the Irish would fight any more. "Upon my honour," said he, "I believe they will; for they have yet a good body of horse." "Honour!" said William: "your honour!" This Hamilton is said to be the author of "The Memoirs of the Count de Gramont."

the virtue of great commanders. It is equally certain that, in his later years, he repeatedly, at conjunctures such as have often inspired timorous and delicate women with heroic courage, showed a pusillanimous anxiety about his personal safety. Of the most powerful motives which can induce human beings to encounter peril none was wanting to him on the day of the Boyne. The eyes of his contemporaries and of posterity, of friends devoted to his cause, and of enemies eager to witness his humiliation were fixed upon him. He had, in his own opinion, sacred rights to maintain and cruel wrongs to revenge. He was a king come to fight for three kingdoms. He was a father come to fight for the birthright of his child. He was a zealous Roman Catholic, come to fight in his 'holiest of crusades.' If all this was not enough, he saw, from the secure position which he occupied on the height of Donor, a sight which, it might have been thought, would have roused the most torpid of mankind to emulation. He saw William, his rival, weak, sickly, wounded, swimming the river, struggling through the mud, leading the charge, stopping the flight, grasping the sword with the left hand, managing the bridle with a bandaged arm. But none of these things moved that sluggish and ignoble nature. He watched, from a safe distance, the beginning of the battle on which his fate and the fate of his race depended. When it became clear that the day was going against Ireland, he was seized with an apprehension that his flight might be intercepted, and galloped towards Dublin."[e] James stopped only one night in Dublin; he fled to Duncannon, where, finding a French vessel, he got on board and landed safely at Brest (10th).

William reached Dublin on the third day after his victory (4th). He issued a proclamation promising pardon to all the inferior people engaged in the war, but excepting the leaders. He then advanced southwards and reduced Waterford; but hearing of a victory gained by the French fleet and a descent on the coast of England, he returned to Dublin, deeming his presence necessary in England. Finding, however, the danger not to be so great as he had apprehended, he resolved to remain and finish the war. He advanced, and laid siege to Limerick (August 9th), but his artillery was intercepted on its way from Dublin and destroyed by General Sarsfield, and an attempt to storm (27th) having failed with great loss, he raised the siege and retiring to Waterford embarked for England (September 5th), leaving the command with Count Solms and General Ginkel.

The earl of Marlborough [formerly John Churchill[1]], who had commanded the British troops in the Netherlands this year, having proposed the reduction of Cork and Kinsale, landed at the former place (21st) with five thousand men, and being joined by the prince of Wurtemburg with an equal number of his Danes, he in the space of twenty-three days obliged both places to surrender. The French troops in Ireland now returned home, leaving the Irish to their fate.

We now return to England to notice the state of affairs there for the last twelvemonth.

PARLIAMENT AND THE KING: THE SETTLEMENT OF THE REVENUE

The parliament which had been prorogued having met again (October 19th), the king in his speech pressed on them the necessity of a supply for

[1 The new commander gave the first specimen on a great scale of the genius which afterwards immortalised his name. In thirty days he secured the ports of embarkation where the French had established their communications; and with Cork and Kinsale in his hands he rendered the position of Louis' troops untenable, and kept the native army in a half famished condition in the wasted province of Ulster.—WHITE, *f*]

carrying on the war; he also strongly urged the passing of a bill of indemnity. They readily voted a supply of two millions; but the whigs, with the natural jealousy of power, wishing to keep the lash over the heads of their rivals the tories, threw every possible obstruction in the way of the indemnity; impeachments were menaced against those who had turned papists; a committee was appointed to inquire who were the advisers, etc., in the "murders" of Russell, Sidney, and others; and as Halifax, who had been then in the ministry, saw that he was aimed at, he retired from office and joined the tories. A bill was brought in for restoring corporations, by a clause of which all who had acted or concurred in the surrender of charters were to be excluded from office for seven years. As there could be no doubt of the object of this clause, the tories put forth their whole strength, and having gained the court to their side, the clause was defeated in the commons and the bill itself was lost in the lords.

The refusal of the whigs to grant him a revenue for life had greatly alienated the mind of the king from them. He was in fact so disgusted with the ungenerous treatment, as he conceived it, that he met with, that he seriously meditated a return to Holland, leaving the queen to reign in England. From this he was diverted by the entreaties of Carmarthen and Shrewsbury; and the tories having promised him lavish supplies if he would dissolve the parliament, he resolved on that measure, and on conducting the Irish war in person. He therefore prorogued the parliament (January 27th, 1690), and a few days after (February 6th), he issued a proclamation dissolving it, and summoning a new one to meet on March 20th.

In the new house of commons the tories had the preponderance; but the whigs were notwithstanding very formidable. This appeared in the settlement of the revenue, as, though the hereditary excise was given to the king for life, the customs were granted only for four years. The great struggle of parties took place on a bill brought into the lords by the whigs for recognising their majesties as the "rightful and lawful" sovereigns of these realms, and declaring all the acts of the Convention Parliament to be good and valid. This was obviously contrary to the principles and professions of the tories; they caused the words "rightful and lawful" to be omitted as superfluous, and they would only consent that the laws of the late parliament should be valid for the time to come. The bill was committed, but the declaratory clause was lost on the report. A vigorous protest of some of the leading whigs caused it to be restored. The tories now protested in their turn, but the whigs caused the protest to be expunged from the journals. The bill passed the commons without opposition, as the influence of the crown was exerted in its favour. As the tories were thus instrumental in putting the last hand to the settlement of the crown, they had no excuse for ever again opposing it.

A bill requiring every person holding any office to "abjure" the late king and his title was rejected by the commons at the express desire of the king. An act was passed for investing the queen with the administration during the absence of the king, and one for reversing the judgment against the city of London, and finally the Bill of Indemnity, which contained the names of thirty excepted persons, none of whom however were ever molested in consequence of it. The session was then closed (May 21st), and the king soon after set out for Ireland.

The situation of the queen was by no means an easy one. Her mind was distracted with anxiety for the fate of both her father and her husband in Ireland; the "Jacobites," as the adherents of James were now called, were

[1690 A.D.]

preparing an insurrection in England and Scotland, and the French were ready to assist them; she had to hold the balance between the two parties in her cabinet. Her difficulties, however, gave occasion to the display of the nobler parts of her character, and she acquired by her firmness, mildness, and prudence, the applause of all.[9]

THE NAVAL DEFEAT AT BEACHY HEAD (1690 A.D.)

There was another battle being fought on the southeastern coast of England, at the very hour when the shot that was fired across the Boyne had very nearly settled the question whether the revolution of 1688 should be a starting-point in a race of honour and prosperity, or a broken trophy of one brief and useless effort for liberty and the rights of conscience. The departure of William for Ireland was the signal for an attack upon the English coasts, which was to be accompanied with an insurrection of the jacobites. A fleet sailed from Brest under the count de Tourville. The English fleet was in the Downs, under the command of the earl of Torrington [formerly Admiral Herbert]. He sailed to the back of the Isle of Wight, and was there joined by a squadron of Dutch vessels under a skilful commander, Evertsen. Queen Mary and her council were aware that the French fleet had left Brest. It soon became known that the English admiral had quitted his position off St. Helen's, and had sailed for the straits of Dover upon the approach of the French. The council determined to send Torrington positive orders to fight. The French fleet was superior in vessels and guns to the combined English and Dutch fleet; but the inequality was not so great that a man of the old stamp of Blake would have feared to risk a battle.

Torrington did something even worse than hesitate to fight. He let the brunt of the conflict fall upon the Dutch. He put Evertsen in the van, and brought very few of his own squadron into action. The Dutch fought with indomitable courage and obstinacy, but were at length compelled to draw off. The gazers from the high downs of Beachy Head witnessed the shameful flight of a British admiral to seek the safety of the Thames. When the news came to London that Torrington had left the Channel to a triumphant enemy — when an invasion was imminent, for England was without regular troops — when plotters were all around, and arrests of men of rank, even of Clarendon, the queen's kinsman, were taking place — then, indeed, there was an hour almost of despair such as was felt when De Ruyter sailed up the Medway.

But the very humiliation roused the spirit of the people. The queen was universally beloved; and, although studiously avoiding, when the king was at hand, any interference in public affairs, she took at once a kingly part in this great crisis. "The queen balanced all things with an extraordinary temper," writes Burnet.[o] She sent for the lord mayor of London; and inquired what the citizens would do, should the enemy effect a landing. The lord mayor returned to the queen with an offer of a hundred thousand pounds; of nine thousand men of the city trainbands, ready instantly to march wherever ordered; and a proposal for the lieutenancy to provide and maintain six additional regiments of foot; and of the mayor, aldermen, and common council to raise a regiment of horse, and a thousand dragoons, by voluntary contributions. The same spirit was manifested throughout the land. The people might grumble against the Dutch; they might feel some commiseration for an exiled prince; they might be divided about the questions of church government; they might complain that the Revolution had brought them increased taxation: but they would have no government thrust upon them by the

French king. They would not undo the work of their own hands. The gloom for the disaster of Beachy Head was quickly forgotten. On July 4th a messenger had brought letters to the queen which told that a great victory had been won in Ireland, and that the king was safe.[c]

JACOBITE PLOTS TO RESTORE JAMES (1691 A.D.)

Torrington having brought his fleet into the Thames, repaired to London, where he was deprived of his command and committed to the Tower. He was afterwards tried by a court-martial and acquitted, but he was never again employed.

As an invasion was apprehended, the queen issued commissions for raising troops, directed a camp to be formed at Tor Bay, and caused several suspected persons to be arrested. But the French, after burning the fishing-village of Teignmouth, returned to Brest, and the news of the victory at the Boyne soon dispelled all alarm.

On the return of the king, the greatest harmony prevailed between him and his parliament. They granted four millions for the war, and William having put an end to the session, embarked at Gravesend (January 16th, 1691) in order to be present at a congress of the allies at the Hague. All there acceded to his wishes, it being unanimously resolved to prosecute the war with vigour. He stayed a few weeks in Holland and then returned to England (April 13th).

A conspiracy in favour of James had been discovered before the king left England. About the end of December, a boat-owner of Barking in Essex, having informed Lord Carmarthen that one of his boats had been engaged to convey some persons to France, it was boarded at Gravesend, and Lord Preston, Mr. Ashton, a servant of the late queen, and a Mr. Elliot, were found in it. A parcel of papers of a suspicious nature was taken on the person of Ashton. Preston and Ashton were both tried and found guilty; the latter was executed; he died a Protestant. Preston[1] obtained a pardon by revealing all he knew. Lord Clarendon was committed to the Tower; Bishop Turner, Lord Preston's brother Graham, and Penn the Quaker, being implicated, went out of the way.

It was now beyond doubt that there was a very extensive conspiracy organised for bringing back the late king. Untaught by the experience of his whole reign, and of his late doings in Ireland, men were so infatuated as to suppose that he could be content to reign the king of a Protestant people. Preston and Ashton were to propose to him to make the majority of his council even in France, Protestant; to assure him that though he might live a Catholic, he must reign as a Protestant, giving all offices of state to those of this religion, and seeking nothing but liberty of conscience for his own. They were also to require that the French force, which they wished him to bring over, should be so moderate as to give no alarm for the liberties of the nation. A wilder project than this never was conceived, yet in a memorandum of Lord Preston's

[1 In connection with Somers' honorable conduct of Preston's trial Lord Campbell[h] says: "Macaulay[e] justly observes, that the earlier volumes of the State Trials are the most frightful record of baseness and depravity in the world. Our hatred is altogether turned away from the crimes and the criminals, and directed against the law and its ministers. We see villanies as black as ever were imputed to any prisoner, at any bar, daily committed on the bench and in the jury box. It is difficult to believe, that little more than three years had elapsed between the prosecution of the Seven Bishops and the prosecution of Lord Preston, as we seem suddenly transferred to another age, or to a distant country, where the principles of justice were held sacred instead of being violated and despised."]

were found the names of Shrewsbury, Monmouth, Devonshire, and other whig lords, as if they were participators in it. It is certain that Halifax, Godolphin, and Marlborough were at this time in communication with the jacobite agents, though the second was actually at the head of the treasury, and the last had lately done James all the injury he could in Ireland.

But Marlborough did not find his ambition sufficiently gratified, and he thought it probable that James might be restored. He resolved in that case to secure his pardon, and therefore pretending the greatest remorse for his base ingratitude, he gave an exact account of the numbers and condition of the army and navy, and of the plans of King William as far as he knew them; he promised, if the king desired it, to bring over the troops that were in Flanders, but thought it better that he and the rest of the king's friends in parliament should strive to have the foreign troops sent away, in which case the English should be brought back, and the king's restoration might then be easily effected.

William now resolved to keep measures no longer with the nonjuring prelates, for they had refused to perform their functions, even if excused from their oaths. He therefore proceeded to fill up the vacant sees. Tillotson (a name with which that of Sancroft will ill bear comparison) was selected for Canterbury. The names of Cumberland, Fowler, Patrick, Beveridge, and others, do equal honour to the discernment of the king and his advisers. As Sancroft and his brethren gave the most decisive proof of their sincerity, we must respect them as honest men; but at the same time it is difficult not to feel contempt for those who were willing to sacrifice the civil (and consequently the religious) liberties of their country on the altar of their false god, passive obedience. If too, as they maintained, this was the principle of Christianity, that perfect law of liberty, they should have submitted with the meekness of martyrs, and not have poured through the press, from the pens of themselves and their adherents, a continued stream of virulent pamphlets against their opponents.

On May 2nd King William, attended among others by the earl of Marlborough, sailed for Holland in order to take the field in person against the French. The war was carried on simultaneously in Flanders, on the Rhine, in Savoy, and Piedmont, but no battle of any note signalised this campaign. At the end of it William returned to England (October 19th), where the cheering intelligence of the complete reduction of Ireland awaited him. Owing to the want of the needful supplies, Ginkel had not been able to take the field till the month of June. He then advanced to lay siege to Athlone, which was soon taken.

On the 10th Ginkel marched from Athlone to engage the Irish army. He found them on the 12th posted on Kilcommoden Hill, where he defeated them with great loss.

Galway surrendered (on the 20th) on honourable terms, and Ginkel now prepared to end the war by the reduction of Limerick, the last stronghold of the Irish. On his coming before the town (August 25th) the batteries were opened in the usual manner. The garrison, on September 22nd, proposed a cessation, in order to adjust the terms of surrender. The terms which they required were extravagant; but Ginkel, who knew how much it was for his master's interest to have the war concluded, agreed to give very favourable ones. The Irish were to exercise their religion as in the time of Charles II; all included in the capitulation were to enjoy their estates and follow their professions as in the same reign; their gentry were to have the use of arms, and no oaths were to be required but that of allegiance; all persons wishing

to retire to the Continent should be conveyed thither, with their families and effects, at the expense of the government. These articles were drawn up and signed (October 3rd), and the war in Ireland, after having inflicted three years of calamity on the country, was at length terminated. Sarsfield and about twelve thousand men passed over to France, and were taken into the pay of the French monarch.[g]

For the breaking of the agreements which led to the calling of Limerick "the city of the violated treaty," we refer the reader to our history of Ireland. With reference to Sarsfield's departure and the aftermath of the conquest we may quote Green[i]: "Ten thousand men, the whole of Sarsfield's force chose exile rather than life in a land where all hope of national freedom was lost. When the wild cry of the women who stood watching their departure was hushed, the silence of death settled down upon Ireland. For a hundred years the country remained at peace, but the peace was of despair. The most terrible legal tyranny under which a nation has ever groaned avenged the rising under Tyrconnel. The conquered people, in Swift's bitter words of contempt, became 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' to their conquerors. Though local risings of these serfs perpetually spread terror among the English settlers, all dream of a national revolt passed away; and till the eve of the French Revolution, Ireland ceased to be a source of political danger to England."[a]

A barbarous deed enacted in the Highlands of Scotland opens the occurrences of the following year (1692). An order had been issued for the Highlanders to submit and take the oath of allegiance before the 1st of January. The chiefs all obeyed; the last was MacDonald of Glencoe, and the snows and other impediments prevented him from reaching Inverary, the county-town, till the day was past. The sheriffs, however, administered the oath, and certified the cause of delay. But the earl of Breadalbane was MacDonald's bitter enemy, and the Dalrymples of Stair, the president and secretary, thirsted for blood. Both the oath and certificate were suppressed, and William was assured that Glencoe was the great obstacle to the pacification of the Highlands. An order, countersigned by the king, was obtained "to extirpate that sect of thieves," and Dalrymple forthwith wrote to the commander-in-chief ample directions how to perpetrate the massacre in the most barbarous manner.

The houses were all burned to the ground, the cattle driven off or destroyed, the women and children stripped naked, and left to perish in the snow [as described in detail in the history of Scotland].

Certainly the great offenders here were those two detestable men, Breadalbane and Dalrymple, but the king himself was not guiltless; he should have inquired more accurately before he signed such an order. Judging, however, by his general character, there can be little doubt that he was deceived, and that he thought he was only sanctioning a wholesome act of severity. Political necessity will perhaps account for, though not justify, his not punishing the authors of the massacre. A great outcry at this deed was raised all over Europe by James and his adherents, which certainly came with a good grace from the party which had to boast of Jeffrey's campaign, and the torturings and massacres of the Cameronians!

JAMES ISSUES A DECLARATION (1692 A.D.)

Early in the spring (March 5th, 1692) the king returned to Holland to prepare for the ensuing campaign. The exiled monarch meantime had made his arrangements for the invasion of England. The jacobites and Catholics

secretly enlisted men and formed regiments; the princess Anne had lately written to implore her father's forgiveness, which he regarded as a proof of the inclination of the church-party; Marlborough continued to give him assurances of his fidelity; and even Russell, out of pride and pique, became a traitor to the cause of the revolution. Louis gave James some troops, which, with the regiments from Ireland and the Scotch and English exiles, forming a force of from fifteen to twenty thousand men, were encamped at La Hogue, where a large fleet was assembled to convey them to England. At the same time James issued a declaration, offering pardon and indemnity to his subjects (with, however, a long list of exceptions), and promising to protect the church.g

MACAULAY'S ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF LA HOGUE (1692 A.D.)

It seems strange that even James should have chosen, at such a conjuncture, to proclaim to the world that the men whom his people most abhorred were the men whom he most delighted to honour. Still more injurious to his interests was the Declaration in which he announced his intentions to his subjects. Of all the state papers which were put forth even by him it was the most elaborately and ostentatiously injudicious. Not a word was to be found indicating that three years of banishment had made the king wiser, that he had repented of a single error, that he took to himself even the smallest part of the blame of that revolution which had dethroned him, or that he purposed to follow a course in any respect differing from that which had already been fatal to him. All the charges which had been brought against him he pronounced to be utterly unfounded. Wicked men had put forth calumnies. Weak men had believed those calumnies. He alone had been faultless. He held out no hope that he would consent to any restriction of that vast dispensing power to which he had formerly laid claim, that he would not again, in defiance of the plainest statutes, fill the privy council, the bench of justice, the public offices, the army, the navy, with papists, that he would not re-establish the high commission, that he would not appoint a new set of regulators to remodel all the constituent bodies of the kingdom. He did indeed condescend to say that he would maintain the legal rights of the Church of England but he had said this before, and all men knew what those words meant in his mouth. Instead of assuring his people of his forgiveness, he menaced them with a proscription more terrible than any which our island had ever seen. He published a list of persons who had no mercy to expect. Among these were Ormonde, Carmarthen, Nottingham, Tillotson, and Burnet. After the roll of those who were doomed to death by name, came a series of categories. First stood all the crowd of rustics who had been rude to his majesty when he was stopped at Sheerness in his flight. These poor ignorant wretches, some hundreds in number, were reserved for another bloody circuit. Then came all persons who had in any manner borne a part in the punishment of any jacobite conspirator; judges, counsel, witnesses, grand jurymen, petty jurymen, sheriffs and under-sheriffs, constables and turnkeys, in short, all the ministers of justice from Holt down to Ketch. Then vengeance was denounced against all spies and all informers who had divulged to the usurpers the designs of the court of Saint Germain. All justices of the peace who should not declare for their rightful sovereign the moment that they heard of his landing, all gaolers who should not instantly set political prisoners at liberty, were to be left to the extreme rigour of the law. No exception was made in favour of a justice or of a gaoler who might be within

a hundred yards of one of William's regiments, and a hundred miles from the nearest place where there was a single jacobite in arms. Of general amnesty he said not a word. The offenders, hundreds of thousands in number, were merely informed that their fate should be decided in parliament.

The agents of James speedily dispersed his Declaration over every part of the kingdom, and by doing so rendered a great service to William. The general cry was that the banished oppressor had at least given Englishmen fair warning, and that, if, after such a warning, they welcomed him home, they would have no pretence for complaining, though every county town should be polluted by an assize resembling that which Jeffreys had held at Taunton. That some hundreds of people — the jacobites put the number so low as five hundred — were to be hanged without mercy was certain; and nobody who had concurred in the revolution, nobody who had fought for the new government by sea or land, no soldier who had borne a part in the conquest of Ireland, no Devonshire ploughman or Cornish miner who had taken arms to defend his wife and children against Tourville, could be certain that he should not be hanged.

The queen and her ministers, instead of attempting to suppress James's manifesto, very wisely reprinted it, and sent it forth licensed by the secretary of state, and interspersed with remarks by a shrewd and severe commentator. It was refuted in many keen pamphlets; it was turned into doggerel rhymes; and it was left undefended even by the boldest and most acrimonious libellers among the nonjurors.

No man read the Declaration with more surprise and anger than Russell. Bad as he was, he was much under the influence of two feelings, which, though they cannot be called virtuous, have some affinity to virtue, and are respectable when compared with mere selfish cupidity. Professional spirit and party spirit were strong in him. He might be false to his country, but not to his flag; and, even in becoming a jacobite, he had not ceased to be a whig. The near prospect of an invasion, and the Declaration in which Englishmen were plainly told what they had to expect if that invasion should be successful, produced, it should seem, a sudden and entire change in Russell's feelings; and that change he distinctly avowed. "I wish," he said to Lloyd, "to serve King James. The thing might be done, if it were not his own fault. But he takes the wrong way with us. Do not think that I will let the French triumph over us in our own sea. Understand this, that if I meet them I fight them, aye, though his majesty himself should be on board."

This conversation was truly reported to James; but it does not appear to have alarmed him. He was, indeed, possessed with a belief that Russell, even if willing, would not be able to induce the officers and sailors of the English navy to fight against their old king, who was also their old admiral.

THE CONFEDERATE FLEET

The hopes which James felt, he and his favourite Melfort succeeded in imparting to Louis and to Louis' ministers. But for those hopes, indeed, it is probable that all thoughts of invading England in the course of that year would have been laid aside. For the extensive plan which had been formed in the winter had, in the course of the spring, been disconcerted by a succession of accidents such as are beyond the control of human wisdom. The time fixed for the assembling of all the maritime forces of France at Ushant had long elapsed; and not a single sail had appeared at the place of rendezvous. The Atlantic squadron was still detained by bad weather in the port of Brest.

[1692 A.D.]

The Mediterranean squadron, opposed by a strong west wind, was vainly struggling to pass the pillars of Hercules. Two fine vessels had gone to pieces on the rocks of Ceuta.

Meanwhile the admiralties of the allied powers had been active. Before the end of April the English fleet was ready to sail. William had been hastening the maritime preparations of the United Provinces; and his exertions had been successful. The whole force of the confederate powers was assembled at Saint Helen's in the second week of May, more than ninety sail of the line, manned by between thirty and forty thousand of the finest seamen of the two great maritime nations.

No mightier armament had ever appeared in the British Channel. There was little reason for apprehending that such a force could be defeated in a fair conflict. Nevertheless there was great uneasiness in London. It was known that there was a jacobite party in the navy. Alarming rumours had worked their way round from France. It was said that the enemy reckoned on the co-operation of some of those officers on whose fidelity, in this crisis, the safety of the state might depend. Russell, as far as can now be discovered, was still unsuspected. But others, who were probably less criminal, had been more indiscreet. The queen and her counsellors were in a great strait. It was not easy to say whether the danger of trusting the suspected persons or the danger of removing them were the greater. Mary, with many painful misgivings, resolved, and the event proved that she resolved wisely, to treat the evil reports as calumnious, to make a solemn appeal to the honour of the accused gentlemen, and then to trust the safety of her kingdom to their national and professional spirit.

On the fifteenth of May a great assembly of officers was convoked at Saint Helen's on board the *Britannia*, a fine three decker, from which Russell's flag was flying. The admiral told them that he had received a despatch which he was charged to read to them. It was from Nottingham. The queen, the secretary wrote, had been informed that stories deeply affecting the character of the navy were in circulation. But her majesty was determined to believe nothing against those brave servants of the state. The gentlemen who had been so foully slandered might be assured that she placed entire reliance on them. This letter was admirably calculated to work on those to whom it was addressed. Very few of them probably had been guilty of any worse offence than rash and angry talk over their wine. They became enthusiastically loyal as soon as they were assured that the queen reposed entire confidence in their loyalty. They eagerly signed an address in which they entreated her to believe that they would, with the utmost resolution and alacrity, venture their lives in defence of her rights, of English freedom and of the Protestant religion, against all foreign and Catholic invaders. "God," they added, "preserve your person, direct your counsels, and prosper your arms; and let all your people say Amen."

The sincerity of these professions was soon brought to the test. A few hours after the meeting on board of the *Britannia* the masts of Tourville's squadron were seen from the cliffs of Portland. On the morning of the seventeenth of May the allied fleet stood out to sea.

BATTLE OF LA HOGUE

Tourville had with him only his own squadron, consisting of forty-four ships of the line. But he had received positive orders to protect the descent on England, and not to decline a battle. Though these orders had been given

before it was known at Versailles that the Dutch and English fleets had joined, he was not disposed to take on himself the responsibility of disobedience. He still remembered with bitterness the reprimand which his extreme caution had drawn upon him after the fight of Beachy Head. He would not again be told that he was a timid and unenterprising commander, that he had no courage but the vulgar courage of a common sailor. He was also persuaded that the odds against him were rather apparent than real. He believed, on the authority of James and Melfort, that the English seamen, from the flag officers down to the cabin boys, were jacobites. Those who fought would fight with half a heart; and there would probably be numerous desertions at the most critical moment.

Animated by such hopes he sailed from Brest, steered first towards the north east, came in sight of the coast of Dorsetshire, and then struck across the channel towards La Hogue, where the army which he was to convoy to England had already begun to embark on board of the transports. He was within a few leagues of Barfleur when, before daybreak, on the morning of the nineteenth of May, he saw the great armament of the allies stretching along the eastern horizon. He determined to bear down on them. By eight the two lines of battle were formed; but it was eleven before the firing began. It soon became plain that the English, from the admiral downward, were resolved to do their duty.

Russell had visited all his ships, and exhorted all his crews. "If your commanders play false," he said, "overboard with them, and with myself the first." There was no defection. There was no slackness. Carter was the first who broke the French line. He was struck by a splinter of one of his own yard arms, and fell dying on the deck. He would not be carried below. He would not let go his sword. "Fight the ship," were his last words: "fight the ship as long as she can swim."

The battle lasted till four in the afternoon. During the earlier part of the day the wind was favourable to the French: they were opposed to half of the allied fleet; and against that half they maintained the conflict with their usual courage and with more than their usual seamanship. After a hard and doubtful fight of five hours, Tourville thought that enough had been done to maintain the honour of the white flag, and began to draw off. But by this time the wind had veered, and was with the allies. They were now able to avail themselves of their great superiority of force. They came on fast.

The retreat of the French became a flight. Tourville fought his own ship desperately. She was named, in allusion to Louis' favourite emblem, the *Royal Sun* [*Le Soleil Royal*] and was widely renowned as the finest vessel in the world. The gallant ship, surrounded by enemies, lay like a great fortress on the sea, scattering death on every side from her hundred and four portholes. She was so formidably manned that all attempts to board her failed. Long after sunset, she got clear of her assailants, and with all her scuppers spouting blood, made for the coast of Normandy. She had suffered so much that Tourville hastily removed his flag to a ship of ninety guns which was named the *Ambitious*. By this time his fleet was scattered far over the sea. About twenty of his smallest ships made their escape by a road which was too perilous for any courage but the courage of despair. In the double darkness of night and of a thick sea fog, they ran, with all their sails spread, through the boiling waves and treacherous rocks of the race of Alderney, and, by a strange good fortune, arrived without a single disaster at St. Malo. The pursuers did not venture to follow the fugitives into that terrible strait, the place of innumerable shipwrecks.

Those French vessels which were too bulky to venture into the race of Alderney fled to the havens of the Cotentin. The *Royal Sun* and two other three deckers reached Cherbourg in safety. The *Ambitious*, with twelve other ships, all first rates or second rates, took refuge in the Bay of La Hogue, close to the headquarters of the army of James. The three ships which had fled to Cherbourg were closely chased by an English squadron under the command of Delaval. He found them hauled up into shoal water where no large man-of-war could get at them. He therefore determined to attack them with his fireships and boats. The service was gallantly and successfully performed. In a short time the *Royal Sun* and her two consorts were burned to ashes. Part of the crews escaped to the shore; and part fell into the hands of the English.

Meanwhile Russell with the greater part of his victorious fleet had blockaded the Bay of La Hogue. Here, as at Cherbourg, the French men-of-war had been drawn up into shallow water. They lay close to the camp of the army which was destined for the invasion of England. Six of them were moored under a fort named Lisset. The rest lay under the guns of another fort named St. Vaast, where James had fixed his headquarters, and where the union flag, variegated by the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew, hung by the side of the white flag of France. Marshal Bellefonds had planted several batteries which, it was thought, would deter the boldest enemy from approaching either Fort Lisset or Fort St. Vaast. James,[1] however, who knew something of English seamen, was not perfectly at ease, and proposed to send strong bodies of soldiers on board of the ships. But Tourville would not consent to put such a slur on his profession.

Russell meanwhile was preparing for an attack. On the afternoon of May 23rd all was ready. A flotilla consisting of sloops, of fireships, and of two hundred boats, was entrusted to the command of Rooke. The whole armament was in the highest spirits. The rowers, flushed by success, and animated by the thought that they were going to fight under the eyes of the French and Irish troops who had been assembled for the purpose of subjugating England, pulled manfully and with loud huzzas towards the six huge wooden castles which lay close to Fort Lisset. The French, though an eminently brave people, have always been more liable to sudden panics than their phlegmatic neighbours the English and Germans. On this day there was a panic both in the fleet and in the army. Tourville ordered his sailors to man their boats, and would have led them to encounter the enemy in the bay. But his example and his exhortations were vain. His boats turned round and fled in confusion. The ships were abandoned. The cannonade from Fort Lisset was so feeble and ill directed that it did no execution. The regiments on the beach, after wasting a few musket shots, drew off.

The English boarded the men-of-war, set them on fire, and having performed this great service without the loss of a single life, retreated at a late hour with the retreating tide. The bay was in a blaze during the night; and now and then a loud explosion announced that the flames had reached a powder room or a tier of loaded guns. At eight the next morning the tide came back strong; and with the tide came back Rooke and his two hundred boats. The enemy made a faint attempt to defend the vessels which were near Fort St. Vaast. During a few minutes the batteries did some execution among the crews of the English skiffs: but the struggle was soon over. The French poured fast out of their ships on one side: the English poured in as fast

[1] It is reported that James, in spite of the frustration of his plans, could not refrain from exclaiming, "See my brave English!"]

on the other, and with loud shouts, turned the captured guns against the shore. The batteries were speedily silenced. James and Melfort, Bellefonds and Tourville, looked on in helpless despondency while the second conflagration proceeded. The conquerors, leaving the ships of war in flames, made their way into an inner basin where many transports lay. Eight of these vessels were set on fire. Several were taken in tow. The rest would have been either destroyed or carried off, had not the sea again begun to ebb. It was impossible to do more; and the victorious flotilla slowly retired, insulting the hostile camp with a thundering chant of "God save the King."

Thus ended, at noon on the twenty-fourth of May, the great conflict which had raged during five days over a wide extent of sea and shore. One English fireship had perished in its calling. Sixteen French men-of-war, all noble vessels, and eight of them three-deckers, had been sunk or burned down to the keel. The battle is called, from the place where it terminated, the battle of La Hogue.

REJOICINGS IN ENGLAND

The news was received in London with boundless exultation. In the fight on the open sea, indeed, the numerical superiority of the allies had been so great that they had little reason to boast of their success. But the courage and skill with which the crews of the English boats had, in a French harbour, in sight of a French army, and under the fire of French batteries, destroyed a fine French fleet, amply justified the pride with which our fathers pronounced the name of La Hogue.

That we may fully enter into their feelings, we must remember that this was the first great check that had ever been given to the arms of Louis XIV, and the first great victory that the English had gained over the French since the day of Agincourt. The stain left on English fame by the shameful defeat of Beachy Head was effaced. The Dutch had indeed done their duty, as they have always done in maritime war, whether fighting on our side or against us, whether victorious or vanquished. But the English had borne the brunt of the fight. Russell who commanded in chief was an Englishman. Delaval who directed the attack on Cherbourg was an Englishman. Rooke who led the flotilla into the Bay of La Hogue was an Englishman. The only two officers of note who had fallen, Admiral Carter and Captain Hastings of the *Sandwich* were Englishmen.

Yet the pleasure with which the good news was received here must not be ascribed solely or chiefly to national pride. The island was safe. The pleasant pastures, cornfields and commons of Hampshire and Surrey would not be the seat of war. The houses and gardens, the kitchens and dairies, the cellars and plate chests, the wives and daughters of our gentry and clergy would not be at the mercy of Irish rapperees, who had sacked the dwellings and skinned the cattle of the Englishry of Leinster, or of French dragoons accustomed to live at free quarters on the Protestants of Auvergne. Whigs and tories joined in thanking God for this great deliverance; and the most respectable nonjurors could not but be glad at heart that the rightful king was not to be brought back by an army of foreigners.

The public joy was therefore all but universal. During several days the bells of London pealed without ceasing. Flags were flying on all the steeples. Rows of candles were in all the windows. Bonfires were at all the corners of the streets. The sense which the government entertained of the services of the navy was promptly, judiciously and gracefully manifested. Sidney and Portland were sent to meet the fleet at Portsmouth, and were accompanied by

Rochester, as the representative of the tories. The three lords took down with them thirty-seven thousand pounds in coin, which they were to distribute as a donative among the sailors. Gold medals were given to the officers. While marks of respect were paid to the slain, the wounded were not neglected. Fifty surgeons, plentifully supplied with instruments, bandages, and drugs, were sent down in all haste from London to Portsmouth. It is not easy for us to form a notion of the difficulty which there then was in providing at short notice commodious shelter and skilful attendance for hundreds of maimed and lacerated men. At present every county, every large town, can boast of some spacious palace in which the poorest labourer who has fractured a limb may find an excellent bed, an able medical attendant, a careful nurse, medicines of the best quality, and nourishment such as an individual requires. But there was not then, in the whole realm, a single infirmary supported by voluntary contribution. Even in the capital the only edifices open to the wounded were the two ancient hospitals of St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew. The queen gave orders that in both these hospitals arrangements should be made at the public charge for the reception of patients from the fleet.[e]

FURTHER JACOBITE PLOTS; ENGLISH DEFEATS AND VICTORIES

James dismissed his troops for the present to their quarters, and returned himself to Saint Germain. But the correspondence was still kept up with Marlborough and Russell, who professed to be as zealous as ever in his service.

The principal events of the war in Flanders this time were, the taking of Namur by the French (June 5th,)and the battle of Steenkerke (July 24th) between King William and Marshal Luxembourg. The latter, deceived by one of his spies, suffered himself to be surprised; but the ill conduct of Count Solms in not supporting the van of the allies, which was composed of English troops who showed their usual heroism, and the arrival of Marshal Boufflers with a large body of French dragoons, caused the beam finally to turn against the allies. They retired, with the loss of three thousand slain (among whom were generals Mackay and Lanier) and an equal number wounded and taken. The loss of the French was not inferior.

Shortly after, a plot to assassinate King William was discovered: the agents in it were the jacobite colonel Parker, Grandval a captain of French dragoons, and a M. Dumont. King James is said to have both known and approved of it. It was, however, fortunately discovered, and Grandval, who had been inveigled into the quarters of the allies, was executed by sentence of a court-martial.

Fortune was everywhere favourable to the French the following year (1693). They reduced the strong towns of Huy (July 23rd) and Charleroi (October 11th). In the battle of Neerwinden, or Landen (July 29th), the honour of the day remained with them, but their loss was equal to that of the allies. The loss of a part of the rich Smyrna fleet was, however, more severely felt in England than that of the battle of Landen. Louis had made incredible efforts to renew his navy, and when Sir George Rooke was sent to the straits to convoy the great Smyrna fleet of England and her allies, consisting of four hundred vessels, he fell in with a French fleet of eighty ships of the line off Cape. St. Vincent. There was now no escaping. Two Dutch men-of-war were taken, and a Dutch and an English ship burnt; forty of the merchantmen were captured, and fifty sunk. The total loss was estimated at a million sterling.

In the commencement of this year one of the jacobite agents, a priest named Cary, went over to James with eight proposals from some of the English nobility, on his agreeing to which they would undertake to restore him. James sent them to Louis, and by his advice assented to them; and a declaration based on them having been drawn up by those lords, James published it (April 17th). In this he promised pardon and indemnity to all who would not oppose him; engaged to protect and defend the Church of England, and to secure to its members all their churches, colleges, rights, immunities, etc.; pledged himself not to dispense with the Test, and to leave the dispensing power in other matters to be regulated by parliament; to assent to bills for the frequent meeting of parliament, and the freedom of elections, etc., and to re-establish the Act of Settlement in Ireland. James owns that in this document he put a force on his nature, which he excuses by the necessity of the case. He consulted both English and French divines of his own communion about the promise to protect and defend the church; the former thought he could not in conscience do it, the latter (including Bossuet) that he could; but the king says that these last finally coincided with the others in thinking that he could only promise to maintain the Protestants in their possessions, benefices, etc.

This declaration did no service whatever to the cause of James. Those who proposed it became doubtful of his sincerity when they saw him so readily agree to it; the leading jacobites were offended at it, saying, that if he came in on these terms it would be the ruin of himself and his loyal subjects; they therefore sent him word "that, if he considered the preamble and the very terms of it, he was not bound to stand by it, or to put it out *verbatim* as it was worded," with more to that purpose. Marlborough wrote pretty much to the same effect; and indeed James owns that he did not consider himself bound by it.

James names as leading jacobites the nonjuring bishops of Norwich (Lloyd), Bath (Ken), Ely (Turner), and Peterborough (White), the marquis of Worcester and earl of Clarendon. "A decisive proof," observes Hallam, "how little that party cared for civil liberty, and how little would have satisfied them at the Revolution if James had put the church out of danger."

The jacobites, we may here observe, were divided into compounders, or those who would restore James with limitations; and non-compounders, or those who, like the above, would invest him with the plenitude of despotism.

The machinations of the court of St. Germain were continued through the following year (1694). Russell, Marlborough, and Godolphin were as profuse as ever in their professions of devotion, yet James observes that they performed nothing. He very properly judged that they regarded only their own interest; and he even seems to have suspected that Russell was only deluding him. It is much to be regretted that the name of Lord Shrewsbury should be mixed up in these traitorous intrigues. It is a curious fact, but one for which there seems to be sufficient authority, that William made use of his knowledge of Shrewsbury's communications with the jacobite agents to oblige him to accept the post of secretary of state. Shrewsbury was a man of honour, and William had no reason ever to regret his magnanimity.

On the 6th of May the king sailed for Holland. He had previously made several promotions in the peerage. The earls of Shrewsbury, Bedford, and Devonshire were created dukes of the same name; the marquis of Carmarthen duke of Leeds, and the earl of Clare duke of Newcastle; the earl of Mulgrave marquis of Normanby, and Lord Sidney earl of Romney. No action of importance took place in this campaign. The allies recovered Huy,

and the advantage in general was on their side. William returned to England in the beginning of November.

MARLBOROUGH'S TREACHERIES

Early in the month of June a combined fleet of thirty sail, under Lord Berkeley, with six thousand troops on board, commanded by General Tollemache, had sailed with the intention of destroying the fleet and harbour of Brest. The fleet, however, had already sailed for the Mediterranean, and they found all due preparations made to receive them. Their attempts to silence the guns of the castle and forts having proved unavailing, Tollemache made a desperate effort to land his troops. In this attempt he received a mortal wound, and seven hundred of his men were slain or taken; it was then found necessary to abandon the enterprise. Tollemache declared that "he felt no regret at losing his life in the performance of his duty, but that it was a great grief to him to have been betrayed"; and betrayed he certainly was. On May 4th Marlborough had written to King James an account of the strength and destination of the expedition, and Godolphin is said to have done the same; yet, ere the fleet sailed, Marlborough, through Shrewsbury, had offered his services to William, "with all the expressions of duty and fidelity imaginable." This action of Marlborough's is not to be defended or even palliated. The attempt of his biographer, Dalrymple,[i] to do so is a complete failure.

After the failure on Brest, Berkeley bombarded and nearly destroyed Dieppe and Havre, and damaged Calais and Dunkirk. Russell meantime rode triumphant in the Mediterranean; and his wintering by the king's express command, against his own will, with his fleet of sixty sail, at Cadiz, ensured the preponderance of England both in that sea and on the ocean.[g]

Of Marlborough's numerous treacheries W. P. Courtney says: Churchill had been one of the first to send overtures of obedience to the prince of Orange. Although he continued in a high position under James, and drew the emoluments of his places, he promised William of Orange to use every exertion to bring over the troops to his side. James had been warned against putting any trust in the loyalty of the man on whom he had showered so many favours, but the warnings were in vain, and on the landing of the Dutch prince at Brixham, Churchill was sent against him with five thousand men. When the royal army had advanced to the downs of Wiltshire and a battle seemed imminent, James was disconcerted by learning that in the dead of night his general had stolen away like a thief into the opposite camp.

For this timely act of treachery Churchill received another advancement in the peerage. He had now become the earl of Marlborough and a member of the privy council, a mark of royal favour which during this and the next reign was more than an unmeaning honour. William felt, however, that he could not place implicit reliance in his friend's integrity; and, with a clear sense of the manner in which Marlborough's talents might be employed without any detriment to the stability of his throne, he sent him with the army into the Netherlands and into Ireland.

For some time there was no open avowal of any distrust in Marlborough's loyalty, but in May 1692 the world was astonished at the news that he had been thrown into the Tower on an accusation of treason.[1] Though the evidence which could be brought against him was slight, and he was soon set at

[1] The discovery of his baseness had moved William to exclaim, "Were I and my lord Marlborough private persons, the sword would have to settle between us."]

liberty, there is no doubt that Marlborough was in close relations with the exiled king at St. Germain, and that he even went so far as to disclose to his late master the intention of the English to attack the town of Brest. The talents of the statesmen of this reign were chiefly displayed in their attempts to convince both the exiled and the reigning king of England of their attachment to their fortunes.

The sin of Marlborough lay in the fact that he had been favoured above his fellows by each in turn, and that he betrayed both alike apparently without scruple or without shame. Once again during the Fenwick Plot he was charged with treason, but William, knowing that if he pushed Marlborough and his friends to extremities there were no other statesmen on whom he could rely, contented himself with ignoring the confessions of Sir John Fenwick, and with executing that conspirator himself. Not long afterwards the forgiven traitor was made governor to the young duke of Gloucester, the only one of Anne's numerous children who gave promise of attaining to manhood. During the last years of William's reign Marlborough once more was placed in positions of responsibility. His daughters were married into the most prominent families of the land.[k]

PARLIAMENTARY REFORMS: COMMENCEMENT OF THE NATIONAL DEBT (1693 A.D.)

Turning over the index of the ponderous Statute Book to look for acts that have had a permanent influence on the condition of the country, we might perhaps pass over one Act of 1693 that bears this lengthy title: "An act for granting to their majesties certain rates and duties of excise upon beer, ale, and other liquors for securing certain recompenses and advantages in the said act mentioned, to such persons as shall voluntarily advance the sum of ten hundred thousand pounds towards carrying on the war against France." Under this statute commenced the national debt of England. The million of money which was to supply a portion of the expenses of the war "in a manner that would be least grievous," as the preamble says, was expected to be voluntarily advanced on the credit of the special provision of the new duties of excise, which were to be set apart as they were paid into the exchequer. The ten hundred thousand pounds were speedily subscribed; for the industry of the people had created capital which was seeking employment, although they had been far more heavily taxed during four years than at any previous period. There can be no doubt that the means first created by the Act of 1693 for the investment of superfluous capital, have largely contributed to the progressive development of the national resources. There can be no doubt, on the other hand, that the facilities of borrowing by the creation of stock, have often led to extravagant expenditure in wars that have averted no real danger nor secured any public advantage.

Although the statesmen and the people of the reign of William III felt that the war against the preponderance of France, and the consequent subjection of England, was for a great national interest, they also felt that the burden could not be borne in the existing state of the country without resort to the system of loans. In the case before us they did not contemplate a permanent loan.

In the next year, when the Bank of England was established upon the condition of lending a sum of money to the government, of which the principal could not be demanded by the lenders, though the borrowers had the privilege of paying it off, a permanent debt was begun to be contracted. The system of borrowing went on for three years, till at the Peace of Ryswick the debt

amounted to twenty-one millions and a half. Nevertheless, so strong was the objection to the continuance of that system, that, although engaged in a most expensive war for five years after the accession of Anne, the debt was reduced to sixteen millions. In half a century more it had increased to seventy-five millions. It was then the received opinion of financiers that if it ever reached a hundred millions the nation must become bankrupt.

When we look at the one million borrowed on life annuities in 1693, and the eight hundred and three millions constituting the public debt of the United Kingdom in 1858, we may be amazed at the vast amount of the burthen which has been gradually accumulating, but we also can now distinctly perceive how that burthen has been borne. It has not weighed down the country, because all the material resources of the country have been increasing with it. The increasing wealth — of which this vast debt owing by the nation to the nation is a symbol — produced by the incessant applications of capital and labour, of science and invention, has increased the ability of the great body of the people to participate in the advantages to be derived from a ready and secure investment of their savings, with the condition that the sum so invested might be easily transferable. To this cause may be attributed the ease with which the government of that day could obtain loans by the creation of public funds at a fixed rate of interest, chiefly upon annuities.

That facility shows the growing importance of the trading class, who most readily lent their surplus capital. Money, also, was no longer hoarded by those who had no means of employing it commercially; although, for a considerable period, there were vast numbers who had not sufficient confidence in the government to lend. The time was far distant when there would be three hundred thousand persons receiving dividends upon stock, and when one million three hundred and forty thousand persons would also lend their small accumulations through the agency of savings banks. The country was steadily growing more prosperous, as the national debt went on increasing to six times the amount at the period when inevitable bankruptcy was predicted. It was six hundred millions at the Peace of Amiens. The eighteenth century, deficient as it was in many social improvements which we now command, was a period of rapid progress in agriculture and manufactures; and with this progress came a greater command of food and clothing, better dwellings, less frequent and less fatal epidemics for the great bulk of the people. The loan of 1693 has furnished data for a remarkable inquiry into the prolongation of life in the eighteenth century, consequent upon the bettered condition, and therefore improved health, of the population. The loan of 1693 was a tontine. Every contributor of £100 might name a life, to receive a fixed dividend during the duration of that life. As the annuitants dropped, their shares of the dividends were also to be divided amongst the survivors, till the whole number of annuitants was reduced to seven. In 1790, during the ministry of William Pitt, another tontine was negotiated. The comparative results, as exhibiting the probable duration of life at the two periods, have been worked out by Mr. Finlaison, upon the assumption that the 438 females and 594 males named in 1693, and the 3974 females and 4197 males named in 1790, were the youngest and the healthiest lives that the shareholders could select. Taking the dates at which the annuities of 1693 fell in, and estimating those of 1790 that had fallen or were still remaining in 1851, the calculation showed that in 1790 the expectation of life had increased one-fourth.

There were two attempts made in this session to produce what may be called a reform in parliament. The commons passed a bill [called a Place Bill] excluding all placemen from sitting in the house who should be elected

after February, 1693. Men holding office of every kind, civil and military, were in parliament. It was unwisely proposed to exclude all persons who should in future hold office under the crown. It was prudently determined by the sitting members not to exclude themselves. They passed no "Self-Denying Ordinance." The lords rejected this measure by a very small majority.

A bill providing that the existing parliament should end on the 1st of January, 1694, and that no parliament should in future sit more than three years, was introduced to the house of lords, by Shrewsbury, who represented the whigs. It passed both houses. On the last day of the session, the king rejected the measure, in the words of Norman French, which would now be the most fatal words ever spoken by a sovereign. The Constitution has worked itself clear of such contending powers. The use of the veto was not then thought to be what Hallam[d] calls "an exercise of prerogative which no ordinary circumstances can reconcile either with prudence or a constitutional administration of government." The bill for triennial parliaments was passed in the next year, without opposition from the crown.

THE ORIGIN OF THE CABINET: THE JUNTO OF 1693

At the beginning of November, 1693, William was at Kensington. The parliament was to meet on the 7th. A great change in the administrative system of England was about to take place. The king for five years had endeavoured to govern by choosing his ministers from each of the two great parties of the state; sometimes giving the preponderance to the whigs, at other times to the tories. These ministers carried on the public affairs of their several departments without very well defined principles of action, amidst personal hatreds and jealousies which were too often highly injurious to the national interests. An experiment was now to be made to substitute for this individual direction of public affairs the administration of a party. The heads of departments were to be united by some common consent upon political principles. "Party divisions," says Burke,[l] "whether on the whole operating for good or evil, are things inseparable from free government." He held it to be a duty for public men "to act in party," with all the moderation consistent with vigour and fervency of spirit — a duty not very easy at any time, and almost impossible in the earlier stages of representative government, when all were going through a sort of education in constitutional principles. William was about to change some of his ministers; at the same time to select new advisers from those who would "act in party"; who would submit their own wills to a general agreement; who would constitute what we now understand as a ministry, whose possession of power under the authority of the sovereign, and with the command of a parliamentary majority, implied the superior influence of the general principles which constituted their bond of political union. William had become convinced that he could best carry on his government through the party which had mainly accomplished the revolution. He would not compose his administration exclusively of whigs, but there should be such a preponderance of those who held whig principles, that the tory party so closely bordering upon the jacobite party, should be neutralised in what we may now call a cabinet. The functions of the privy council had become merged in the cabinet council. In a debate in 1692, on advice given to the king, one member exclaimed, according to Waller[m]: "Cabinet council is not a word to be found in our law books. We knew it not before. We took it for a nickname." However strong was the parliamentary jealousy of a cabinet

[1693 A.D.]

the exclusion of the privy council from the real business of the state became more and more established in the reign of William. As representative government gradually compelled the sovereign to choose an administration founded upon the preponderance of a party, so this administration by party gradually broke up that unseemly division of the servants of the crown into factions, which was occasionally manifested until the middle of the eighteenth century.

The earl of Sunderland had become a confidential adviser of King William. He had publicly supported the most tyrannous actions of James, however he might have secretly opposed some of them. To please his master, he had declared himself a papist. To make himself safe in the Revolution which he saw at hand, he had betrayed that master. He vanished from the scene of active politics when William became king, retired to Holland, and again declared himself a Protestant. He was excluded from William's Act of Grace as one of the chief instruments of the late tyranny. But he came back to England, and made himself a necessity for the new government. He had cut off all hope of being reconciled to the jacobite party; he could be very useful to the party of the Revolution. His long experience made him master of all the complications of political action. He was the representative in 1693 of that class of unprincipled politicians of which Talleyrand was the representative when the Bourbons were restored to France. His advice was not to be despised, however the man might be odious. William saw that Sunderland's distinction between the affection for monarchy, and the love of the monarch *de facto*, was a sound one. William did trust and rely more upon the whigs than he had done. Somers had been made his keeper of the great seal; the choice was wise. The attorney's son had rendered the highest service in that great crisis which was to establish the government of England upon the basis of law. He was the leader of his party, as much by his moderation as by his eloquence and learning. Russell, who had more than once been tempted to betray the government he served, but when the hour of trial came did his duty to his country, was restored to the command of the fleet. With Somers, Russell, and Wharton was joined, in William's new ministry [known as the Whig Junto], Charles Montague. He had cast off the honours of a second-rate poet to become a first-class politician. His parliamentary eloquence was almost unrivalled. His financial abilities were more necessary to a government conducting a most expensive war, even than his eloquence. One more whig was to be won, and he was Shrewsbury. He resigned the office of secretary of state in 1690, when William favoured the tories. He had been tampered with from St. Germain, and was faithless to his trust. But he had seen his error, and was now to be called back by William to a hearty allegiance. The seals were again offered to Shrewsbury. The king had a personal regard for him; but he refused to accept the office which Nottingham had relinquished. At last Shrewsbury yielded, and had his dukedom and the Garter. The chief female negotiator on the part of the king was Mrs. Villiers — one whom the scandal of the time regards as his mistress. Elizabeth Villiers, maid of honour to the princess of Orange — afterwards married to the earl of Orkney — was a woman of remarkable ability, with whom Swift delighted to talk for hours; but who was not formed for the usual female conquests, however great her mental powers. "I think," writes Swift *w* to Stella, "the devil was in it the other day when I talked to her of an ugly squinting cousin of hers, and the poor lady herself, you knows, squints like a dragon."

The king and his new ministers did not shrink from demanding from the parliament a larger supply than ever for carrying on the war. Eighty-three thousand troops were voted for the service of 1694; and the naval estimates

were also largely increased. The whig majority in the house of commons was strong enough to bear down all unreasonable opposition. There were violent debates on the naval miscarriages, but no blame was thrown on the conduct of the late disastrous campaign. How to raise the large sums necessary to maintain the land and sea forces was a matter of anxious discussion. A land-tax, a poll-tax, stamp-duties, a tax on hackney coaches, and a lottery, were the expedients. High and low were the adventurers in this new system of state gambling, as Evelyn *p* records: "In the lottery set up after the Venetian manner by Mr. Neale, Sir R. Haddock, one of the commissioners of the navy, had the greatest lot, 3,000*l* ; my coachman, 40*l*." But money was still wanting. The necessity gave birth to one of the greatest public establishments of this or any other country, the Bank of England.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BANK OF ENGLAND (1694 A.D.)

The statute under which this national institution was formed bears a very ambiguous title: "An Act for granting to their majesties several rates and duties upon tonnage of ships and vessels, and upon beer, ale, and other liquors, for securing certain recompenses and advantages in the said Act mentioned, to such persons as shall voluntarily advance the sum of fifteen hundred thousand pounds towards carrying on the war against France." The subscribers for the advance of a loan, upon the conditions set forth, were to be constituted a corporate body "by the name of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England." The money really required to be advanced was twelve hundred thousand pounds. The subscription list was filled in ten days. The trading community had been sufficiently prepared for a right appreciation of the project which was carried in the house of commons by the energy of Montague. The scheme of a bank had been the subject of discussion for three years.



MARY II
(1662–1694)

William Paterson — a man whose name is associated with this most successful scheme of a great national bank of England, and with another most unfortunate project of a great national system of colonisation for Scotland — had in 1691 submitted proposals to the government somewhat similar to the plan which was carried out in 1694. His scheme was ably supported amongst commercial men by Michael Godfrey, an eminent London merchant; and when the government at last adopted it, Godfrey's influence in the city was as useful as Montague's eloquence in parliament. The original plan of a national bank

[1694 A.D.]

was met by every sort of objection. In 1694, says Bannister,[n] "the men who were supposed to have lost money opposed and appeared against it [the bank] with all their might, pretending it could not do without them, and they were resolved never to be concerned." Tories said that a bank and a monarchy could not exist together. Whigs said that a bank and liberty were incompatible, for that the crown would command the wealth of the bank. A clause was introduced in the act, which prevented the Bank of England making loans to the government without authority of parliament, which neutralised the whig objection. With this restriction the Bank of England has yet, in all times, been a powerful ally of the government.

The king prorogued the parliament on the 25th of April, 1694, and again set out for the Continent at the beginning of May [returning on the 9th of November after the campaign already described].

THE DEATH OF QUEEN MARY (1694 A.D.)

"The small-pox raged this winter about London," writes Burnet,[o] in 1694. To comprehend at this time the significance of the word "raged," we must carry our minds back, far beyond the period when Jenner discovered vaccination — beyond even the period when Lady Mary Wortley Montague made inoculation fashionable. When Burnet adds, that "thousands" were dying of this fatal disease, we must understand him literally. When the small-pox entered a house, it was considered as terrible a visitation as the plague. William went sorrowfully from the parliament house to Kensington. Mary had been ill two days. She had never had the small-pox; but her regular physicians disputed about the symptoms. Ratcliffe, the most skilful, pronounced the fatal word "small-pox." William was in despair. He "called me," says Burnet,[o] "into his closet, and gave a free vent to a most tender passion. He burst out into tears, and cried out that there was no hope for the queen, and that from being the happiest, he was now going to be the miserablest creature on earth. He said, during the whole course of their marriage he had never known one single fault in her; there was a worth in her that nobody knew besides himself."

Mary's fortitude and resignation were above all praise. The religious consolations which her faithful friend and counsellor, the archbishop of Canterbury, Tillotson, would have administered to the dying queen were to be bestowed by his successor, Tenison. Tillotson had died five weeks before. When Tenison made Mary aware of her danger, but with "some address not to surprise her too much," she was perfectly calm. "She thanked God she had always carried this in her mind, that nothing was to be left to the last hour." Queen Mary died on the 28th of December, in the thirty-third year of her age. All parties agreed in acknowledging the beauties of her character. Burnet, the whig, says, "she was the most universally lamented princess, and deserved the best to be so, of any in our age, or in our history." Evelyn,[p] the tory, writes: "She was such an admirable woman, abating for taking the crown without a more due apology, as does, if possible, outdo the renowned queen Elizabeth."

She had many arduous duties to perform in the repeated absences of the king; and not the least important was the distribution of ecclesiastical preferments. With a deep sense of religion she marked her preference for those divines who were moderate in their opinions, and earnest in the proper discharge of their high functions. When there were state affairs to attend to, she never shrank from the proper labours of the sovereign. Her tastes were

simple and unostentatious; her morals of unblemished purity; her charity was universal. Her deep attachment to her husband was founded upon her admiration of his high qualities.

William's grief for her loss "was greater," says Burnet, "than those who knew him best thought his temper capable of; he went beyond all bounds in it. When she died, his spirits sunk so low, that there was great reason to apprehend that he was following her." Queen Mary was sumptuously interred in Westminster abbey. The funeral cost fifty thousand pounds. A more worthy expenditure of public money in her honour took place when William determined to erect Greenwich hospital, in compliance with that desire which she had expressed after the battle of La Hogue, to provide an asylum for disabled seamen. Mary, in following the fortunes of her husband and accepting with him the sovereign power of these kingdoms to the exclusion of her father, discharged a higher duty even than that of filial affection. But she was always solicitous for that father's personal safety. The paltriness of James's character was manifested upon his daughter's decease, in a manner which St. Simon *q* thus records: "The king of England [James] prayed the king [Louis] that the court should not wear mourning. All those who were related to the prince of Orange, including M. de Bouillon and M. de Duras, were forbidden to wear it. They obeyed and were silent; but this sort of revenge was considered very petty."

The death of the queen appears to have prostrated William. Shrewsbury could hardly approach him till a month after, in consequence of "the retired manner his majesty has lived in since his last great misfortune." His "former application to business" had not yet returned with the healing power of strenuous occupation.

PARLIAMENTARY CORRUPTION

William gradually recovered his serenity. The houses of parliament went on as usual with their labours. The proposed renewal of the Licensing Act was rejected without a division in the commons. The press had been more than commonly bold, even seditious. But the representatives of the English people did not choose to interfere with that noble principle which, half a century before, had been proclaimed to all the civilised world by the most eloquent of freedom's advocates, John Milton *r*: "Though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so truth be in the field, we do injuriously, by licensing and prohibiting, to misdoubt her strength. Let her and falsehood grapple. Who ever knew truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter?"

The proceedings of the session of 1695 disclosed, what was no secret to men of all parties, the frightful corruption[1] by which statesmen in power and statesmen in opposition were moved to support or to resist some measure in which large pecuniary interests were involved; or to screen some public delinquent. Guy, a member of parliament and secretary of the treasury, was sent to the Tower for receiving a bribe, in connection with some inquiries into the conduct of a colonel of a regiment, who had appropriated the money for which he ought to have paid the quarters of his troops. Trevor, the speaker of the house of commons, was proved to have received a bribe of a thousand guineas from the corporation of London, for assisting in passing

[1 Gardiner *s* says: "No wonder William trusted his Dutch servants as he trusted no English ones, and that he sought to reward them by grants, which, according to precedents set by earliest kings, he held himself entitled to make out of the property of the crown."]

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"An act for relief of the orphans and other creditors of the city of London." Trevor had to put the question from the chair whether he himself was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor; and had to say, "The ayes have it." He was expelled the house.

The East India Company had spent a hundred and seven thousand pounds in secret service money, as an examination of their books had proved to a parliamentary committee. Eighty-seven thousand pounds had thus been distributed in 1693 and 1694. Sir Thomas Cook, the chairman of the company, had the management of these delicate matters. He was member for Colchester. In his place in parliament he refused to answer inquiries. The commons then passed a bill compelling him to answer, under enormous penalties. Upon the bill going to the upper house, the duke of Leeds — the earl of Danby of Charles II, the marquis of Carmarthen of 1689 — spoke strongly against the bill, and laying his hand on his breast, protested that he was perfectly disinterested in the matter. The inquiries went on, implicating others; and the commons finally impeached the duke of Leeds, for that he did, 'in breach of the great trust reposed in him, by himself, his agents, or servants, corruptly and illegally treat, contract, and agree, with the merchants trading to the East Indies, for five thousand five hundred guineas, to procure their charter of confirmation." One Bales admitted that he had received the money to bribe the duke, and had given it to a Swiss, who was the confidential manager of the duke's private business. The Swiss fled; the parliament was prorogued; and the impeachment fell to the ground. The king's personal friend, Portland, was found to have been proof against these temptations, having refused a bribe of fifty thousand pounds.[c]

Concerning the almost universal corruption, White says: "William was probably the only honest man in the English court — the only man who felt bound to do a thing because he had sworn to do it, or to abstain from doing a thing because he had sworn to abstain. The others were brought up in a school of profligacy and duplicity which only a despotic court pretending to liberality can supply. The statesman of forty, when the deliverer came over, had been educated in the early days of the restoration, and had grown up amid the enormous wickedness and want of principle encouraged by the example of the king. The baseness of a period is most felt in its effects on the succeeding generation.

"England was now suffering from its Rochesters and Charleses. It was demoralised in its upper ranks and brutalised in its lowest. From the middle class, which grandeur had neglected and which commerce daily enriched and enlightened, improvement was to spring; and the parliament contained a majority of the smaller gentry and richer townsfolk, who had remained equally free from the grace of manner and looseness of conduct which characterised their superiors. They were coarse, but honest, swore and drank a great deal, but were proud of their independence, and hated the pope. These were the instruments with which William had to deal, and the difficulty of the task often made him wish to lay down the uneasy burden, and return to the comparative obscurity and repose of his hunting-box near the Hague. But William was Protestant champion as well as English king, and saw the realisation of his long-cherished dreams of checking the power of Louis XIV."[f]

Macaulay paints the court with equal disgust. "The machinery was all rust and rottenness. From the time of the Restoration to the time of the Revolution, neglect and fraud had been almost constantly impairing the efficiency of every department of the government. Honours and public trusts, peerages, baronetcies, regiments, frigates, embassies, governments,

commissionerships, leases of crown lands, contracts for clothing, for provisions, for ammunition, pardons for murder, for robbery, for arson, were sold at Whitehall scarcely less openly than asparagus at Covent Garden or herrings at Billingsgate. Brokers had been incessantly plying for custom in the purlieus of the court. From the palace which was the chief seat of this pestilence, the taint had diffused itself through every office and through every rank in every office, and had everywhere produced feebleness and disorganisation. So rapid was the progress of the decay that, within eight years after the time when Oliver had been the umpire of Europe, the roar of the guns of De Ruyter was heard in the Tower of London. The vices which had brought that great humiliation on the country had ever since been rooting themselves deeper and spreading themselves wider. James had, to do him justice, corrected a few of the gross abuses which disgraced the naval administration.

"Yet the naval administration, in spite of his attempts to reform it, moved the contempt of men who were acquainted with the dockyards of France and Holland. The military administration was still worse. The courtiers took bribes from the colonels; the colonels cheated the soldiers; the commissaries sent in long bills for what had never been furnished; the keepers of the arsenals sold the public stores and pocketed the price.

"Yet these evils, though they had sprung into existence and grown to maturity under the government of Charles and James, first made themselves severely felt under the government of William. For Charles and James were content to be the vassals and pensioners of a powerful and ambitious neighbour, they submitted to his ascendency, they shunned with pusillanimous caution whatever could give him offence; and thus, at the cost of the independence and dignity of that ancient and glorious crown which they unworthily wore, they avoided a conflict which would instantly have shown how helpless, under their misrule, their once formidable kingdom had become.

"Their ignominious policy it was neither in William's power nor in his nature to follow. It was only by arms that the liberty and religion of England could be protected against the most formidable enemy that had threatened the island since the Hebrides were strewn with the wrecks of the Armada. The body politic, which, while it remained in repose, had presented a superficial appearance of health and vigour, was now under the necessity of straining every nerve in a wrestle for life or death, and was immediately found to be unequal to the exertion. The first efforts showed an utter relaxation of fibre, an utter want of training. Those efforts were, with scarcely an exception, failures; and every failure was popularly imputed, not to the rulers whose mismanagement had produced the infirmities of the state, but to the ruler in whose time the infirmities of the state became visible.

"William might indeed, if he had been as absolute as Louis, have used such sharp remedies as would speedily have restored to the English administration that firm tone which had been wanting since the death of Oliver. But the instantaneous reform of inveterate abuses was a task far beyond the powers of a prince strictly restrained by law, and restrained still more strictly by the difficulties of his situation." [e]

WILLIAM'S SUCCESS AT NAMUR (1695 A.D.)

The king was no doubt rejoiced to get away from this tainted atmosphere to the bracing air of a campaign. He was first reconciled to the princess Anne, and then departed for the Continent, having prorogued the parliament

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on the 3rd of May, 1695. The energy and perseverance of William were at length to be crowned with success. It was a real advantage to him that Luxemburg was dead. It was a greater advantage that Louis had appointed as his successor an accomplished courtier, but a feeble general, Villeroi, and that this sycophant of the great king entrusted an important command to the duke de Maine, the most favoured of the illegitimate children of Louis. But the numbers, and the high discipline, of the French armies, would have probably interfered with any signal advantage on the part of the allies, if William had not exercised in this campaign many of the highest qualities of a great commander. The opening of the campaign, says Saint-Simon,[q] was a beautiful game of chess; the prince of Orange, the elector of Bavaria, and the earl of Athlone moving in detached bodies; and Villeroi, Boufflers, Harcourt, and Montal regulating their own movements by those of their enemy which they saw, or by those which they expected. William, "who had well taken all his measures to cover his main design," suddenly turned his course towards Namur. The elector of Bavaria, and the Brandenburg army, arrived at the same point. That strongest fort of Europe was invested by this united force at the beginning of July. Vauban had materially strengthened the fortifications since it had been taken by the French. The court of Louis thought William's attempt a rash one, and that it would signally fail. Villeroi marched with eighty thousand men to attack the besieging army at Namur; but Vaudemont had joined his force to that already on the banks of the Meuse and Sambre. Meanwhile the siege had proceeded with a vigour almost unparalleled. The two armies, that of William and of Villeroi, stood for three days in presence of each other, whilst the siege was proceeding under an incessant bombardment. Then the French army retired. The elector of Bavaria had the immediate charge of the siege, whilst the king was watching Villeroi; and when it was known that the French had moved off, the storm of the citadel of Namur commenced. Portland had summoned Boufflers to surrender upon the retirement of Villeroi, but the French commander still held out. The assault was undertaken by the Bavarians, the Dutch, the Brandenburgers, and the English. The Brandenburgers had amongst their leaders, the prince of Anhalt-Dessau, a young man of nineteen, who afterwards had the honour of introducing important changes in military science. According to Carlyle,[r] "He invented the iron ramrod; he invented the equal step; in fact, he is the inventor of modern military tactics." The Dutch and Brandenburgers accomplished their duty with little difficulty. The Bavarians suffered severe loss. The English, under Cutts, were at first driven back; but their intrepid commander, though wounded, led them on again, and they carried a battery which had swept away many in its deadly fire. Two thousand men were sacrificed in this terrible assault. Boufflers agreed to surrender with the honours of war. The French garrison, now reduced to five thousand men, marched out.

The return of William to England was hailed by the popular enthusiasm which naturally attends success. The good man struggling with misfortune may be the noblest sight in the world, but it calls forth no huzzas or bell-ringings. The king reached Kensington through the illuminated streets on the night of the 10th of October, and immediately went to business. A proclamation was issued for a new parliament. In a week William set forth upon a most unusual mission, to propitiate the people by showing himself amongst them. The elections generally were favourable to the government. The whig party acquired a considerable accession of strength. The taxes were heavy; the currency of the kingdom was in a frightful state of depreciation: the price

of grain was unusually high — and yet the nation manifested no alarming discontent. The jacobites plotted; but they were as far from success as ever.

REFORMS IN THE CURRENCY, AND IN TREASON TRIALS

The defective state of the coinage was now to be effectually redressed. The evil had become insupportable. The established prescription of the gallows was found to be no remedy for the disease. In July, 1694, we read in Evelyn [p]: "many executed at London for clipping money, now done to that intolerable extent, that there was hardly any money that was worth above half the nominal value." Bannister [n] quotes a writer of the period, who speaks with full knowledge of his subject: "the almost fatal symptoms of the general corruption of the silver money, like covered flames or distracted torrents, universally broke out upon the nation, as it were at once. Guineas on a sudden rose to thirty shillings per piece; all currency of other money was stopped; hardly any had wherewith to pay; public securities sank to about a moiety of their original value, and buyers hard to be found even at these prices; no man knew what he was worth; the course of trade and correspondency almost universally stopped; the poorer sort of people plunged into inexpressible distress, and, as it were, left perishing, whilst even the richer had hardly wherewith to go to market for obtaining the common conveniences of life." This writer adds that "the intolerable corruption of the coin was alone sufficient to have provoked any nation on earth to extremities. . . . . Nevertheless, the remainder of gratitude in the people to their deliverer, King William, was even still such, that they bore these inexpressible afflictions with an inimitable temper and patience." In 1695, of the various coinages of Elizabeth, of James I, and of Charles I, it was computed that five millions were in circulation, in common with about half-a-million of the new coinages of Charles II, James II, and William III. The old money, which had no milled edge, had been gradually clipped, so that at last the current silver coin had been diminished in weight nearly one-half. Of this clipped money four millions were considered to be in circulation; whilst £1,600,000 of unclipped coin were hoarded, or only appeared occasionally in remote places. As fast as new silver coins were issued from the mint they disappeared. They were worth twice as much as the old clipped coin. Whilst a single unclipped shilling was circulating in the same town with the shilling that was not intrinsically worth more than sixpence, traders would perpetually demand the honest shilling from their customers, and not being able to get it would put a higher price upon their commodities to bear a proportion with the clipped shilling. The labourer who was paid his weekly wages in the depreciated coin could only obtain a small loaf instead of a large one. The dealer who had to make remittances in guineas, or in bills which represented guineas, was obliged to give at least thirty shillings to obtain the guineas. The money-changers and bankers were making large fortunes out of the perplexities of all those who had to sell or to buy.

The new parliament was opened November 22nd. The most important part of the king's speech was that in which he said, "I must take notice of a great difficulty we lie under at this time, by reason of the ill state of the coin, the redress of which may perhaps prove a further charge to the nation." How were these words to be interpreted? Was the nation to bear the great loss of converting four millions of money, intrinsically worth only two millions, into money of the true standard? Was the public to sustain a loss of two millions?

The subject had been widely agitated. It had been proposed to issue money of less than the intrinsic value to replace the old — to make a ninepenny shilling that would pass for twelvepence. Locke demolished the theory of the little shilling in a masterly tract. His opinion was, that after a certain time the old money should only pass by weight, and that upon this principle it should be exchanged for a silver coinage of which a shilling should be worth twelvepence. By this plan the state would have effected the restoration of the currency without a national cost, but at the price of what individual misery! When the house of commons came to debate this important question, the resolutions proposed by Montague, the chancellor of the exchequer, were finally agreed to. A new coinage of intrinsic value was to be issued [with milled edge to aid in the instant detection of clipping]; the loss of the clipped money was to be borne by the public, for which a special fund was to be provided by a house-tax and a window-tax. This was something like a revival of the hearth-money, but cottages were exempt. Up to May 4th the clipped money would be received in payment of taxes. The old money had then mostly disappeared; but the mechanical resources of that time were not sufficient to produce the new money in sufficient quantity to carry on the exchanges of the people. The difficulty was in some measure relieved by the issue of exchequer bills. The difficulty was conquered when Newton was appointed master of the mint, and by vast exertions, connected with the establishment of provincial mints, gradually sent forth a supply of circulating medium equal to the demand. The distress and confusion had been enormous; but those who had thought the great change was ill-managed, at last said, in North's[t] words, "better and worse in the means is not to be reflected upon, when a great good is obtained in the end."[c]

A bill for regulating trials for treason, which had failed before, was now brought in by the tories, and it was passed unanimously. It enacted that the accused should have a copy of the indictment and of the panel of the jury, and the aid of counsel; that every overt act should be proved by two witnesses; that the prisoner should be enabled to compel his witnesses to appear, and be allowed to challenge peremptorily thirty-five of the jury, etc. A third measure caused much annoyance to the king. His Dutch favourite, Bentinck, earl of Portland, who was somewhat rapacious, had begged and obtained three royal lordships in Denbighshire. The gentry of the county petitioned against the grant; the commons addressed the king to recall it, and William complied with their wishes; but he forthwith conferred on the favourite manors and honours in no less than five several counties. At the same time it is to be recorded to Bentinck's honour that he was inaccessible to bribery, as was shown in the case of the East-India Company.

LAST OF THE JACOBITE ASSASSINATION PLOTS (1696 A.D.)

The discovery of a nefarious plot against the life of the king soon occupied the whole attention of parliament and the nation. One captain Fisher called on Lord Portland (February 11th, 1696), and informed him of a plot for seizing the king and invading the kingdom; he afterwards (13th) gave the particulars of the conspiracy to Sir William Turnbull the secretary. The attempt on the king, who was in the habit of going on Saturdays to hunt in Richmond Park, was to be made in the lane leading from Brentford to Turnham Green. He was therefore urged not to hunt on that day; but he laughed at the idea of the plot, and declared his resolution of taking his sport as usual. On Friday evening (14th), however, an officer named Prendergast came to Lord Portland,

and advised him to persuade the king to stay at home the next day or else he would be assassinated. He gave the same details as Fisher had done; but both refused to name any of the parties. Prendergast said that he was an Irishman and a Catholic, but, though his religion was accused of sanctioning such deeds, the thought of it had filled him with horror. Portland went to the king that very night; and William, now thinking there was something in the matter, put off his hunting for that week. Next day, a third witness, named De la Rue, gave exactly similar information, and he and Prendergast being examined personally by the king, were prevailed on to name the conspirators. These had deferred their project to the following Saturday (22nd); when finding that the king did not go to Richmond, they suspected that the plot was discovered and thought of providing for their safety. That night, however, several of them were arrested in their beds, and next day a proclamation was issued offering a reward of 1000*l.* for each of the persons who had escaped.

On Monday (24th) the king went in person and informed both houses of the discovery of the plot. They made in return a most loyal and affectionate address, empowered him to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act; and drew up a form of association, binding themselves to the support of his person and government against the late king James and his adherents, and in case he should come to a violent death to revenge it on his enemies, and to maintain the Act of Settlement. All the members of both houses signed this bond. As some of the tories scrupled at the words "rightful and lawful king," a slight change was made to content them.

The plot seems to have been as follows. King James had sent Sir George Barclay, a Scottish Catholic officer of his guards, over to England with a commission authorising and commanding all his loving subjects to rise in arms and make war on the prince of Orange and his adherents. About two-and-twenty officers and men of James' guards came over to aid in the project, which was communicated to several of the king's friends in England. Various places were proposed for making the attempt, and the above-mentioned lane was finally fixed on. Meantime a French fleet and army were to be assembled at Dunkirk and Calais, of which James himself was to take the command. The principal persons charged with this conspiracy were the earl of Aylesbury, Lord Montgomery, Sirs George Barclay, John Fenwick, John Friend and William Perkins, Major Lowick, captains Charnock, Knightley and Porter, with messieurs Rookwood, Cooke, Goodman, Cranbourne, and others. Of these, Porter, Goodman and some others were admitted as witnesses; and on their evidence, with that of Fisher, Prendergast and De la Rue, Friend, Perkins, Charnock, Lowick, King, Cranbourne, and Rookwood, were found guilty and executed. Cooke and Knightley were also found guilty; but the former was banished, the latter pardoned.

At the execution of Friend and Perkins, the celebrated Jeremy Collier and two other nonjuring divines gave them absolution in sight of the people with a solemn imposition of hands. For this they were indicted, but not punished. The two archbishops and twelve of the bishops (all that were in town) published a declaration strongly censuring their conduct, as the dying persons had made no confession and expressed no abhorrence of the crime for which they suffered. King James, who had come to Calais, after remaining there some weeks, returned disconsolate to St. Germain. He utterly denied all knowledge of the assassination plot; but there seems to be sufficient evidence of his having sanctioned this and other attempts on the life of King William.

Sir John Fenwick was arrested at New Romney, on his way to France (June

[1697 A.D.]

11th). When he heard that the grand jury had found the bill against him, he prayed for a delay, offering to tell all that he knew provided he got a pardon and was not required to appear as a witness The king, when this proposal was trasmitted to him in Flanders, refused to accede to it. Fenwick then threw himself on his mercy, and wrote him an account of the plots of the jacobites, in which he mentioned the secret dealings of lords Marlborough, Shrewsbury, Godolphin, Bath, and Admiral Russell with the court of St. Germain; but the duke of Devonshire told him, "that the king was acquainted with most of those things before." An order therefore was issued to bring him to trial unless he made fuller discoveries. Fenwick then took to tampering with the witnesses Porter and Goodman; the former betrayed the intrigue to the government, but the latter was induced to go to France. As he could not be convicted by law, his enemies took another course. Admiral Russell, with the king's permission (November 6th), laid before the house of commons the informations of Fenwick against himself and others, and desired that they might be read in order to give him an opportunity of justifying himself. Fenwick was brought to the bar and examined; but as he had had his information only at second-hand, he could not prove his assertions, and he thought it the wiser course not to repeat them. His papers therefore were voted to be false and scandalous, and it was resolved to bring in a bill to attaint him. The bill was vigorously opposed in all its stages; but it finally passed the commons by a majority of thirty-three. In the lords the divisions were still closer, the majority being only seven. In the minority voted the dukes of Leeds and Devonshire, and lords Pembroke, Sunderland, Bath and Godolphin; the duke of Shrewsbury was absent; Marlborough voted in the majority, revenge proving stronger than his toryism. Fenwick was beheaded on Tower Hill (January 28th, 1697).

In the course of the proceedings against Fenwick, a circumstance came to light which covered Lord Monmouth with disgrace. Finding himself not named in Fenwick's discoveries, he wrote a paper of instructions for him to found his defence on, so as to implicate Godolphin and the others; and on Fenwick's not doing so, he came and spoke for two hours in favour of the attainder. Fenwick then on a re-examination told the whole story, and Monmouth was committed to the Tower and deprived of his employments. The king however did not wish to drive him to extremity; he sent Bishop Burnet to soften him, and made up his losses secretly.

Monmouth was afterwards the celebrated earl of Peterborough. Speaker Onslow says of him on this occasion, "I wonder any man of honour could keep him company after such an attempt. He was of the worst principles of any man of that, or perhaps of any age; yet from some glittering in his character he hath some admirers."

This was the last attempt made by the partisans of James for his restoration. Men of prudence saw that it would be nothing but a return to the former despotism. The whigs no longer let their discontent get the better of their regard for liberty; and those among William's ministers who had kept up a treacherous correspondence with their former master, gradually withdrew from his hopeless cause. There is certainly reason to think that some of those who engaged in it were not sincere, and that their object was to learn and defeat the plots of the jacobites. Still the selfishness, the treachery, or at best the vacillation of so many of the principal public characters in the period succeeding the Revolution, form a picture, from which the virtuous mind will frequently turn with disgust.

Before the king left England this year, he raised to the peerage the cele-

brated John Somers, who had been for some time lord-keeper, and made him chancellor. Admiral Russell was created earl of Orford, and Lord Sunderland was now made lord chamberlain.

THE PEACE OF RYSWICK (1697 A.D.)

The war had languished of late, and in the course of this year it was terminated by the Peace of Ryswick (September 20th). Louis gave up all his late conquests except Strasburg, and he acknowledged William as king of England. James published manifestoes in assertion of his rights; but they were unheeded. It appears that Louis had proposed to William to have the crown settled on the prince of Wales after his death, and that the latter, who had no great affection for the princess Anne, consented to it. But the princess had a sure ally in the bigotry of her father and his queen. The idea of their son being reared a Protestant, and in such case he must be, filled them both with horror, and they rejected the proposal without hesitation.

PARLIAMENT FORCES THE REDUCTION OF THE ARMY (1697 A.D.)

The peace was on the whole an honourable one, considering that all the advantages of the war had been on the side of France; it was also absolutely necessary from the exhausted state of the English finances. But William knew that it was likely to be little more than a truce, and in his speech to the parliament (December 2nd) he gave it as his opinion, "that for the present England cannot be safe without a land force." The necessity however of reduction and economy was strongly felt, the war having caused a debt of seventeen millions, and a dread of standing armies as the instruments of despotism pervaded the minds of most people, not considering that in the Mutiny Bill and the necessity of annual votes of supply, they had abundant security against those dangers. It was therefore voted that all the troops raised since 1680 should be disbanded, and it was finally resolved (on the 18th) that ten thousand men should be the force for the ensuing year. To gild the pill for the monarch, and prove that they were not wanting in gratitude and affection to him, they voted that a sum of 700,000*l.* should be granted him "for life" for the support of the civil list. The king however neglected the former vote, and when he was next going to Holland, he left sealed orders with the regency to keep up a force of sixteen thousand men.

During the king's absence (1698) a new parliament was elected. The members were mostly men of revolution principles, attached to the government, but not very courteous to the king. When on his return from the Continent the parliament met, he hinted in the speech from the throne (December 9th) his opinion of the necessity of a large land force. But the commons, irritated at his neglect of the vote of their predecessors on this point, forthwith resolved that it should not exceed seven thousand men, and these to be his majesty's natural-born subjects. As this last clause went to deprive him of his Dutch guards, to which he was so much attached, and of the brave regiments of French Protestants, the insult coupled with ingratitude (as he deemed it) sank deep into his mind. He seriously resolved to abandon the government and retire to Holland, and he had actually written the speech which he intended to make on that occasion, when he was diverted from his purpose. He therefore gave his assent to the bill (February 1st, 1699). Ere however he dismissed his guards, he made a final appeal to the good feelings of the commons. He sent them (March 18th) a message in his own hand-

writing, to say that all the necessary preparations were now made, and that he would send them away immediately, "unless, out of consideration to him, the house be disposed to find a way for continuing them longer in his service which his majesty would take very kindly." But the commons were inexorable, and the guards departed. "It was a moving sight," says the whig Oldmixon,[u] "to behold them marching from St. James' park through London streets, taking a long farewell of the friends they left in England with kisses and tears in their eyes; many of them having English wives and children following them into a land strange to them, after their husbands and fathers had spent so many years in the service of that country out of which they were now driven." There was only one regiment of these guards, which makes the barbarity the greater. We feel it impossible to approve of this conduct of the commons; though it was termed national feeling it showed more of party spirit. They should have recollected, that had it not been for these troops, who won the battle of the Boyne, they would probably have no power over them or any other troops. "The foreign troops," says Hallam,[d] "had claims which a grateful and generous people should not have forgotten; they were many of them the chivalry of Protestantism, the Huguenot gentlemen, who had lost all but their swords in a cause which we deemed our own; they were the men who had terrified James from Whitehall, and brought about a deliverance, which, to speak plainly, we had neither sense nor courage to achieve for ourselves, or which at least we could never have achieved without enduring the convulsive throes of anarchy."



JOHN SOMERS
(1652–1716)

THE COMMONS COERCE THE KING AND THE LORDS IN THE IRISH GRANTS

In the following session (1700) the commons proceeded a step further in making the king feel their power. The lands of those who had fought on the side of James in Ireland, exceeding a million of acres, were forfeited, and, in a legal sense, were at the disposal of the crown; yet still in all equity they should be applied to the public service. But William, who was of a generous temper, and who never could divest himself of the idea that as king he was entitled to all the prerogative exercised by his predecessors, had granted away the far greater part of them, chiefly to his mistress, Mrs. Villiers, now countess of Orkney, to the insatiable Portland, to Ginkel earl of Athlone, to Sidney Lord Romney, and to another Dutch favourite, Keppel, who had been page, then private secretary to the king, and who now had eclipsed Portland in his

favour, and had been created earl of Albemarle. Still he had only exercised a lawful prerogative, and the commons were not justified in the Act of Resumption which they passed, and still less in "tacking," as it was termed, its provisions to a money bill in order to prevent the lords from altering them. "This most reprehensible device," observes Hallam,[d] "though not an unnatural consequence of their pretended right to an exclusive concern in money bills, had been employed in a former instance in this reign (February, 1692). They were again successful on this occasion; the lords receded from their amendments and passed the bill at the king's desire, who perceived that the fury of the commons was tending to a terrible convulsion. But the precedent was infinitely dangerous to their legislative power. If the commons, after some more attempts of the same nature, desisted from so unjust an encroachment, it must be attributed to that which has been the great preservative of the equilibrium in the English government — the public voice of a reflecting people, averse to manifest innovation, and soon offended by the intemperance of factions."

The king was tolerant in his own temper, and he was pledged to the emperor and his Catholic allies to indulge his Catholic subjects. But the commons now, on the resort of priests to England and their usual imprudence, brought in a terrific bill to check the growth of popery. By this act any one informing against a priest exercising his functions was to receive £100 reward, and the priest to be imprisoned for life; every person professing the popish religion must, after attaining the age of eighteen, take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and subscribe the declaration against transubstantiation and the worship of saints, or become incapable of inheriting or purchasing lands, and during his life his next of kin being a Protestant was to enjoy them. The lords and the king gave no opposition to the will of the commons; but the spirit of liberty and equity rendered the barbarous enactment of no effect, and no properties were lost by it.

FALL OF THE WHIG JUNTO; A TORY MINISTRY IN POWER

The earl of Sunderland, foreseeing the coming storm, had already resigned his office of chamberlain, much against the wishes of the king. Lord Orford, fearing the commons, followed his example; the duke of Leeds was dismissed from his post of president of the council. But the tories had persuaded the favourites Albemarle, and Villiers Lord Jersey, that it would be for the king's advantage to employ them instead of the whigs. The king himself seems to have thought that course necessary, and in compliance with the wishes of the tories, he consented to take the great seal from Lord Somers, the leader of the whig party.[1] William wished him to resign it of his own accord, but this Somers declined doing, as it might appear to be the result of fear or guilt. The earl of Jersey was then sent (April 7th) to demand it; he delivered it up and it was committed to Sir Nathan Wright. The duke of Shrewsbury immediately resigned.

When the king returned from the Continent this year, he modelled the ministry to the content of the tories. Godolphin was set again over the treasury, Lord Grey of Werk, now earl of Tankerville, was made privy seal, and Rochester lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and to diminish the power of the whigs in the commons, their leader in that house, Charles Montague, was raised to the peerage under the title of baron of Halifax, Savile, marquis of Halifax,

[1 As Gardiner's notes, this established the principle that a minister unsatisfactory to the house of commons must resign.]

[1701 A.D.]

having died without heirs. The ministers having advised a dissolution, a new parliament was summoned, and met (February 10th, 1701).

The two great measures which were now to occupy the attention of the parliament were the succession and the partition treaty.

Of all the children that the princess Anne had borne, only one had survived. This was William Duke of Gloucester, born in 1689. When this young prince had attained his ninth year, the king assigned him a peculiar establishment, and appointed the earl of Marlborough to be his governor, and Bishop Burnet his preceptor. But the prince having over-exerted himself on his birth day (July 24th, 1700), took a fever of which he died. The next heir to the crown was the duchess of Savoy, daughter of Henrietta, youngest child of Charles I, but her religion excluding her, the nearest Protestant to the throne was Sophia, dowager-electress of Hanover, daughter of the queen of Bohemia, the sister of that monarch. In the speech from the throne, the subject was pressed on the attention of parliament, and no time was lost in preparing a bill for the purpose.

THE ACT OF SETTLEMENT AND THE TREATIES OF PARTITION (1701 A.D.)

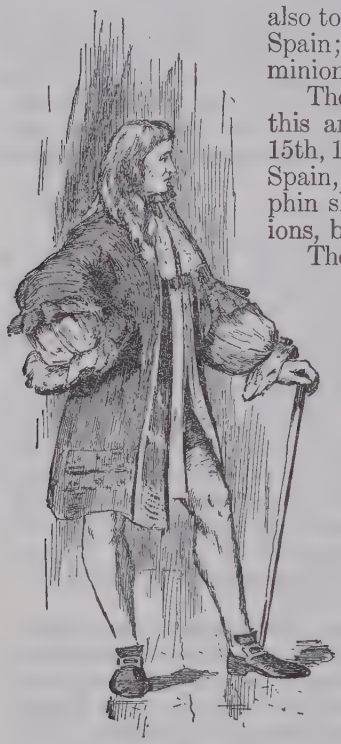
The Act of Settlement which was now passed, limited the succession of the crown to the princess Sophia, and the heirs of her body being Protestants. It further provided, that no foreigner should hold any place of trust, civil or military, or take any grant from the crown; that the nation should not be obliged to engage in war for the defence of any dominions not belonging to the crown of England; that the sovereign should join in communion with the Church of England, and not go out of the country without the consent of parliament; that no pardon should be pleadable to an impeachment; that no person holding an office or pension under the crown should be capable of sitting in the house of commons; that judges' commissions should be made *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, and their salaries be ascertained; that all business properly belonging to the privy council should be transacted there, and all the resolutions be signed by the councillors present, etc.

The regard for liberty shown in this important bill certainly does honour to the tories. Some of the articles seemed no doubt to reflect on the king, but recent experience had shown their necessity, and future experience proved their utility.[1] There was, however, one fatal omission in the bill, the foreign prince coming to the throne should have been required to surrender his former dominions.

The affair of the treaty of partition was much more intricate. Charles II of Spain was childless; the emperor, the elector of Bavaria, and the king of France had all married daughters of Spain. Louis' queen, it is true, had at her marriage solemnly renounced her right of succession, but the ambition of Louis, it was well known, would not be held in by so slender a cord; and if he could add the Spanish dominions to his own, his power, it was feared, would be irresistible. In 1698, William having seen, from the temper of parliament,

[1 The Act of Settlement was the seal of our constitutional laws, the complement of the Revolution itself and the Bill of Rights, the last great statute which restrains the power of the crown, and manifests, in any conspicuous degree, a jealousy of parliament in behalf of its own and the subject's privileges. The battle had been fought and gained; the Statute Book, as it becomes more voluminous, is less interesting in the history of our constitution; the voice of petition, complaint, or remonstrance is seldom to be traced in the journals; the crown in return desists altogether, not merely from the threatening or objurgatory tone of the Stuarts, but from that dissatisfaction sometimes apparent in the language of William; and the vessel seems riding in smooth water, moved by other impulses, and liable perhaps to other dangers, than those of the ocean-wave and the tempest.— HALLAM.*d*]

how little chance there was of prevailing on the English nation to engage in a war, resolved if he could not avert the evil entirely to diminish it as much as possible. Louis too was, or pretended to be, satisfied to be secured in a part rather than have to fight for the whole. Accordingly, when William returned to Holland that year, a secret treaty was concluded between the kings of England and France, and the states of Holland, for partitioning the Spanish dominions, by which the dauphin was to have Naples and all the other Italian dominions of the crown of Spain, except the duchy of Milan, which was to go to the emperor's second son, Charles. The dauphin was also to have the province of Guipuzcoa, in the north of Spain; but the crown of Spain, with all its other dominions, was to go to the electoral prince of Bavaria.



COSTUME ABOUT 1700 A.D.

The death of this young prince having frustrated this arrangement, a new one was concluded (March 15th, 1700). By this the archduke Charles was to have Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands, while the dauphin should have Guipuzcoa and all the Italian dominions, but Milan was to be exchanged for Lorraine.

The object proposed by William and the states was, to preserve the balance of power as much as possible; but it was certainly a bold step thus to parcel out the Spanish monarchy without the consent of the crown or people of Spain. Accordingly, the pride of the Spanish nation was roused, and through the arts of the French ambassador and his party, the king, when on his death-bed (November 1st), was induced to make a will leaving all his dominions to Philip the second son of the dauphin. Louis, after an affected hesitation, allowed his grandson to accept the splendid bequest. He then used all his arts to obtain the acquiescence of the king of England and the states, but finding them unavailing, he had recourse to stronger measures. By what was called the Barrier Treaty, Namur, Antwerp, and some other places in the Netherlands, were garrisoned by Dutch troops; and by a secret and rapid march, the French in one night surprised and captured all these garrisons, which amounted to twelve thousand men. The states, to free their soldiers, and urged by the clamour of a large faction at home, and the terror of the French arms now at their doors, acknowledged Philip, and King William found it necessary to follow their example (April 17th, 1701).

It is asserted that Louis scattered his gold with no sparing hand among the members of the English parliament, in order to avert the danger of a war. Be this as it may, his game was played effectually in that assembly. The peers (March 21st) presented an address condemnatory of "that fatal treaty" of partition, and the commons, after a furious debate, in which Mr. Howe, a zealous jacobite, termed it a "felonious treaty," made a still stronger address, and then proceeded to impeach the earls of Portland and Orford, and the lords Somers and Halifax, for their share in it. Disputes, however, arising between the two houses, the commons refused to go on with the impeach-

ments, under the pretext that they could not expect justice, and the lords then acquitted the accused peers.

THE DEATH OF JAMES II, 1701, AND OF WILLIAM III, 1702

The war spirit, however, was on the increase in the country, and the king on his return to the Continent was party (September 7th) to a second grand alliance with the emperor of Austria and the states for procuring the Netherlands and the Italian dominions of the crown of Spain for the emperor, and for preventing the union of France and Spain under the one government. Just at this time, an event occurred which roused the indignation of the whole English nation against Louis. King James died September 16th, 1701, and Louis, who had promised the dying monarch to recognise his son as king of England, performed that promise under the influence of the celebrated Madame de Maintenon, in opposition to his wisest ministers. William immediately ordered his ambassador to quit the court of France without taking leave, and the French secretary of legation was required to depart from England. The city of London made an address, expressive of their indignation at the conduct of the court of France, and their resolution to stand by the king in the defence of his person and just rights; and similar addresses soon poured in from all parts of the kingdom.

The current had evidently set in against the timid anti-national policy of the tories, and the sagacious Sunderland when consulted by the king strongly advised him to discard his tory ministers and bring in the whigs. William wrote to Lord Somers, their acknowledged leader, for his advice, and that statesman urged him to dissolve the parliament, and to rely on the present temper of the nation. Accordingly, the king soon after his return acted in conformity with that counsel.

When the new parliament met (December 30th), the tories proved stronger in it than had been anticipated, but many of them were of that moderate party which was headed by Harley, whose election to the office of speaker was carried by a majority of either four or fourteen. The speech from the throne, the composition of Somers, was a most able piece, showing the danger of England and of Europe, and calling on the parliament to act with vigour and unanimity. The two houses responded to the royal call; they voted ninety thousand men for the land and sea service; a bill was passed for attainting the pretended prince of Wales, and another obliging all persons employed in church and state to abjure him, and swear to William as rightful and lawful king, and his heirs, according to the Act of Settlement.

The nation had not been so united or the king so popular at any time since the Revolution; but William was not fated to enjoy the happy results. He felt his constitution to be so greatly broken, that he had told Lord Portland this winter, in confidence, that he could not expect to live another summer. Toward the end of February (1702), as he was riding through Bushy Park, on his way to Hampton Court, he put his horse to the gallop on the level sod: but the animal stumbled and fell, and the king's collar-bone was broken.[1] It was set immediately, and he was brought back to Kensington. For some days he seemed in no danger whatever; but one day (March 3), after walking for some time in the gallery, he sat down on a couch and fell asleep. He awoke with a shivering fit. A fever ensued; he grew worse

[1] It was maliciously remarked that the horse he rode had formerly belonged to Sir John Fenwick. As his fall was ascribed to a mole hill, the jacobites in their political compotations used to drink to the health of "the little gentleman in black velvet."

daily; on Sunday (7th) he received the sacrament from Archbishop Tenison and at eight o'clock next morning he breathed his last, in the fifty-second year of his age.[g] As a fitting close to this great career, we may quote the estimate of Macaulay, whose *History of England* is really a history chiefly of William III of Orange. Macaulay's sister, Lady Trevelyan, in her preface to the last volume of her brother's works, calls William, Macaulay's "great hero."[a]

Macaulay's Estimate of William III

Nature had largely endowed William with the qualities of a great ruler; and education had developed those qualities in no common degree. With strong natural sense, and rare force of will, he found himself, when first his mind began to open, a fatherless and motherless child, the chief of a great but depressed and disheartened party, and the heir to vast and indefinite pretensions, which excited the dread and aversion of the oligarchy then supreme in the United Provinces. He was scarcely fifteen years old when all the domestics who were attached to his interest, or who enjoyed any share of his confidence, were removed from under his roof by the jealous government. He remonstrated with energy beyond his years, but in vain. Vigilant observers saw the tears more than once rise in the eyes of the young state prisoner. His health, naturally delicate, sank for a time under the emotions which his desolate situation had produced. Such situations bewilder and unnerve the weak, but call forth all the strength of the strong. Surrounded by snares in which an ordinary youth would have perished, William learned to tread at once warily and firmly. Long before he reached manhood he knew how to keep secrets, how to baffle curiosity by dry and guarded answers, how to conceal all passions under the same show of grave tranquillity. Meanwhile he made little proficiency in fashionable or literary accomplishments. The manners of the Dutch nobility of that age wanted the grace which was found in the highest perfection among the gentlemen of France, and which, in an inferior degree, embellished the court of England; and his manners were altogether Dutch. Even his countrymen thought him blunt. To foreigners he often seemed churlish. In his intercourse with the world in general he appeared ignorant or negligent of those arts which double the value of a favour and take away the sting of a refusal. He was little interested in letters or science. The discoveries of Newton and Leibnitz, the poems of Dryden and Boileau, were unknown to him. Dramatic performances tired him. He had indeed some talent for sarcasm, and not seldom employed, quite unconsciously, a natural rhetoric, quaint, indeed, but vigorous and original. For all persecution he felt a fixed aversion, which he avowed, not only where the avowal was obviously politic, but on occasions where it seemed that his interest would have been promoted by dissimulation or by silence. His theological opinions, however, were even more decided than those of his ancestors. The tenet of predestination was the keystone of his religion. He often declared that, if he were to abandon that tenet, he must abandon with it all belief in a superintending Providence, and must become a mere Epicurean. Except in this single instance, all the sap of his vigorous mind was early drawn away from the speculative to the practical. The faculties which are necessary for the conduct of important business ripened in him at a time of life when they have scarcely begun to blossom in ordinary men. Since Octavius the world had seen no such instance of precocious statesmanship. Skilful diplomatists were surprised to hear the weighty observations which at seventeen the prince made on public affairs, and still more surprised

to see a lad, in situations in which he might have been expected to betray strong passion, preserve a composure as imperturbable as their own. At eighteen he sat among the fathers of the commonwealth, grave, discreet, and judicious as the oldest among them. At twenty-one, in a day of gloom and terror, he was placed at the head of the administration. At twenty-three he was renowned throughout Europe as a soldier and a politician. He had put domestic factions under his feet: he was the soul of a mighty coalition; and he had contended with honour in the field against some of the greatest generals of the age.

His personal tastes were those rather of a warrior than of a statesman, but he, like his great-grandfather, the silent prince who founded the Batavian commonwealth, occupies a far higher place among statesmen than among warriors. The event of battles, indeed, is not an unfailing test of the abilities of a commander, and it would be peculiarly unjust to apply this test to William: for it was his fortune to be almost always opposed to captains who were consummate masters of their art, and to troops far superior in discipline to his own. Yet there is reason to believe that he was by no means equal, as a general in the field, to some who ranked far below him in intellectual powers. To those whom he trusted he spoke on this subject with the magnanimous frankness of a man who had done great things, and who could well afford to acknowledge some deficiencies. He had never, he said, served an apprenticeship to the military profession. He had been placed, while still a boy, at the head of an army. Among his officers there had been none competent to instruct him. His own blunders and their consequences had been his only lessons. "I would give," he once exclaimed, "a good part of my estates to have served a few campaigns under the prince of Condé before I had to command against him." It is not improbable that the circumstance which prevented William from attaining any eminent dexterity in strategy may have been favourable to the general vigour of his intellect. If his battles were not those of a great tactician, they entitled him to be called a great man. No disaster could for one moment deprive him of his firmness or of the entire possession of all his faculties. His defeats were repaired with such marvellous celerity that, before his enemies had sung the *Te Deum*, he was again ready for conflict; nor did his adverse fortune ever deprive him of the respect and confidence of his soldiers.

That respect and confidence he owed in no small measure to his personal courage. Courage, in the degree which is necessary to carry a soldier without disgrace through a campaign, is possessed, or might, under proper training, be acquired, by the great majority of men. But courage like that of William is rare indeed. He was proved by every test; by war, by wounds, by painful and depressing maladies, by raging seas, by the imminent and constant risk of assassination, a risk which has shaken very strong nerves, a risk which severely tried even the adamantine fortitude of Cromwell. Yet none could ever discover what that thing was which the prince of Orange feared. His advisers could with difficulty induce him to take any precaution against the pistols and daggers of conspirators. Old sailors were amazed at the composure which he preserved amidst roaring breakers on a perilous coast. In battle his bravery made him conspicuous even among tens of thousands of brave warriors, drew forth the generous applause of hostile armies, and was never questioned even by the injustice of hostile factions. During his five campaigns he exposed himself like a man who sought for death, was always foremost in the charge and last in the retreat, fought, sword in hand, in the thickest press, and, with a musket ball in his arm and the blood streaming

over his cuirass, still stood his ground and waved his hat under the hottest fire. His friends adjured him to take more care of a life invaluable to his country; and his most illustrious antagonist, the great Condé, remarked, after the bloody day of Seneffe, that the prince of Orange had in all things borne himself like an old general except in exposing himself like a young soldier. William denied that he was guilty of temerity. It was, he said, from a sense of duty and on a cool calculation of what the public interest required that he was always at the post of danger. The troops which he commanded had been little used to war, and shrank from a close encounter with the veteran soldiery of France. It was necessary that their leader should show them how battles were to be won. And in truth more than one day which had seemed hopelessly lost was retrieved by the hardihood with which he rallied his broken battalions and cut down with his own hand the cowards who set the example of flight. Sometimes, however, it seemed that he had a strange pleasure in venturing his person. It was remarked that his spirits were never so high and his manners never so gracious and easy as amidst the tumult and carnage of a battle. Even in his pastimes he liked the excitement of danger. Cards, chess, and billiards gave him no pleasure. The chase was his favourite recreation; and he loved it most when it was most hazardous. His leaps were sometimes such that his boldest companions did not like to follow him. He seems even to have thought the most hardy field sports of England effeminate, and to have pined in the great park of Windsor for the game which he had been used to drive to bay in the forests of Guelders, wolves, and wild boars, and huge stags with sixteen antlers.

The audacity of his spirit was the more remarkable because his physical organisation was unusually delicate. From a child he had been weak and sickly. In the prime of manhood his complaints had been aggravated by a severe attack of small-pox. He was asthmatic and consumptive. His slender frame was shaken by a constant hoarse cough. He could not sleep unless his head was propped by several pillows, and could scarcely draw his breath in any but the purest air. Cruel headaches frequently tortured him. Exertion soon fatigued him. The physicians constantly kept up the hopes of his enemies by fixing some date beyond which, if there were anything certain in medical science, it was impossible that his broken constitution could hold out. Yet, through a life which was one long disease, the force of his mind never failed, on any great occasion, to bear up his suffering and languid body.

He was born with violent passions and quick sensibilities, but the strength of his emotions was not suspected by the world. From the multitude his joy and his grief, his affection and his resentment, were hidden by a phlegmatic serenity, which made him pass for the most coldblooded of mankind. Those who brought him good news could seldom detect any sign of pleasure. Those who saw him after a defeat looked in vain for any trace of vexation. He praised and reprimanded, rewarded and punished, with the stern tranquillity of a Mohawk chief: but those who knew him well and saw him near were aware that under all this ice a fierce fire was constantly burning. It was seldom that anger deprived him of power over himself. But when he was really enraged the first outbreak of his passion was terrible. It was indeed scarcely safe to approach him. On these rare occasions, however, as soon as he regained his self command, he made such ample reparation to those whom he had wronged as tempted them to wish that he would go into a fury again. His affection was as impetuous as his wrath. Where he loved, he loved with

the whole energy of his strong mind. When death separated him from what he loved, the few who witnessed his agonies trembled for his reason and his life.

To a very small circle of intimate friends, on whose fidelity and secrecy he could absolutely depend, he was a different man from the reserved and stoical William whom the multitude supposed to be destitute of human feelings. He was kind, cordial, open, even convivial and jocose, would sit at table many hours, and would bear his full share in festive conversation. Highest in his favour stood a gentleman of his household named Bentinck, sprung from a noble Batavian race, and destined to be the founder of one of the great patrician houses of England. The fidelity of Bentinck had been tried by no common test. It was while the United Provinces were struggling for existence against the French power that the young prince on whom all their hopes were fixed was seized by the small-pox. That disease had been fatal to many members of his family, and at first wore, in his case, a peculiarly malignant aspect. The public consternation was great. The streets of the Hague were crowded from daybreak to sunset by persons anxiously asking how his highness was. At length his complaint took a favourable turn. His escape was attributed partly to his own singular equanimity, and partly to the intrepid and indefatigable friendship of Bentinck. From the hands of Bentinck alone William took food and medicine. By Bentinck alone William was lifted from his bed and laid down in it. "Whether Bentinck slept or not while I was ill," said William to Temple with great tenderness, "I know not. But this I know, that, through sixteen days and nights, I never once called for anything but that Bentinck was instantly at my side." Before the faithful servant had entirely performed his task, he had himself caught the contagion. Still, however, he bore up against drowsiness and fever till his master was pronounced convalescent. Then, at length, Bentinck asked leave to go home. It was time: for his limbs would no longer support him. He was in great danger, but recovered, and, as soon as he left his bed, hastened to the army, where, during many sharp campaigns, he was ever found, as he had been in peril of a different kind, close to William's side.

Such was the origin of a friendship as warm and pure as any that ancient or modern history records. The descendants of Bentinck still preserve many letters written by William to their ancestor: and it is not too much to say that no person who has not studied those letters can form a correct notion of the prince's character. He whom even his admirers generally accounted the most distant and frigid of men here forgets all distinctions of rank, and pours out all his thoughts with the ingenuousness of a schoolboy. He imparts without reserve secrets of the highest moment. He explains with perfect simplicity vast designs affecting all the governments of Europe. There is a singular charm in such letters, penned by a man whose irresistible energy and inflexible firmness extorted the respect of his enemies, whose cold and ungracious demeanour repelled the attachment of almost all his partisans, and whose mind was occupied by gigantic schemes which have changed the face of the world.

His kindness was not misplaced. Bentinck was early pronounced by Temple to be the best and truest servant that ever prince had the good fortune to possess, and continued through life to merit that honourable character.

William was not less fortunate in marriage than in friendship. Yet his marriage had not at first promised much domestic happiness. His choice had been determined chiefly by political considerations: nor did it seem likely that any strong affection would grow up between a handsome girl of sixteen, well disposed indeed, and naturally intelligent, but ignorant and simple, and

a bridegroom who, though he had not completed his twenty-eighth year, was in constitution older than her father, whose manner was chilling, and whose head was constantly occupied by public business or by field sports. For a time William was a negligent husband. He was indeed drawn away from his wife by other women, particularly by one of her ladies, Elizabeth Villiers, who, though destitute of personal attractions, and disfigured by a hideous squint, possessed talents which well fitted her to partake his cares. He was indeed ashamed of his errors, and spared no pains to conceal them; but, in spite of all his precautions, Mary well knew that he was not strictly faithful to her. She, however, bore her injuries with a meekness and patience which deserved, and gradually obtained, William's esteem and gratitude. Her generous affection completely gained the heart of William. Till the sad day when he was carried away in fits from her dying bed, there was entire friendship and confidence between them. Many of her letters to him are extant; and they contain abundant evidence that this man, unamiable as he was in the eyes of the multitude, had succeeded in inspiring a beautiful and virtuous woman, born his superior, with a passion fond even to idolatry.

William had long observed the contest between the English factions attentively, but without feeling a strong predilection for either side. Nor in truth did he ever to the end of his life become either a whig or a tory. He wanted that which is the common groundwork of both characters; for he never became an Englishman. He saved England, it is true; but he never loved her, and he never obtained her love. To him she was always a land of exile, visited with reluctance and quitted with delight. Even when he rendered to her those services of which, at this day, we feel the happy effects, her welfare was not his chief object. Whatever patriotic feeling he had was for Holland. Yet even his affection for the land of his birth was subordinate to another feeling which early became supreme in his soul. That feeling was enmity to France, and to the magnificent king who, in more than one sense, represented France, and who to virtues and accomplishments eminently French joined in large measure that unquiet, unscrupulous, and vainglorious ambition which has repeatedly drawn on France the resentment of Europe.

It was in the agony of that conflict, when peasants were flying in terror before the French invaders, when hundreds of fair gardens and pleasure houses were buried beneath the waves, when the deliberations of the states were interrupted by the fainting and the loud weeping of ancient senators who could not bear the thought of surviving the freedom and glory of their native land, that William had been called to the head of affairs. For a time it seemed to him that resistance was hopeless. He looked round for succour, and looked in vain. Spain was unnerved, Germany distracted, England corrupted. Nothing seemed left to the young stadholder but to perish, sword in hand, or to be the Æneas of a great emigration, and to create another Holland in countries beyond the tyranny of France. The French monarchy was to him what the Roman republic was to Hannibal, what the Ottoman power was to Scanderbeg, what the southern domination was to Wallace.

To the confidence which the heroic fatalist placed in his high destiny and in his sacred cause is to be partly attributed his singular indifference to danger. He had a great work to do; and till it was done nothing could harm him. Therefore it was that, in spite of the prognostications of physicians, he recovered from maladies which seemed hopeless, that bands of assassins conspired in vain against his life, that the open skiff to which he trusted himself on a starless night, on a raging ocean, and near a treacherous shore, brought him

safe to land, and that, on twenty fields of battle, the cannon balls passed him by to right and left. The ardour and perseverance with which he devoted himself to his mission have scarcely any parallel in history. In comparison with his great object he held the lives of other men as cheap as his own. It was but too much the habit, even of the most humane and generous soldiers of that age, to think very lightly of the bloodshed and devastation inseparable from great martial exploits; and the heart of William was steeled, not only by professional insensibility, but by that sterner insensibility which is the effect of a sense of duty. Three great coalitions, three long and bloody wars in which all Europe from the Vistula to the western ocean was in arms, are to be ascribed to his unconquerable energy. He was in truth far better qualified to save a nation than to adorn a court. In the highest parts of statesmanship, he had no equal among his contemporaries. He had formed plans not inferior in grandeur and boldness to those of Richelieu, and had carried them into effect with a tact and wariness worthy of Mazarin. Two countries, the seats of civil liberty and of the reformed faith, had been preserved by his wisdom and courage from extreme perils. Holland he had delivered from foreign, and England from domestic foes. Obstacles apparently insurmountable had been interposed between him and the ends on which he was intent; and those obstacles his genius had turned into stepping stones. Under his dexterous management the hereditary enemies of his house had helped him to mount a throne; and the persecutors of his religion had helped him to rescue his religion from persecution. Fleets and armies, collected to withstand him, had, without a struggle, submitted to his orders. Factions and sects, divided by mortal antipathies, had recognised him as their common head. Without carnage, without devastation, he had won a victory compared with which all the victories of Gustavus and Turenne were insignificant. In a few weeks he had changed the relative position of all the states in Europe, and had restored the equilibrium which the preponderance of one power had destroyed. Foreign nations did ample justice to his great qualities. In every continental country where Protestant congregations met, fervent thanks were offered to God, who, from among the progeny of his servants, Maurice, the deliverer of Germany, and William, the deliverer of Holland, had raised up a third deliverer, the wisest and mightiest of all. At Vienna, at Madrid, nay, at Rome, the valiant and sagacious heretic was held in honour as the chief of the great confederacy against the house of Bourbon; and even at Versailles the hatred which he inspired was largely mingled with admiration.

Here he was less favourably judged. In truth, our ancestors saw him in the worst of all lights. By the French, the Germans, and the Italians, he was contemplated at such a distance that only what was great could be discerned, and that small blemishes were invisible. To the Dutch he was brought close, but he was himself a Dutchman. In his intercourse with them he was seen to the best advantage, he was perfectly at his ease with them; and from among them he had chosen his earliest and dearest friends. But to the English he appeared in a most unfortunate point of view. He was at once too near to them and too far from them. He lived among them, so that the smallest peculiarity of temper or manner could not escape their notice. Yet he lived apart from them, and was to the last a foreigner in speech, tastes, and habits.

One of the chief functions of our sovereigns had long been to preside over the society of the capital. That function Charles II had performed with immense success. His easy bow, his good stories, his style of dancing and playing tennis, the sound of his cordial laugh, were familiar to all London. One day he was seen among the elms of St. James's park chatting with Dryden

about poetry. Another day his arm was on Tom Durfey's shoulder; and his majesty was taking a second, while his companion sang "Phillida, Phillida," or "To horse, brave boys, to Newmarket, to horse." James, with much less vivacity and good nature, was accessible, and, to people who did not cross him, civil. But of this sociableness William was entirely destitute. He seldom came forth from his closet; and, when he appeared in the public rooms, he stood among the crowd of courtiers and ladies, stern and abstracted, making no jest and smiling at none. His freezing look, his silence, the dry and concise answers which he uttered when he could keep silence no longer, disgusted noblemen and gentlemen who had been accustomed to be slapped on the back by their royal masters, called Jack or Harry, congratulated about race cups or rallied about actresses. The women missed the homage due to their sex. They observed that the king spoke in a somewhat imperious tone even to the wife to whom he owed so much, and whom he sincerely loved and esteemed. They were amused and shocked to see him, when the Princess Anne dined with him, and when the first green peas of the year were put on the table, devour the whole dish without offering a spoonful to her royal highness; and they pronounced that this great soldier and politician was no better than a Low Dutch bear.

One misfortune, which was imputed to him as a crime, was his bad English. He spoke our language, but not well. His accent was foreign, his diction was inelegant; and his vocabulary seems to have been no larger than was necessary for the transaction of business. To the difficulty which he felt in expressing himself, and to his consciousness that his pronunciation was bad, must be partly ascribed the taciturnity and the short answers which gave so much offence. Our literature he was incapable of enjoying or of understanding.

He never once, during his whole reign, showed himself at the theatre. The poets who wrote Pindaric verses in his praise complained that their flights of sublimity were beyond his comprehension. Those who are acquainted with the panegyrical odes of that age will perhaps be of opinion that he did not lose much by his ignorance.

It is true that his wife did her best to supply what was wanting, and that she was excellently qualified to be the head of the court. She was English by birth, and English also in her tastes and feelings. Her face was handsome, her port majestic, her temper sweet and lively, her manners affable and graceful. Her understanding, though very imperfectly cultivated, was quick. There was no want of feminine wit and shrewdness in her conversation; and her letters were so well expressed that they deserved to be well spelt. She took much pleasure in the lighter kinds of literature, and did something towards bringing books into fashion among ladies of quality. The stainless purity of her private life and the strict attention which she paid to her religious duties were the more respectable, because she was singularly free from censoriousness, and discouraged scandal as much as vice.

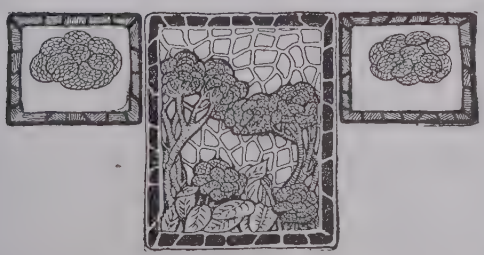
William's end was worthy of his life. His intellect was not for a moment clouded. His fortitude was the more admirable because he was not willing to die. He had very lately said to one of those whom he most loved: "You know that I never feared death; there have been times when I should have wished it; but, now that this great new prospect is opening before me, I do wish to stay here a little longer." Yet no weakness, no querulousness, disgraced the noble close of that noble career. To the physicians the king returned his thanks graciously and gently. "I know that you have done all that skill and learning could do for me: but the case is beyond your art; and I submit." From the words which escaped him he seemed to be frequently

engaged in mental prayer. Burnet and Tenison remained many hours in the sick room. He professed to them his firm belief in the truth of the Christian religion, and received the sacrament from their hands with great seriousness. The antechambers were crowded all night with lords and privy councillors. He ordered several of them to be called in, and exerted himself to take leave of them with a few kind and cheerful words. Among the English who were admitted to his bedside were Devonshire and Ormonde.

But there were in the crowd those who felt as no Englishman could feel, friends of his youth who had been true to him, and to whom he had been true, through all vicissitudes of fortune; who had served him with unalterable fidelity when his secretaries of state, his treasury and his admiralty had betrayed him; who had never on any field of battle, or in an atmosphere tainted with loathsome and deadly disease, shrunk from placing their own lives in jeopardy to save his, and whose truth he had at the cost of his own popularity rewarded with bounteous munificence. He strained his feeble voice to thank Auverquerque for the affectionate and loyal services of thirty years. To Albemarle he gave the keys of his closet, and of his private drawers. "You know," he said, "what to do with them." By this time he could scarcely respire. "Can this," he said to the physicians, "last long?" He was told that the end was approaching.

He swallowed a cordial, and asked for Bentinck. Those were his last articulate words. Bentinck instantly came to the bedside, bent down, and placed his ear close to the king's mouth. The lips of the dying man moved; but nothing could be heard. The king took the hand of his earliest friend, and pressed it tenderly to his heart. In that moment, no doubt, all that had cast a slight passing cloud over their long and pure friendship was forgotten. It was now between seven and eight in the morning. He closed his eyes, and gasped for breath. The bishops knelt down and read the commendatory prayer. When it ended William was no more.

When his remains were laid out, it was found that he wore next to his skin a small piece of black silk riband. The lords in waiting ordered it to be taken off. It contained a gold ring and a lock of the hair of Mary.[e]





CHAPTER XII

QUEEN ANNE

[1702–1714 A.D.]

The successor to the throne was in the thirty-eighth year of her age. She had always been remarkably firm in her attachments to the Protestant religion, and her inclination was strong to the tory party. This, however, was much controlled by the great influence exercised over her mind by Lady Marlborough [formerly Sarah Jennings], who was a whig, which led to a hope that the high tory party would not be dominant during her reign. In her familiar intercourse with Lord and Lady Marlborough, the queen called herself and was called by them Mrs. Morley, and they were Mr. and Mrs. Freeman. When waited on by the privy-council the day of William's death, she spoke with great respect of that monarch, and announced her intention of treading in his steps. She renewed this declaration in her speech to the parliament, and her resolution was communicated without loss of time to the states-general, who had been overwhelmed with affliction at the news of the king's demise.

King William, with that noble spirit of patriotism, and of regard for the interests of Europe in general, which distinguished him, though aware of the treachery of Marlborough to himself, had destined him to the command of the English troops in the approaching war, for of his military and diplomatic talents he had the highest opinion. For this reason he had confided to him the task of negotiating the Grand Alliance, and Marlborough's conduct of it had fully justified his anticipations. The queen now declared that nobleman captain-general of the land-forces in England, and appointed him her ambassador at the Hague, whither he repaired without delay (28th) to assure the states of the intentions of his royal mistress, and to arrange the plan of the ensuing campaign.

The commons settled on the queen for life the revenue of £700,000 a year enjoyed by the late king, £100,000 of which she assured them she would

annually devote to the national service. The oath of abjuration was taken by all persons without any difficulty.

In forming her ministry Queen Anne gave the preference to the tories. Lords Halifax and Somers were dismissed; the duke of Leeds was sworn of the privy-council; Godolphin was made treasurer, Nottingham and Sir Charles Hedges secretaries, Normanby privy-seal, and Sir Nathan Wright chancellor; while of the whigs the duke of Somerset was president of the council, and the duke of Devonshire lord steward. Anne made her husband, Prince George, generalissimo of all her forces by sea and land, and Sir George Rooke vice-admiral of England. Seymour, Howe, Harcourt, and other tories also obtained employments.

On the very same day (May 15th), as had been previously arranged, war was declared against France at London, Vienna, and the Hague. In the beginning of July Marlborough took the command of the allied army in Flanders. He forthwith crossed the Maas and advanced to Hamont. The caution of the Dutch field-deputies restraining him from action, no battle was fought in Flanders this campaign; but by the capture of Venloo and other places on the Maas, and finally of Liège, the navigation of that river was completely opened. With this last acquisition the campaign closed.

It had been the plan of King William to send an expedition against Cadiz. The queen's ministry, in pursuance of that design, fitted out a fleet of thirty ships of the line, which, joined with twenty Dutch men-of-war, with frigates and transports, and carrying a body of fourteen thousand men, was destined for that service. The supreme command was given to the duke of Ormonde; Sir George Rooke commanded the fleet under him. On the 23rd of August the expedition arrived off Cadiz; but, instead of landing at once, three days were spent in debates and discussions about the place of landing and other matters which should have been arranged long before. By this delay time was given to the marquis Villadarias, the captain-general of Andalusia, to store the city with provisions and to place a boom across the mouth of the harbour. The English commanders resolved to reduce the forts on the main-land, instead of debarking in the isle of Leon; they therefore landed in the bay of Bulls, and advanced to Rota, which was given up by the governor; they thence moved to Port St. Mary's, a wealthy town; they found it deserted, and they fell at once to the work of plunder and destruction, not even sparing the churches. By this conduct they completely alienated the minds of the Andalusians from themselves and their cause; and seeing but slender hopes of any final success, they resolved to abandon the enterprise. They departed (September 30th), as Stanhope, one of those in command, expressed it, "with a great deal of plunder and of infamy." The naval and military commanders charged each other with the blame of the failure.

Fortune, however, seemed resolved to save them from the popular indignation at home. They learned on the coast of Portugal that the great Cadiz plate-fleet had put into Vigo bay, in Gallicia, and they resolved to attempt its capture. On reaching that bay (October 22nd) they found the entrance defended by a boom and two ruinous old towers; while the convoying ships of war, of which ten were French, lay moored along the shore, and the peasantry were all in arms. Ormonde landed with two thousand men, and reduced the towers; the English ships broke the boom; but while the ships of war gave them occupation, the galleons ran further up the gulf to try to save their cargoes; the English, however, soon overtook them. The crews then began to fling the cargoes into the sea, and to burn the galleons, but six of them and seven ships of war were captured. The total loss of the Spaniards

exceeded eight millions of dollars, of which the captors did not get more than one-half.

Admiral Benbow, a brave and able seaman, but rude and rough in his manners, was at this time in the West Indies with a squadron of ten ships. He fell in (August 19th) with a French squadron of equal force, under M. de Casse. A running fight was maintained for several days; but Benbow found that the greater part of his captains neglected his orders, and would not come into action. His right leg being broken by a chain-shot (24th), and, his captains still continuing refractory, he gave up the chase and bore for Jamaica, where he ordered a court-martial to be held on six of them; and two, Kirby and Wade, were sentenced to be shot, which sentence was executed at Plymouth, when they were sent home. Benbow died of his wounds at Kingston.



QUEEN ANNE
(1665–1714)

During the summer the parliament was dissolved, and a new one summoned. When it met (October 20th) it proved tory and high-church.[1] In its address to the queen it reflected on the memory of the late king, saying, for example, that Marlborough had retrieved the ancient glory and honour of the English nation. It was proposed to substitute the word maintained for that invidious term, but the proposal was rejected by a large majority. They also talked of the church being restored to its due rights and privileges. As the dissenters all belonged to the whig party, the commons now opened a battery on them, which long continued in operation. This was the bill for preventing occasional conformity; for many of the dissenters, viewing the different sects of Protestants as merely different forms of the common Christianity, made no scruple to conform to the Church of England, by taking the test and receiving the sacrament in it, as a qualification for office, but still adhered to their own sect. The pride of the church party had also been wounded by the imprudent vanity and insolence of Sir Humphrey Edwin, the lord mayor of London in 1697, who went to the meeting-house of Pinners' hall with all the insignia of his civic dignity. The bill now brought in enacted penalties against persons in office who should frequent dissenters' meeting-houses. It passed the commons by a large majority, but the lords made sundry amendments in it, which the commons would not admit, and it thus was lost for this session.

At the desire of the queen, an annual income of £100,000 was voted to

[1] The distinction between high and low-churchmen had lately come up. The former were so denominated from their claims to high sacerdotal power both in church and state, the latter from the opposite character.

her consort in case of his surviving her. The earl of Marlborough having been created a duke for his services in the late campaign, the queen informed the house of commons that she had granted him £5,000 a year out of the post-office revenue for his life, and that she wished an act to be passed for continuing it to his heirs; but the commons were indignant at the proposal, asserting, with truth, that he had been abundantly remunerated for his services; and the duke prudently requested the queen to recall her message.

We shall now briefly narrate in continuity the events of the war of the Succession, by land and sea, in which the troops and fleets of the queen of England were engaged. Our narrative will extend over a space of eight years.

The campaign of 1703 was opened by the capture of the city of Bonn, in the electorate of Cologne: the towns of Huy, Limburg, and Guelder were also reduced; but the energy of Marlborough was so cramped by the caution and dilatoriness of the Dutch, that he could venture on no action of importance. In this year the king of Portugal and the duke of Savoy joined the confederacy, and the archduke Charles assumed the title of king of Spain. He came to England in the close of the year, and, having partaken of the Christmas festivities of the court, was conveyed by Sir George Rooke, with a powerful squadron, to Lisbon.

BLENHEIM (AUGUST 13TH, 1704)

The year 1704 opened with gloomy prospects for the confederates. The emperor, pressed by the Hungarians, who were in rebellion, on one side, and by the Bavarians and French on the other, and totally unprovided with troops, was expecting every day to be besieged in his capital. Marlborough, who saw that, if the emperor was forced to yield the confederation was at an end, resolved to make a bold effort to relieve him. He secretly arranged his plans with Prince Eugene of Savoy, the imperial general, and then, pretending to his own government and the states that his object was merely to act on the Moselle, he induced the latter to be content with the protection of their own troops, and allow him to open the campaign where he proposed.[b]

It was entirely Marlborough's own idea, and at the same time his greatest one, to undertake that unexpected march from the lower Rhine to the Danube, by means of which he joined his own forces to those of Germany and Austria, and was thus enabled to strike a great blow at the main strength of the French. The tories, who were more than usually excited at a recent change in the ministry, looked upon the undertaking with disfavour, and yet (for they expected it to fail) with secret satisfaction. A saying was reported to have come from some of them, that they would mob the general, if ever he came back, as hounds worry a hare. Marlborough knew all that well enough; he made no secret of the fact that if he were not victorious he was lost.

On the plains of Blenheim was the great European conflict fought out to the defeat of France. It was one of those battles which determine the relation of powers to one another, and the fate of nations dependent thereupon, for many years to come. In the library at Windsor strangers are shown the spacious bay window, where Queen Anne was enjoying in stillness the landscape there spread out to view, when she received the news of her army's victory. It was the great moment of her life. That, after which her predecessors had striven in vain, had been achieved under her auspices, under the leadership of a man who stood nearest to herself among the politicians

of the time; a limit had been set once for all to the supremacy of France on the Continent.[c]

The loss of the French, in killed, drowned, taken, and deserters, was forty thousand men; among the prisoners was Marshal Tallard and twelve hundred of his officers. The allies had forty-five hundred killed and seventy-five hundred wounded. The victory would have been still more complete but for the misconduct of the imperial troops, which enabled the elector to retire in good order and with little loss.



JOHN CHURCHILL, FIRST DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH
(1650–1722)

Ulm and several other places were reduced; the allied army recrossed the Rhine; and the campaign was terminated with the sieges of Landau, Treves, and Traerbach. In December the duke returned to England; he received the thanks of the queen and the two houses; the royal manor and honour of Woodstock were conferred on him and his heirs, and the queen gave orders for a splendid mansion, to be named Blenheim castle, to be erected on it at the cost of the crown.

CAMPAIGNS OF 1704–1708

Sir George Rooke had sailed from Lisbon, carrying a corps of five thousand troops, under the prince of Hesse Darmstadt, for an attempt on Barcelona; but their strength not proving sufficient, they abandoned the enterprise. On their way back they attacked and captured the strong fortress of Gibraltar, of which Rooke took possession in the name of the queen of England. He then fought an indecisive action with a French fleet off Malaga.

The campaign of 1705 in Flanders produced no great battle, owing to the opposition of the Dutch field-deputies. Its most important event was the forcing of the French lines, extending from Namur to Antwerp, defended by seventy thousand men, and strong by nature as well as art. This exploit was performed in a masterly manner, and without any loss. Marlborough came up with the French army on the banks of the river Dyle, but, when he would attack it, the Dutch deputies interposed and prevented him. Toward winter he visited the new emperor, Joseph, at Vienna, by whom he was created a prince of the empire, and the principality of Mindelsheim was conferred on him. He there arranged the terms of a new alliance between the emperor and the maritime powers.

On the 3rd of June Lord Peterborough sailed from Portsmouth with a land force of about five thousand men. His instructions were to aid the

duke of Savoy, or to attack one of the Spanish ports and make a vigorous push in Spain. At Lisbon he was joined by the archduke Charles, and at Gibraltar by the prince of Darmstadt. They touched at Altea, in Valencia, where they found the people zealous in their favour. Peterborough then formed the daring project of making a dash for Madrid, which was only fifty leagues distant, but the archduke and Darmstadt insisted on proceeding to Barcelona. The want of money was another obstacle, and Peterborough gave way. When they came to Barcelona (August 16th) they found the fortifications of that town strong and in good repair, and the garrison as numerous as their own force. Peterborough and most of the officers were against making any attempt, but the archduke and Darmstadt were as obstinate as ever. To gratify them, the troops were landed, and lay for three weeks in inactivity before the town. Dissension prevailed among the commanders, and there seemed no course but to re-embark the troops, when Peterborough (September 13th), by a fortunate and well-conducted piece of temerity, made himself master of the strong fort of Montjuich, which commands the city. Numbers of the Miquelets, or armed peasantry, now flocked to the standard of Charles, and the siege was carried on with vigour. At length a breach was effected; but ere the assault was given, the soldiers of the garrison forced the brave old viceroy, Velasco, to propose terms. An honourable treaty was concluded (October 9th); but several of the Miquelets had stolen into the town, and they and the discontented townsmen appeared in arms early next morning, with the resolution of massacring the viceroy and his friends. Peterborough, on hearing the tumult, rode to one of the gates of the city and demanded admittance. The gate was opened to him, and his first act was to save a noble lady from the pursuit of the Miquelets. He suppressed the riot, enabled the viceroy to escape to Alicant, and then withdrew from the town till the term of the treaty should have expired. The viceroy, however, had left orders for an immediate surrender. All Catalonia now rose in favour of Charles, and its example was followed by Valencia.

Wearied by the opposition of the Dutch generals and field-deputies, and disgusted with the slowness and indecision of the imperialists, Marlborough planned for the campaign of 1706 the leading of an army in person into Italy to co-operate with Prince Eugene of Savoy, while a British army should land on the coast of Saintonge to endeavour to raise the Huguenots of the south of France. But the French having been successful on the Upper Rhine, the states became alarmed, and they implored Marlborough to retain the command in the Netherlands, offering to free him from the control of the deputies. He complied with their wishes and prepared to open the campaign by the siege of Namur. The French court sent positive orders to Marshal Villeroy to risk a battle in defence of that town. He therefore advanced to the village of Ramillies beyond Tirlemont, where, on Whitsunday (May 23rd), he was attacked by the allied army of sixty thousand men, his own force being about sixty-two thousand. The action commenced after one o'clock and lasted till the evening; the French sustained a total defeat, losing thirteen thousand men in killed, wounded, and taken, beside two thousand who afterwards deserted, eighty stand of colours, and nearly all their artillery and baggage; the loss of the allies was one thousand killed and twenty-five hundred wounded. The immediate consequence of this glorious victory was the submission of the states of Brabant to King Charles, and the surrender of Brussels, Ghent, Oudenarde, Antwerp, and the other towns of that province. Dendermond, Ostend, and Aeth stood each a siege, and the campaign closed with the capture of this last.

In Spain this year Barcelona was invested by land and sea by the French and Spaniards under Philip in person, while its small garrison of not more than two thousand men was animated by the presence of Charles. The enthusiasm almost peculiar to the Spaniards was manifested in the defence; monks and women appeared in arms, and Peterborough advancing from Valencia carried on a guerilla-warfare (for which no man was better adapted) in the enemy's rear. The city however would have been reduced but for the arrival of an English fleet with troops, at the sight of which the blockading squadron retired to Toulon, and the garrison being now reinforced, the besieging army marched off with all speed to Roussillon. In the mean time the Anglo-Portuguese army under the earl of Galway and the marquis Das Minas had entered Spain, and, on hearing of the relief of Barcelona, they advanced and occupied Madrid. But instead of pressing at once on Philip, who was at Burgos, they loitered for a month in the capital. Charles in like manner stayed at Barcelona, and then went to Zaragoza instead of Madrid. The national antipathy between Castilians and Aragonese revived; the former showed themselves enthusiastic for Philip; and Galway and Das Minas, unable to get back into Portugal, had to retire into Valencia, pursued by the duke of Berwick. Philip then returned to Madrid.

After the misfortunes of the last campaign Louis had made proposals for a treaty, first to the states alone and then to them and Marlborough, offering to cede to Charles either Spain and the Indies or the Italian dominions, with a barrier to the Dutch and compensation to the duke of Savoy. His offers, however, were rejected, and Marlborough again took the field (1707). But the campaign proved utterly inactive, as the duke of Vendome, the French general, would give no opportunity for fighting. In Spain the allied forces under Galway and Das Minas (contrary to the opinion of Peterborough, who advised a defensive system) advanced into the kingdom of Murcia to engage the duke of Berwick. They found him (April 25th) encamped on the vega or plain of Almanza; his army, which had been reinforced from France, amounted to about twenty-five thousand men, while that of the allies did not exceed seventeen thousand. His superiority in cavalry was very great; his troops were fresh, while theirs were fatigued with a morning's march. The battle commenced at three in the afternoon; the contest was for some time most obstinate; but Galway and Das Minas both being wounded and obliged to leave the field, the allies were finally routed. They left four thousand men dead on the spot; nearly all the remaining infantry were obliged to surrender; the generals fled to Catalonia with about three thousand five hundred cavalry. Valencia and Aragon were speedily reduced to the obedience of Philip, and the campaign closed with the siege and capture of Lerida.

In the month of July the duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene had entered Provence with an army of thirty thousand men and laid siege to Toulon, while a British fleet under Sir Charles Cloudesley Shovel attacked it from the sea. The defence of the garrison, however, was gallant; and as a large army was said to be hastening to its relief, the duke raised the siege and retired. As Admiral Shovel was returning to England his fleet ran on the rocks westward of Scilly. His own ship, the *Association*, foundered, and himself and all his crew perished; the same was the fate of the *Eagle* and the *Romney*.

In the spring of 1708, Louis, encouraged by intelligence of the discontent which prevailed in England and still more in Scotland, fitted out a fleet at Dunkirk, in which the son of James II, now called the Chevalier de St. George,

and in England the Pretender, embarked and sailed for Scotland. But Sir George Byng was at the Firth of Forth with an English squadron, and they found it impossible to effect a landing. After being beaten about by storms for a month, they got back in a shattered condition to Dunkirk.

The French army in the Netherlands was commanded by the king's grandson, the duke of Burgundy, aided by the duke of Vendome. They surprised Ghent and Bruges and laid siege to Oudenarde. At the approach of Marlborough to its relief they retired; but he brought them to action at no great distance from that town (July 11th). The battle did not commence till evening, and the coming on of night saved the French from a rout which might have ended the war. They lost three thousand men killed and seven thousand taken; the loss of the allies was about two thousand men. After this victory Marlborough invested (August 13th) Lisle, the capital of French Flanders, a city of remarkable strength and largely garrisoned. Every possible effort for its relief was made by the French generals; but at length the town (October 25th) and finally the citadel (December 10th) were forced to surrender. Ghent was then besieged and recovered, and the campaign, regarded as one of the ablest during the war, terminated. The taking of the islands of Sardinia and Minorca gave some lustre to the cause of the allies in the south.

EXACTIONS OF THE ALLIES CAUSE A RENEWAL OF WAR

The losses which France had sustained now (1709) made Louis sincerely anxious for peace, and he was willing to surrender all the Spanish dominions except Naples, to give the Dutch a sufficient barrier, etc. The allies, however, insisted on the cession of the Spanish dominions without exception, and even on Louis aiding to drive his grandson out of Spain. These terms he rejected as an insult; he addressed a manifesto to his subjects; and, exhausted as they were by famine and taxation, the eminent loyalty of the people enabled him to renew the war with augmented vigour.

The fortune of war was, however, still adverse to France. The first act of the renewed drama was the investment of Tournay by the allies and its surrender after a gallant defence (September 3rd). Prince Eugene and Marlborough then prepared to invest Mons. Marshal Villars hastened to its relief; he posted his army between two woods near Malplaquet, and fortified his camp with redoubts and intrenchments. Here, however, he was attacked (September 11th) by the allies. The armies were nearly equal in number, each being about ninety thousand men: the action was the most desperately contested during the war; the honour of the day remained to the allies with a list of twenty thousand killed and wounded, while the French retired with the loss of fourteen thousand. The siege and capture of Mons terminated the campaign. In Spain fortune was adverse to the allies; they lost the town of Alicant, and they were defeated on the plain of Gudiña.

Negotiations for peace were resumed in 1710, and a congress sat at the little town of Gertruydenburg. Louis seemed to be most moderate; but his sincerity was doubted and the conference was broken off. The taking of Douay and some other towns alone signalised the campaign in the Netherlands; but events of greater importance took place in Spain.

The army of Charles was commanded by the English general Stanhope and the Austrian marshal Staremburg; that of Philip by the marquis of Villadarias. The former entered Aragon, while the latter invaded Catalonia: as it was on its return, the allies wished to cut it off from Lerida, and on the

evening of the 27th of July, their cavalry, led by Stanhope in person, engaged and routed, near the village of Almenara, a superior body of the Spanish cavalry. Night saved the Spanish army from a total rout. They retired to Lerida and thence to Zaragoza, whither they were followed by the allies, who passed the Ebro unopposed. The rival monarchs were present with their armies; that of Philip counted twenty-five thousand, that of Charles twenty-three thousand men. A battle was fought under the walls of that ancient city (August 20th), which ended in the total defeat of the Spaniards, who lost five thousand slain and wounded, four thousand prisoners, and all their colours and artillery. The loss of the victors was only fifteen hundred men. Philip fled to Madrid and thence to Valladolid, and Charles soon after entered the capital, but he found it nearly deserted. The fidelity of the Castilians to his rival was invincible, and their efforts soon placed him at the head of another army, of which the duke of Vendome took the command.

As Catalonia was menaced by the French, the allies resolved to return thither; on account of the difficulty of procuring supplies they were obliged to march in separate divisions, and Vendome, having with his entire army surrounded Stanhope, who had about five thousand English troops, in the town of Brihuega, forced him to surrender (December 9th) after a most gallant defence. Next day Vendome gave battle on the plain of Villa Viciosa. to Staremburg, who was advancing to the relief of Stanhope. The honour of the day remained with the German; but he was so harassed by the partisans in his retreat that he did not bring more than seven thousand men back to Barcelona. The war in Spain was now virtually at an end; it was plain that the Castilian spirit was not to be subdued; and the succession of Charles to the imperial throne soon altered the relations of Europe.

AGITATION REGARDING THE SEPARATION OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

We now return to the domestic affairs of England during the time of the war. Since the accession of James I, the necessity of a closer union between the two British kingdoms had been apparent to judicious statesmen. The Act of Security passed by the Scottish parliament in 1704 proved the danger of delaying that measure any longer; for by this it was enacted that, on the death of the queen without issue, the estates should appoint a successor of the royal line and a Protestant; but that it should not be the same person who would succeed to the throne of England, unless the independence of the Scottish nation and parliament, and the religion, trade, and liberty of the people had previously been secured against English influence. The queen gave her assent to this act by the advice of Godolphin, whose object is said to have been to frighten the English into a union of the kingdoms by the terror of a separation of the two British crowns. If such was his plan, it was eminently successful. The act was regarded in England as almost a declaration of war. A bill rapidly passed both houses, empowering the queen to appoint commissioners for a union of the kingdoms; declaring the Scots aliens if they did not accede to a treaty or adopt the Hanoverian succession within a year; prohibiting the importation of their cattle and linens; and appointing cruisers to prevent their trade with France. An address was made to the queen to put the towns of Carlisle, Berwick, Newcastle, and Hull in a state of defence; troops were marched to the borders; and the six northern counties were called on to arm for their defence.

In the Scottish parliament there were three parties; the court party,

[1706 A.D.]

headed by the duke of Queensberry; the jacobites, whose chief was the duke of Hamilton; and the country party, who, though zealous for the independence of the kingdom, were attached to the Protestant succession. In this party there were various shades of opinion; it contained royalists and republicans, of which last class Fletcher of Saltoun was by far the most eminent. This man was the perfect model of those who with pure motives seek to convert a monarchy into a republic. He was, as it was expressed, "brave as the sword he wore," of unstained honour, of strict probity, of ardent patriotism, of simple and nervous eloquence, of extensive reading and knowledge of mankind; but he was stern and obstinate, impatient of contradiction, chimerical in his projects, and enthusiastic in his spirit; in a word, a man who would dictate, not concede; and meliorate on his own principles, or not at all. A portion of the country party, comprising the marquis of Tweeddale, Lord Belhaven, and other late ministers of the crown, formed what was termed the *Squadrone Volante*, and sought to trim the balance between the two parties of court and opposition.[b]

Apart from all other considerations, looking to the position of affairs in the world at that time, there lay in the conflict of the great powers a most pressing call for the union. At any moment the French could invite the very numerous adherents of the pretender in Scotland to rise; what then would become of the security of their religion or of the liberty of the people? The party which conducted the administration could maintain itself only by means of a union with England. And for England it was of the utmost importance to anticipate a change of affairs in Scotland. The union was one of the wishes of the whigs in accordance with their previous policy; but the tories also declared themselves in favour of it: they would otherwise have been regarded as opponents of the Protestant succession.

But if the English were so inclined, they had a price moreover to offer which Scotland could not withstand. We have noticed the sudden awakening of the commercial spirit of Scotland; the animosity then felt was founded chiefly on the opposition which the English had showed to the first risings of this spirit. They now determined to offer their hand to the Scots in this particular. They guaranteed them a share in their colonies and in their foreign trade; in return for which the Scots adopted the English imposts and a part of their system of taxation, especially the excise duties. This of course involved also a share in paying the interest of the English national debt: but a compensation to the Scots [known as the Equivalent] was voted. The essence of the agreement lies in a union of imposts and trade which for the more wealthy country could be neither agreeable nor advantageous; but all special interests had now to be given up once for all. It was hard for the Scots to let go their legislative and administrative autonomy, for this too had been hitherto secured to them by the maintenance of a special privy council of their own. When they on the other hand stipulated for the integrity of their church constitution, the Anglicans on their side consented with the greatest reluctance. But the sense of danger to both parties if the separation continued overruled all difficulties. In the meetings of the commissioners of both countries to deliberate about conditions, which Lord Somers, though not holding any public office at the time, conducted with that legal and political superiority which is always so decisive, no ill feeling or discord for this once arose.[c]

The Scottish parliament met on the 13th of October: the duke of Queensberry, a man of the highest rank and most conciliating manners, prudent and resolute, sat as the royal commissioner. The treaty was read, and then

printed and published. Forthwith a storm of indignation burst forth over the whole kingdom; each class saw danger to its own peculiar interests; all fired at the thought of the loss of national independence. Addresses against it were poured in from all parts; tumults arose in Edinburgh; the Cameronians of the west were preparing to take up arms and dissolve the parliament by force. Two-thirds of the nation, in fact, were decidedly opposed to the union.

THE ACT OF UNION (1707 A.D.)

However, the force of reason, the force of argument, but, above all, the force of the Equivalent, finally prevailed against all the efforts of mistaken patriotism. The *Squadrone Volante* was gained to the court; Hamilton proved false to his party; and the act of ratification was passed by the large majority of one hundred and ten. By a separate act the Presbyterian form of church government was secured. To gratify the poor nobility so numerous in Scotland, the privilege of freedom from personal arrest was accorded to the Scottish peerage. The Act of Union, when transmitted to England, after encountering some opposition from the high tories in the house of peers, received the approbation of the English legislature, and (May 1st, 1707) the two kingdoms were incorporated into one, to be called Great Britain.

PARTY FACTION

During this time the struggle of parties went on in the English parliament and cabinet. The tories twice renewed their efforts to carry their bill against occasional conformity, even attempting to tack it to the bill for the land-tax. In the cabinet, Marlborough and Godolphin were thwarted by them in their views respecting the mode of conducting the war. These ministers contrived, however, to get rid of Rochester in 1703; and in the following year they were equally successful with respect to Nottingham, Jersey, and Sir Edward Seymour. The duchess was most anxious to effect a union between Marlborough and the whigs, but, great as her influence was over him, she did not succeed. Harley became secretary in place of Nottingham; and Henry St. John, a young man of great promise, was made secretary of war. The attempts of the tories to depreciate his glorious victory at Blenheim tended however greatly to alienate Marlborough from them; and the result of the elections for a new parliament in 1705, which gave a clear majority to the whigs in the commons, led him and Godolphin to contemplate a union with that party. Even previous to the meeting of parliament, the whig influence had been sufficient to cause the dismissal of the duke of Buckingham (late marquis of Normanby) from the privy seal, and the appointment of the duke of Newcastle; and the transfer of the great seal from Sir Nathan Wright to Mr. William Cowper. The contest for the office of speaker was between Mr. Smith of the whig and Mr. Bromly of the tory party: the former was supported by the court, and carried it by a majority of forty-three. The speech from the throne accorded with the views of the whigs, and the addresses of the two houses re-echoed it.

The first attack of the tories on their rivals was a motion in the lords (November 15th) to address the queen to invite the presumptive heiress of the crown to reside in England. By this they hoped to reduce the whigs to a disagreeable dilemma; for, if they supported it, they would offend the queen; if they opposed it, they would injure themselves both with the house of Han-

over and with the nation. They, however, manfully opposed it, and brought in a bill for the appointment of a regency to act in case of the queen's demise, and another for naturalising the whole of the electoral family. These bills were carried, after much opposition to the former from the tories; and the dislike of the queen to the whigs was now evidently diminished. As much had been said during the debate of the church being in danger, Lord Halifax moved to appoint a day for inquiry into that danger. When the day came, an angry debate took place; but both houses concurred, by large majorities, in a resolution that the church was in a most safe and flourishing condition.

The strength of the tory party was weakened by division, while the whigs acted in one compact body, under the direction of the junto, as it was named, which was composed of the lords Somers, Halifax, Wharton, Orford, and Sunderland; this last the son of James' minister, and son-in-law of Marlborough, but the devoted admirer of Somers. The bias of the queen, the general, and the treasurer was to the tories; but the first had been offended by their late conduct, and the last two saw that it was only from the whigs that they could expect support in their foreign policy. The junto felt their power, and insisted on a larger share for their party on the profits and influence of office. They required that Sir Charles Hedges should be dismissed, and Sunderland be made secretary in his place; but it was the policy of the queen to give sway to neither party; and she had, moreover, a personal dislike to Sunderland. The policy of her two great ministers had been the same as hers, but they saw the necessity of giving way; yet it cost them a year's labour and the threat of resignation to overcome the reluctance of the queen (1708).

Harley's Treachery

They had, however, been secretly thwarted in the whole affair by their colleague Harley, and a bed-chamber influence of which they were not aware. The duchess of Marlborough had a cousin who was married to a Mr. Hill, an eminent Turkey merchant, who became a bankrupt; his family in consequence fell into great poverty, and the duchess kindly provided for his children. She placed Abigail, one of the daughters, about the person of the queen as bed-chamber woman, reckoning, of course, that she would always adhere to the interests of her patroness. But Miss Hill soon found that she might aspire higher. The queen, weak and yielding as she was, gradually became weary of the domineering temper of the duchess, and she poured her complaints into the ear of her obsequious attendant, who, it was soon observed, was fast rising in favour and influence. It happened that Miss Hill was related to Harley on the father's, as to the duchess on the mother's side; and, as her politics were tory, that wily statesman entered into a close alliance with her, and by her means influenced the queen. The duchess' friends warned her in vain of the way in which her power was being undermined. At length the private marriage of Miss Hill with Mr. Masham, an officer in the royal houshold, celebrated in the presence of only the queen and Doctor Arbuthnot the court physician, opened her eyes. Godolphin about the same time obtained convincing proofs of Harley's secret machinations.

The policy of Marlborough and Godolphin in joining neither party had the usual fate; both were alienated from them. The ill success of the war in 1707 afforded topics of attack to the discontented. The two ministers saw more strongly than ever the necessity of conciliating the whigs; and they received further proofs of Harley's treachery. The whigs having given them

the strongest assurances of their support, they waited on the queen and told her that they could serve her no longer unless Harley were dismissed. She remained firm.

On the next meeting of the cabinet-council the two ministers were absent. Harley was proceeding to business, when the duke of Somerset said he did not see how they could deliberate without the general and treasurer. The looks of the others expressed their assent; Harley was disconcerted; the queen broke up the council in anger and alarm. The commons and the city gave signs of their discontent. Still the queen was unmoved; but Harley himself saw the difficulties of his situation, and resigned. St. John and the attorney-general, Sir Simon Harcourt, followed his example, and their places were given to Mr. Boyle, Mr. Robert Walpole, and Sir James Montague, brother of Lord Halifax. This last appointment was long resisted by the queen; and all the influence of Marlborough and Godolphin failed to procure a seat in the cabinet, though without office, for Somers. The queen, in fact, disliked the whigs more than ever, and was still secretly actuated by Harley; and they showed themselves as factious as the tories had been; for, bent on coming into office, they had resolved to annoy both the queen and Marlborough by an attack on the admiralty, that is, on her husband and on his brother, Admiral Churchill, by whom the prince was guided. Marlborough had consented to give up his brother, when the opportune death of the prince (October 28th) removed all difficulties. Lord Pembroke was made lord high-admiral, and was succeeded by Somers as president of the council; and Wharton became lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

THE WHIG MINISTRY; THE TRIAL OF SACHEVERELL (1710 A.D.)

Nothing, however, would content the whigs short of the possession of all offices of emolument and influence; and the condition of the general and treasurer, between them and the queen, was far from enviable. To add to their embarrassments, the desire of peace was becoming general. The apparent willingness of Louis to concede weighed with many; the pressure of taxation with others; the want of French wines and other foreign luxuries rendered numbers pacific; and Marlborough was charged with desiring to prolong the war from selfish motives. "All the bottle-companions," says Cunningham, "many physicians, and great numbers of the lawyers and inferior clergy, and in fine the loose women too, were united together in the faction against the duke of Marlborough." "It was strange," says he, "to see how much the desire of French wine and the dearness of it alienated many men from his friendship."

Orford having replaced Pembroke at the admiralty, the ministry may be regarded as whig from the close of the year 1708, when a new parliament met, and Sir Richard Onslow, a whig, was chosen speaker. In its second session (1709) the violence of party zeal hurried it into a measure which eventually overthrew the ministry.

There was a clergyman, named Sacheverell, a preacher at St. Saviour's, Southwark, a man of little talent and less learning, but of a restless and ambitious temper. This man took on him to be a champion of high-church doctrines; and, in a sermon preached before the lord-mayor and aldermen on the 5th of November, he asserted the monstrous doctrine of passive obedience, in the most unqualified terms; attacked the dissenters and the toleration; styled the moderate bishops "perfidious prelates and false sons of the church"; and called on the people to stand up in its defence. He also

[1710 A.D.]

assailed the administration, particularly Godolphin, whom he styled Volpone. This wretched farrago was published at the desire of the lord-mayor; the tories extolled it as almost inspired, and they circulated forty thousand copies of it. The ministers held several consultations. Somers and Marlborough were, it is said by Coxe,[d] for leaving the matter to the ordinary tribunals; but Godolphin, whose feelings were wounded, and the others resolved on an impeachment. Articles were therefore exhibited against Sacheverell, and the 27th of February, 1710, was the day fixed for the trial in Westminster Hall. In the interval the tories and the clergy in general made every effort to inflame the minds of the populace and excite their zeal for the church.

The trial lasted for three weeks. The managers were Sir Joseph Jekyl, General Stanhope, Walpole, King, and others. The Doctor, as he was called, was defended by Harcourt and Phipps, and assisted by doctors Atterbury, Smallridge, and Friend. He was brought each day from the Temple, where he had been placed, to the hall in a coach, round which the people pressed, eager to kiss his hand. The queen came daily to hear the trial; and the populace used to crowd round her sedan, crying, "God bless your majesty and the church; we hope your majesty is for Doctor Sacheverell."

The managers had a delicate part to act; for, as Sacheverell had asserted that the Revolution was not a case of resistance (he did not impugn it), they had to show that it was, and thence to assert the lawfulness of taking arms against the law, and that in the presence of the queen. They, however, did not shrink from their duty. Sacheverell's counsel freely acknowledged the lawfulness of resistance, but they maintained that he was justified in his doctrine of non-resistance by the homilies and the writings of eminent Anglican divines. He was voted guilty by a majority of sixty-nine to fifty-two, of which last thirty-four signed a protest. He was sentenced to be suspended from preaching for three years, and his sermon to be publicly burned; and the Oxford decree of 1683 was condemned to share its fate. This gentle sentence was regarded by the tory party as a triumph, and such in fact it was. Bonfires and illuminations, in London and all over the kingdom, testified their joy; and addresses in favour of non-resistance poured in from all quarters.

The Triumph of the Tories

Harley and the favourite, now sure of the temper of the nation, resolved to hesitate no longer. They had already sought to mortify Marlborough, by getting the queen, on the death of Lord Essex, to give his regiment to Major Hill, Mrs. Masham's brother. Marlborough, highly indignant, insisted on the favourite being dismissed, or else he would resign; but the efforts of Godolphin and other friends accommodated the matter, and he was contented with the disposal of the regiment being left with him. To prove, as it were, the influence of the favourite, the queen soon after gave Hill a pension of £1,000 a year; and she made the duke consent to raise him to the rank of brigadier.

It was Harley's plan to overthrow the ministry by degrees. He began by causing the queen to take the office of lord-chamberlain from the marquis of Kent, and confer it on the duke of Shrewsbury; for this amiable but versatile nobleman, who had returned from Italy, where he had resided for some years, was now alienated in some degree from the whigs on public and even on private grounds, as they did not, he thought, pay due attention to

his lady, an Italian countess who had been originally his mistress, and who now governed him. He was therefore easily gained over by Harley. The queen made the appointment (April 13th) while Godolphin was at Newmarket, and announced it to him by a dry letter. The treasurer acted with his usual indecision: the whigs fearing a dissolution suffered themselves to be cajoled by Shrewsbury; and Harley, now reckoning the victory sure, made his next attack on Sunderland, a man whose overbearing temper had raised him many enemies, and to whom the queen had a peculiar antipathy. The treasurer was as usual without spirit, his whig colleagues clung to their places with the pertinacity distinctive of their party, and abandoned Sunderland; and the queen had the gratification (June 14th) of dismissing him and giving the seals to Lord Dartmouth, a zealous high-church man. Jacobites and high tories now flocked to court and congratulated the queen on her emancipation, as they affected to regard it; the duke of Beaufort, for instance, said to her, "Your majesty is now queen indeed."

The next stroke stunned the whigs. On the 7th of August, Godolphin, who saw that the queen was annoyed at some things he had said in council, had an audience of her. He concluded his discourse by asking, "Is it the will of your majesty that I should go on?" "Yes," said she, without hesitation. That very evening he received a letter from her, desiring him to break his white staff of office! The treasury was put into commission, Harley taking the chancellorship of the exchequer.

The temper of the nation had now been ascertained in various ways, and the prevalence of the high-church and tory spirit was beyond question. That wretched tool Sacheverell having been presented by a Mr. Lloyd with a living in North Wales, his party took advantage of his going to take possession of it to make a demonstration. His progress thither, as it was termed, resembled those of the monarchs in former times. The nobility entertained him sumptuously at their houses; the University of Oxford showed him equal honour; the magistrates of corporate towns met him with their insignia of office. The hedges were for miles decked with garlands and lined with spectators, streamers waved from the steeples of the churches, the air resounded with the cry of, "The church and Doctor Sacheverell!" At Bridgenorth, a Mr. Cresswell met him at the head of four thousand men on horseback, and as many on foot, wearing white knots edged with gold and leaves of gilt laurel in their hats. It is a pity that so much really good and honest feeling should have been wasted on so unworthy an object.

Emboldened by these signs of the popular sentiment, the cabal thought they might now safely venture on a dissolution and a total change of ministry. The queen therefore came to the council (September 21st), and ordered a proclamation to be issued for dissolving the parliament. The chancellor rose to speak, but she said she would admit of no debate, for that such was her pleasure. A general change of administration immediately followed; Lord Somers, the duke of Devonshire, and Mr. Boyle resigned, and their places were taken by Lord Rochester, the duke of Buckingham, and Mr. St. John. Wharton and Orford having also resigned, the lieutenancy of Ireland was given to the duke of Ormonde, and the admiralty was put into commission. All the efforts of Harley and the queen having failed to induce Lord Cowper to retain the great seal, it was put into commission, but was soon given to Sir Simon Harcourt. Of all the whigs, the dukes of Somerset and Newcastle alone remained in high offices.

Thus fell the most glorious, the most able, and we may add perhaps the most virtuous and patriotic administration that England had possessed since

the days of Elizabeth. It fell by disunion in itself, by the imprudent impeachment of a contemptible divine, and by the intrigues of the bed-chamber, where a weak woman, whom the constitution had invested with power, was domineered over by one waiting-maid and wheedled and flattered by another. When the parliament met on the 25th of November, it proved almost entirely tory, and Bromley was chosen speaker with little or no opposition.

Marlborough on his return was subjected to every kind of indignity. The queen herself desired him not to allow a vote of thanks to him to be moved in parliament, and he had the mortification to see the thanks of the houses bestowed on Peterborough for his Quixotic exploits in Spain. In spite of his most urgent solicitations, his duchess was deprived of her places at court, which were divided between the duchess of Somerset and Mrs. Masham, and an attempt was even made to convict her of peculation. Swift and the other libellers in the service of the ministry poured out all their venom on him. "He was ridiculed," says Smollet,[e] "in public libels, and reviled in private conversation. Instances were everywhere repeated of his fraud, avarice, and extortion; of his insolence, cruelty, ambition, and misconduct. Even his courage was called in question, and this consummate general was represented as the lowest of mankind." Among his other annoyances, he had to listen to lectures on his military conduct from Harley and St. John. Yet he did not resign; for Godolphin and the whigs, the emperor, and all the allies implored him to retain the command of the army, as otherwise all their hopes would be gone.

Harley, in the midst of his triumph, found that he was not to lie on a bed of roses. The more violent tories, headed by Rochester, regarding him and his friend as lukewarm, formed to control him a combination of not less than one hundred and thirty members of the house of commons, under the name of the October Club, and the whigs on their part had a powerful auxiliary in the duchess of Somerset, a lady of high character, and loved and respected by the queen. Harley and St. John immediately began to make overtures to the duke of Marlborough, and it is probable that they must have come to terms with the whigs, or have succumbed to the October Club, had not a fortunate event arisen to extricate them (1711).

There was a French refugee, called the marquis Guiscard, who had had the command of a regiment, which being broken after the battle of Almanza, he obtained a pension of £500 a year. Harley reduced this pension to £400, and Guiscard in his rage proposed to the French cabinet to acquaint them with sundry secrets of state which he possessed. His letters were intercepted, and he was arrested on a charge of high treason. He was brought before the council at the Cockpit (March 8th), and an order was made to convey him to Newgate. He resisted the messenger, and rushing forward struck Harley in the bosom with a penknife which he had concealed; the blade broke against the bone; he struck again with the stump, but St. John and the others drawing their swords fell on and gave him several wounds. He was then taken to Newgate, where he died of the injuries which he had received. The general sympathy was thus awakened for Harley, and he was regarded as a victim to his zeal for the public service. The death of Lord Rochester (May 2nd) was also of advantage to him, and he was forthwith (24th) raised to the peerage by the title of earl of Oxford and Mortimer, and (29th) made lord high-treasurer. The duke of Buckingham succeeded Rochester on the 12th of June, and several other promotions took place in the course of the year.

THE FALL OF MARLBOROUGH

The military events of this year, the last of Marlborough's glorious career of victory, were few; but no campaign better displayed his consummate military skill. Villars had drawn strongly fortified lines from Bouchain on the Schelt to Arras, and he proudly styled them Marlborough's *ne plus ultra*. Yet the duke, by a skilful manœuvre, passed them without the loss of a single man, and then invested and took Bouchain (September 14th), though situated in a morass strongly fortified, and defended by a large garrison, with an army more numerous than that of the allies at hand to relieve it.

But it was needless for Marlborough to gain victories and capture towns; the ministry were so bent on peace that they were actually in secret negotiation with the court of France. In the beginning of the year (January 11th) their agent Gaultier, a French priest, waited on the marquis de Torcy, the French secretary of state, and abruptly asked him if he wished for peace, which was, says Torcy, "like asking a sick man whether he wishes to recover." Louis however saw his advantage, and affected not to be in any great need of it; he endeavoured to draw the English cabinet into a separate negotiation. Matthew Prior, the poet, was sent secretly to Paris, and M. Mesnager to London, and preliminary articles were agreed on (October 8th), which were then communicated to the Dutch and imperial ministers at the court of London, the latter of whom caused them to be inserted in the paper called the *Postboy*, and their appearance excited the indignation of all who had a feeling of national dignity and honour.

The ministers of the allies made strong representations against the peace, and the whig party was now strengthened by the accession of Lord Nottingham, who was offended with the ministers. The queen tried to no purpose the effect of closeting on Marlborough, Somers, Cowper, and others: an amendment to the address, declaring that no peace could be safe or honourable if Spain and the West Indies were to be allotted to any branch of the house of Bourbon, was proposed by Nottingham and carried against the ministry, who however had influence enough to have a similar clause rejected in the commons by a large majority. But the queen herself now gave symptoms of wavering, and the timid and self-interested in both houses began to look about them. Oxford saw that he must act with decision or be lost. As he ascribed the power of the opposition chiefly to the influence of Marlborough, he resolved to strike him down; charges of fraud and peculation were therefore made against him, and the queen, over whom the bed-chamber party had recovered their influence, wrote him a letter on New Year's Day, 1712, dismissing him from all his employments. To follow up their victory, the ministers had recourse the very next day to a most unconstitutional act of prerogative, by calling no less than twelve new peers to the upper house, among whom was the husband of the favourite. The queen then sent a message, desiring the house to adjourn to the 14th: as this was an unusual measure, a debate arose, and the resolution was carried only by the votes of the new peers. When the question was about to be put to them, Wharton, alluding to their number, asked one of them if they voted individually or by their foreman.

Secure of majorities in both houses, the ministry proceeded in the charges against Marlborough. These were two: the one, the having received an annual sum from the contractor of bread for the army; the other, a deduction of 2½ per cent. on the pay of the foreign auxiliaries; and the whole was

made to amount to the sum of £282,366. These charges had been made before the return of the duke, and he had sent home a refutation of them. With respect to the first, he said that it had been a perquisite of the general commanding-in-chief in the Low Countries even before the Revolution; and this was proved by Sir John Germain, who had been aide-de-camp to Prince Waldeck in 1689. The percentage, he said, was the voluntary gift of the allied princes, to be employed for secret service. It had been originally granted for that purpose to King William by the members of the Grand Alliance, and had been continued to the duke, with the approbation of the queen, whose warrant, countersigned by Sir Charles Hedges, was produced. It amounted only to £30,000 a year; and the duke was always better served than King William had been, who spent £50,000 a year in this way. But it was useless to refute, the ministers were sure of their majority; and it was voted, by two hundred and seventy to one hundred and sixty-five, that the former was illegal, and that the latter was public money, and ought to be accounted for. An address was made to the queen, and she ordered the attorney-general to prosecute the duke; but there the matter ended. The ministers did not dare to impeach him, or to reply to a vindication of him which was published, or to prosecute it as a libel. An attempt to fix on him the stigma of trafficking in commissions served only to show the malignity of his enemies.

During these disgraceful proceedings Prince Eugene arrived in London (January 5th) with proposals from the emperor for carrying on the war with vigour. He was received, of course, with all due marks of attention, both public and private, and the queen presented him with a sword worth £4,500; but the ministers were too much bent on a dishonourable peace to attend to his proposals, and he quitted England in disgust (March 17th). Some of the ministers had even countenanced a profligate Jesuit named Plunket in his pretended discovery of a plot of Eugene, Marlborough, and the leading whigs to seize the queen, murder Oxford and his friends, and place the elector of Hanover on the throne.

THE PEACE OF UTRECHT (1713 A.D.)

The negotiations for peace were now going on at Utrecht, whither all the allies had sent ministers; but the courts of Paris and London were still treating in secret. In the midst of the negotiations an event occurred which threatened to put an end to them. The dauphin had died in the preceding year, and death now swept away his son the duke of Burgundy, with his wife and their eldest son; and there only remained the youngest son, a sickly infant in the cradle, between Philip and the throne of France. As his retention of the crown of Spain had been all along a condition of the peace, Louis offered that he should make a formal renunciation of his right to that of France; at the same time candidly owning that such an act would be, by the laws of France, utterly invalid. Yet even this feeble security contented the English cabinet, and they agreed to desert their allies if they refused to consent to it.

The English troops in the Netherlands were now commanded by the duke of Ormonde; the whole confederate army of 122,000 men was directed by Prince Eugene. The French army under Villars amounted only to 100,000 men, ill-equipped and dispirited. To force their camp, pour the allied troops over the plains of Picardy and Champagne, and dictate peace under the walls of Paris, were now not only possible but probable events. But no glory

awaited Ormonde. When the queen had informed parliament of the preliminaries having been agreed on, orders were sent to him to cease from all operations, and march with his troops to Dunkirk, which Louis had engaged to give to the English. The foreign troops in British pay spurned the orders to separate from the confederates. "The Hessians," said their gallant prince, "will gladly march, if it be to fight the French." "We do not serve for pay, but for fame," said another commander. A general hiss ran through the English camp when the cessation of arms was proclaimed; the soldiers tore their hair with rage, and reviled their general; the officers shut themselves up in their tents: tears flowed from their eyes when they thought of Marlborough and his glories. Ormonde's troops were refused admittance into the fortified towns, and he had to seize Ghent and Bruges. Louis hesitated to give up Dunkirk till admonished of the danger of refusal.

Eugene captured Quesnoy; but the desertion of England had struck a damp to the hearts of the allies; and Villars restored the ascendancy of France. The Peace of Utrecht was signed on the 14th of April, 1713, by all the powers except the emperor and the empire. By this peace Philip was to retain Spain and the Indies, giving the Netherlands and Italian dominions to the emperor, and Sicily to the duke of Savoy. The title of the queen of England and the Protestant succession were acknowledged; Gibraltar and Minorca and some parts of America were ceded to England; and an *asiento*, or contract for supplying the Spanish colonies with negroes for thirty years, was granted to the English merchants.

There can be no doubt that by this peace all the ends of the Grand Alliance were frustrated, and the splendid victories of Blenheim and Ramillies rendered useless; and had not heaven preserved the life of the puny heir in France, another general war must have ensued, or Philip have been tamely suffered to unite the two crowns. On the other hand, it seemed manifestly unjust to impose a sovereign on the Spanish nation; yet it was hardly less so to dismember the monarchy. But loss of honour was the great loss of England in this opprobrious treaty. She basely deserted and betrayed her allies; and the infamy would be indelible, were the fact not certain that it was the deed of an unprincipled minister, the secret foe of the Protestant succession, and supported by the jacobites and high tories, and not the act of the nation.

THE DEATH OF GODOLPHIN (1713 A.D.)

While the treaty which was to blight all the glorious promises of his administration was pending, Lord Godolphin died. This upright and disinterested statesman, who had enjoyed so many opportunities of amassing wealth, left only £12,000 behind him. Yet the present ministry had made a base attempt to fix a charge of peculation on him also; they had, however, signally failed.

The character of Lord Godolphin ranks high for probity and disinterestedness. Burnet says that "he was the silentest and modestest man who was perhaps ever bred in a court. His notions," he adds, "were for the court, but his incorrupt and sincere way of managing the concerns of the treasury created in all people a very high esteem for him. He had true principles of religion and virtue, and never heaped up wealth. So that all things being laid together, he was one of the worthiest and wisest men who were employed in that age." The prelate elsewhere speaks of Godolphin in similar terms, and others express themselves to the same effect.[b]

[1713 A.D.]

"The administration of Marlborough and Godolphin," says Stanhope, "shines forth with peculiar lustre in our annals. No preceding one, perhaps, had ever comprised so many great men or achieved so many great actions. Besides its two eminent chiefs, it could boast of the mild yet lofty wisdom of Somers, the matured intellect of Halifax, and the rising abilities of Walpole. At another time, also, the most subtle statesman and the most accomplished speaker of their age, Harley and St. John, were numbered in its ranks. It had struck down the overgrown power of France. It had saved Germany, and conquered Flanders. 'But at length,' says Bishop Fleetwood, with admirable eloquence, 'God for our sins permitted the spirit of discord to go forth, and, by troubling sore the camp, the city, and the country (and oh that it had altogether spared the place sacred to his worship!) to spoil for a time this beautiful and pleasing prospect, and give us in its stead — I know not what. Our enemies will tell the rest with pleasure.'

"To our enemies, indeed, I would willingly leave the task of recording the disgraceful transactions of that period. Let them relate the bed-chamber influence of Mrs. Masham with her sovereign, and the treacherous cabals of Harley against his colleagues—by what unworthy means the great administration of Godolphin was sapped and overthrown — how his successors surrendered the public interests to serve their own — how subserviency to France became our leading principle of policy — how the Dutch were forsaken and the Catalans betrayed — until at length this career of wickedness and weakness received its consummation in the shameful Peace of Utrecht. It used to be observed, several centuries ago, that as the English always had the better of the French in battles, so the French always had the better of the English in treaties. But here it was a sin against light; not the ignorance which is deluded, but the falsehood which deludes. We may, perhaps, admit that it might be expedient to depart from the strict letter of the Grand Alliance — to consent to some dismemberment of the Spanish monarchy — to purchase the resignation of Philip, or allow an equivalent for the elector of Bavaria by the cession of Sicily and Sardinia, or, perhaps, of Naples. So many hands had grasped at the royal mantle of Spain that it could scarcely be otherwise than rent in the struggle. But how can the friends of Bolingbroke and Oxford possibly explain or excuse the fact that they offered far better terms at Utrecht in 1712, than the French had been willing to accept at Gertruydenberg in 1709? Or if the dismissal of the duke of Marlborough raised the spirits of England's enemies and impaired the chances of the war, how is that dismissal itself to be defended?" *I*

WHIMSICAL AND JACOBITE TORIES

An attempt to dissolve the union at this time offers a curious instance of the change of party tactics. It was moved in the house of lords by one of the Scottish peers, was supported by the whigs and opposed by the tories, and lost by a majority only of four.

Oxford and St. John (lately created Viscount Bolingbroke), though they had united to overthrow the Godolphin ministry, had never been cordial friends. The former had the superiority in principle and in knowledge of business; but he was procrastinating, dissembling, cautious, mysterious, and intriguing, and therefore unable to gain the confidence of any party. He was of that class of statesmen who deal in expedients, and are always manœuvring; whose minds are too little to conceive anything grand and vast. The character of Bolingbroke was the very opposite; his talents were

splendid, his eloquence commanding, his manners and person graceful and elegant; but he was dissolute and unprincipled — an English Alcibiades. While Oxford leaned to the whigs and favoured the Protestant succession, Bolingbroke sought for support among the high tories, brought many of them into office, and formed a close alliance with the lady Masham. Devoid of religion, he affected to be a champion of the church; and, with a thorough contempt of the Stuarts and their maxims of government, he engaged in projects for their restoration. In these projects the dukes of Ormonde and Buckingham, the chancellor Harcourt, Sir William Wyndham, and other members of the cabinet shared; but the duke of Shrewsbury, the lords Dartmouth, Trevor, and Paulet, and Robinson bishop of London were firm to the Protestant succession. Lady Masham was a zealous jacobite. The queen hated the electoral family, and had no love for her brother, though she had some scruples about his right, which, however, were balanced by her attachment to the church. She veered about as the influence of Lady Somerset or Lady Masham prevailed.



A Beau of the Time of Queen Anne

The parliament having been dissolved, a new one met (February 16th, 1714). Its composition was much the same as before; but the tory portion was less powerful, being divided into Hanoverian tories, nicknamed Whimsicals, and jacobite tories, i.e., friends of the electoral family, or of the pretender. The danger was now in fact thought to be very imminent. The queen during the winter had a severe attack of gout, and it was manifest that she was fast drawing to her end; Oxford's influence was on the decline; the adherents of the house of Stuart were, through the influence of Bolingbroke, put into civil and military posts; and the jacobites gave open demonstrations of their designs. It was the general opinion that whichever of the competitors had the start would get the crown; and Schutz, the Hanoverian envoy, therefore, by the advice of the whig leaders, demanded a writ of summons for the electoral prince, as duke of Cambridge, with a view to his residence in England. The writ could not be refused, but the queen was highly indignant: she forbade Schutz the court, and wrote in strong terms to the electoral family. The sudden death, by apoplexy, of the princess Sophia (June 7th) was by some ascribed to the effect on her of the queen's letters.[b]

At any rate, she had been much affected by reading them, and on the day after their receipt, the 28th of May, whilst walking in the gardens of Herrenhausen, she fell dead into the arms of the electoral princess, afterwards Queen Caroline. She was a woman of most amiable temper and no mean acquirements, being perfect mistress of the Dutch, German, English, French, and Italian languages, and during her long life she had never belied the character that becomes an English and a royal birth. She used to say that she should die happy if she could only live to have "Here lies Sophia, queen of England," engraved upon her coffin; and it is remarkable within how very few weeks her wish would have been fulfilled.

[1714 A.D.]

The death of the princess enabled the elector, now become immediate heir to the English crown, to steer his course without disobliging either the sovereign or his friends. After pausing for nearly three weeks, he answered the queen's letter in most civil and submissive, but very vague, terms; and despatched orders to Baron Bothmar, his envoy at the Hague, to proceed to London, and to consult with the whig leaders, whether, after all the unavoidable delay that had occurred, any idea of sending over the electoral prince had not better be postponed till next session.

THE SCHISM ACT (1714 A.D.)

Meanwhile the English ministers were not inactive. Oxford, who had constantly endeavoured to keep well with the court of Hanover — who perhaps really intended its interests — who had early in the year sent thither his cousin Mr. Harley with warm expressions of duty and attachment, saw, with despair, that the late events had confirmed the distrust and aversion in that quarter, whilst he had failed to push his negotiations with the other. His influence with the queen was also daily declining, or, rather, had already ceased. In spite of all his whispers and manœuvres, Bolingbroke, in conjunction with Atterbury, perceiving how necessary it was to their ultimate designs still further to discourage, nay, even to crush the dissenters, drew up in council, and brought into parliament, as a government measure, the celebrated Schism Act. This act enjoins that no person in Great Britain shall keep any public or private school, or act as tutor, that has not first subscribed the declaration to conform to the Church of England and obtained a licence from the diocesan, and that upon failure of so doing the party may be committed to prison without bail; and that no such licence shall be granted before the party produces a certificate of his having received the sacrament, according to the communion of the Church of England, within the last year, and also subscribed the oaths of allegiance and supremacy.

This tyrannical act, introduced in the commons on the 12th of May by Sir William Wyndham, was of course vehemently opposed by the whigs. We know that Sir Peter King, Mr. Hampden, Sir Joseph Jekyll, and Robert Walpole spoke against it, although nothing beyond their names has been preserved on this occasion. But some observations of General Stanhope, which appear in the scanty reports of those debates, and which seem to have excited much attention, may perhaps be said, without undue praise, to be far in advance of the time at which they were delivered, and to show a large and enlightened toleration, which it was reserved for a much later generation to feel, acknowledge, and establish. We are told that he "showed, in particular, the ill consequences of this law, as it would of course occasion foreign education, which, on the one hand, would drain the kingdom of great sums of money, and, which was still worse, would fill the tender minds of young men with prejudices against their own country. He illustrated and strengthened his argument by the example of the English popish seminaries abroad, which, he said, were so pernicious to Great Britain, that, instead of making new laws to encourage foreign education, he could wish those already in force against papists were mitigated, and that they should be allowed a certain number of schools." It is singular that some of the most plain and simple notions, such as that of religious toleration, should be the slowest and most difficult to be impressed upon the human mind.

The Schism Act passed the commons by a majority of 237 against 126. In the lords, the second reading was moved by Bolingbroke and ably opposed

by lords Cowper and Wharton. "It is somewhat strange," said the latter, "that they should call schism in England what is the established religion in Scotland; and therefore if the lords, who represent the nobility of that part of Great Britain, are for this bill, I hope that, in order to be even with us and consistent with themselves, they will move for the bringing in another bill to prevent the growth of schism in their own country." Lord Halifax drew an animated contrast between the oppression now meditated on our own Protestant dissenters and the protection and encouragement of the reformed Walloons by Queen Elizabeth, and of the French Huguenots by William III, when both fled hither from domestic persecution. Lord Townshend said that he had lived a long time in Holland, and had observed that the wealth and strength of that great and powerful commonwealth lay in the number of its inhabitants; and, at the same time, he was persuaded that, if the states should cause the schools of any one sect tolerated in the United Provinces to be shut up, they would soon be as thin of people as Sweden or Spain. The earl of Nottingham concluded an eloquent speech on the same side with a bitter and impressive allusion to Swift, whose favour with the ministers was now firmly established and generally known. "My lords," he said, "I have many children, and I know not whether God Almighty will vouchsafe to let me live to give them the education I could wish they had. Therefore, my lords, I own I tremble when I think that a certain divine, who is hardly suspected of being a Christian, is in a fair way of being a bishop, and may one day give licences to those who shall be entrusted with the education of youth!"

All parties looked with great interest to the conduct of the lord treasurer on this occasion. It was, as usual, in the highest degree irresolute and ambiguous. In the cabinet he proposed to soften the most rigorous clauses; in the house he declared that he "had not yet considered of it"; and having induced the opposition to allow the second reading to pass without dividing, took care to absent himself on the day when it finally came to the vote. Such vacillating weakness sealed his political ruin.

THE DIVISION OF THE MINISTRY; THE FALL OF OXFORD

The passing of this bill appears to have flushed the jacobites with the most eager hopes, insomuch as to draw them from their usual fenced and guarded caution in debate. One of them, Sir William Whitlocke, member for the University of Oxford, speaking in the house of commons of the elector, said: "If he comes to the crown, which I hope he never will—" Here there was a loud cry and confusion, the whigs all calling out that Sir William should be brought to the bar to answer for his words. But he, with great adroitness, eluded their attack, and repaired his own imprudence. He said he would retract nothing; he only meant that, as the queen was younger than her heir presumptive, he hoped she would outlive him!

Meanwhile, the division amongst the ministers and the murmurs of their partisans had been daily rising higher. Bolingbroke himself was loud in his complaints. "If my grooms," he says, "did not live a happier life than I have done this great while, I am sure they would quit my service" His breach with the lord treasurer, which had long been widening, was now open and avowed. Their common friend, Swift, made indeed another effort for their reconciliation, and induced them to meet at Lady Masham's, when he preached union to them warmly, but in vain. Finding his remonstrances fruitless, and unwilling to take part against either of his patrons, he declared that he would leave town, and cease his counsels. Bolingbroke whispered

[1714 A.D.]

him, "You are in the right," whilst the lord treasurer said, as usual, "All will do well." Swift adhered to his intention, and retired into Berkshire, and with him departed the last hopes of Oxford.

Another former friend of the lord treasurer had become not less active in striving for his downfall than she had been in promoting his power. Lady Masham, still the ruling favourite of the queen, was now the close confederate of Bolingbroke and the jacobites. In July she was so far impelled by her resentment as to tell Oxford to his face, "You never did the queen any service, nor are you capable of doing her any"; and what is more surprising, Oxford bore this taunt with silence and submission, and made no reply, and went to sup with her at her house the same evening! Such meanness never yet averted a fall.

What had Oxford to oppose to these bed-chamber intrigues? Nothing. His own artifices had become too refined for success, and too frequent for concealment. His character was understood. His popularity was gone. His support, or, at least, connivance, of the Schism Act, had alienated his remaining friends amongst the Puritans. Nay, even the public favour and high expectations with which he entered office, had, from their reaction, turned against him. The multitude seldom fails to expect impossibilities from a favourite statesman; such, for instance, as that he should increase the revenue by repealing taxes; and, therefore, no test of popularity is half so severe as power.

We also find it positively asserted by Marshal Berwick, in his *Memoirs*, that the court of St. Germain had intimated to the queen, through the channel of the duke of Ormonde and of Lady Masham, its wish to see the lord treasurer removed. It is the more likely that Ormonde was employed in this communication, since it appears that, in the preceding April, he had offered to receive a letter from the Pretender to the queen, and to put it into the hands of her majesty, which Oxford had always declined to do. Thus, then, all the pillars which had hitherto upheld his tottering authority were sapped and subverted, and on the 27th of July came the long-expected crisis of his fall. Her majesty had that afternoon detailed to the other members of the council some of the grounds of her displeasure with Oxford; and it is remarkable that even his confidant and creature Erasmus Lewis appears to admit their just foundation. After a personal altercation, carried on in the queen's presence, and continued till two in the morning, Anne resumed the White Staff; and the whole power of the state with the choice of the new administration were left in the hands of Bolingbroke.

BOLINGBROKE; THE REAPPEARANCE OF MARLBOROUGH

The first step of the new prime minister was an attempt to cajole his political opponents. On the very day after Oxford's dismissal, he entertained at dinner, at his house in Golden square, Stanhope, Walpole, Pulteney, Craggs, and the other most eminent whig members of the house of commons; but he altogether failed either to conciliate or delude them. The whigs positively required, as a security for the Protestant succession, that the pretender should be removed from Lorraine; whilst Bolingbroke confessed that such a banishment of her brother would never be sanctioned by the queen. It is difficult to conceive how Bolingbroke could possibly have anticipated any other issue to these overtures than disappointment; and they are the more surprising, since, on the same day, he had an interview with the chief agent of France and the Pretender, whom he assured of his undiminished

regard, and since he was, in fact, steadily proceeding to the formation of a purely jacobite administration. His projected arrangements were as follows: The seals of secretary, and the sole management of foreign affairs were to remain with himself; whilst to prevent his being overshadowed by any new lord treasurer, that department was to be put into commission, with Sir William Wyndham at its head. The privy seal was to be transferred to Atterbury; Bromley was to continue the other secretary of state; and the earl of Mar, the third for Scotland; the duke of Ormonde, commander-in-chief; the duke of Buckingham, lord president; and Lord Harcourt, chancellor. To fill up the other inferior appointments was considered a matter of great difficulty, there being very few whom Bolingbroke thought sufficiently able to be useful, of sufficiently zealous to be trusted. But the cabinet he intended (for it was never nominated), consisting as it did of scarcely any but jacobites, and comprising not a few who afterwards openly attached themselves to the pretender, and were attainted of high treason, can leave no doubt as to his ultimate design, and must convince us that, had the queen lived only three months longer, English religion and liberties would have been exposed to most imminent peril.

In the midst of his triumph, the new prime minister found his exultation dashed with alarms at the approaching reappearance of Marlborough on the political scene. That illustrious man had early in the spring determined to return to England so soon as the session should be closed, and was already at Ostend, awaiting a favourable wind. His motives for coming over at this period have been often canvassed, but never very clearly explained On the one hand, we find, from the despatches of the Hanoverian agents, that his journey had not been undertaken in concert with them. On the other hand, the common rumour of his secret cabals and intended junction with Bolingbroke is utterly disproved by the evidence of Bolingbroke himself, who, in his most private correspondence, expresses his apprehensions at this journey, and hints that it proceeded from some intrigues of Lord Oxford. How far may we believe this latter suspicion to be truly founded? It is certain that, at the close of 1713, Oxford had written to the duke in most flattering terms, and obtained a grant of £10,000 to carry on the works at Blenheim. It is no less certain, however, that the confidential letters of the duchess, during June and July, 1714, speak of Oxford with undiminished aversion. On the whole, it seems probable that Marlborough had some private communication with the lord treasurer, but had not committed himself in even the slightest degree; that he was returning to England to see and judge for himself of the prospect of affairs; and that he did not feel himself so far pledged to his former colleagues as to be entirely debarred from any new political connection.

THE ILLNESS AND DEATH OF QUEEN ANNE (1714 A.D.)

But a mightier arm that that of Marlborough was now stretched forth to arrest the evil designs of Bolingbroke. The days, nay, even the hours, of Queen Anne were numbered. Her Majesty's spirits had been so much agitated by the altercation in her presence, on the night of the 27th, as greatly to affect her health; and she herself said to one of her physicians, with that instinct of approaching dissolution so often and so strangely found before any danger is apparent, that she should not outlive it. The imposthume in her leg being checked, her gouty humour flew to her brain; she was seized with an apoplectic fit early in the morning of Friday, the 30th, and imme-

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diately sank into a state of stupefaction. It may easily be supposed what various emotions such an event at such a crisis would occasion; yet it is a very remarkable proof of the bad opinion commonly entertained of her majesty's counsels, and of the revolutionary result anticipated from them, that the funds rose considerably on the first tidings of her danger, and fell again on a report of her recovery.

Bolingbroke and the jacobites, stunned and bewildered by this sudden crisis, were unable to mature their plans so rapidly as it required. The whigs, on their part, were found much better prepared — having already, under the guidance of Stanhope, entered amongst themselves into an organised association, collected arms and ammunition, and nominated officers. They had in readiness several thousand figures of a small fusee in brass, and some few in silver and gold, to be distributed amongst the most zealous followers and the most active chiefs, as signals in the expected day of trial. Stanhope was now taking every measure for acting with vigour, if necessary, on the demise of the queen — to sieze the Tower, to secure in it the persons of the leading jacobites, to obtain possession of the outports, and to proclaim the new king. Most anxious eyes were also cast upon the coasts of Dover, where the hero of the age and the idol of the army was daily expected from Ostend.

The genius of the duke of Marlborough would no doubt have rendered any such struggle successful, but it was reserved for the duke of Shrewsbury to avert its necessity. That eminent man — the only individual who mainly assisted in both the great changes of dynasty of 1688 and 1714 — cast aside, at this crisis, his usual tergiversation and timidity, and evinced an honest zeal on behalf of "the good old cause." His means, it is true, were still strongly marked with his characteristic duplicity. Whilst Bolingbroke appears to have fully confided in this attachment, he secretly concerted measures with two of the great whig peers, the dukes of Argyll and Somerset.

The result appeared on Friday the 30th. That morning the council met at Kensington, it being then, as now, composed only of such councillors as had received a special summons, and the high officers alone were present. The news of the queen's desperate condition had just been received. The jacobites sat dispirited, but not hopeless, nor without resources. Suddenly the doors were thrown open, and Argyll and Somerset announced. They said that, understanding the danger of the queen, they had hastened, though not specially summoned, to offer their assistance. In the pause of surprise which ensued, Shrewsbury rose and thanked them for their offer. They, immediately taking their seats, proposed an examination of the physicians; and on their report suggested that the post of lord treasurer should be filled without delay, and that the duke of Shrewsbury should be recommended to her majesty. What a scene for a painter — Shrewsbury, with his usual lofty air and impenetrable smoothness; the courtly smile, under which the fiery soul of St. John sought to veil its anguish and its rage; the slow, indecisive look of Ormonde; and the haughty triumph of Argyll.

The jacobite ministers, thus taken completely by surprise, did not venture to offer any opposition to the recommendation of Shrewsbury; and accordingly a deputation, comprising Shrewsbury himself, waited upon her majesty the same morning, to lay before her what seemed the unanimous opinion of the council. The queen, who by this time had been roused to some degree of consciousness, faintly acquiesced, delivered the treasurer's staff to Shrewsbury and bade him use it for the good of her people. The duke would have returned his staff as chamberlain, but she desired him to keep them both;

and thus, by a remarkable, and I believe unparalleled, combination, he was invested for some days with three of the highest offices of court and state, being at once lord treasurer, lord chamberlain, and lord lieutenant of Ireland. How strange to find all these dignities heaped upon a man who had so often professed his disinclination to public business—who had, during many years, harassed King William with applications to resign, and repeatedly entreated his friends to allow him to be "an insignificant cipher, instead of a bad figure!" "Had I a son," he said on one occasion, "I would sooner breed him a cobbler than a courtier, and a hangman than a statesman!"

Another proposal of the dukes of Somerset and Argyll, which had passed at the morning meeting, was to send immediately a special summons to all privy councillors in or near London. Many of the whigs accordingly attended the same afternoon, and, amongst them, the illustrious Somers, who, in spite of his growing infirmities, would not be absent — for the first time in his life — from the post of duty. His great name was in itself a tower of strength to his party; and the council, with this new infusion of healthy blood in its veins, forthwith took vigorous measures to secure the legal order of succession. Four regiments were ordered to London, seven battalions recalled from Ostend, an embargo was laid on all the ports, and directions sent that a fleet should put out to sea.

The next day the queen had sunk back into a lethargy, and the physicians gave no hopes of her life. The council hereupon sent orders to the heralds-at-arms, and to a troop of the life-guards, to be in readiness to proclaim the successor. They sent express to Hanover Mr. Craggs, with a despatch to the elector, earnestly requesting him to hasten to Holland, where a British squadron should attend him, and be ready to bring him over, in case of the queen's demise. They also wrote to the states of Holland, reminding them of their guarantee to the Protestant succession. They appointed Lord Berkeley to command the fleet. They ordered a reinforcement to proceed to Portsmouth, and an able general officer to Scotland — great importance being attached to the former, and much disaffection apprehended in the latter; and, in short, no precaution was neglected to ensure tranquillity, or to check disturbances in any quarter where they might arise.

At seven the next morning, the 1st of August, the queen expired. She had not recovered sufficient consciousness either to take the sacrament or to sign her will. "The earl of Oxford was removed on Tuesday — the queen died on Sunday! What a world is this," says Bolingbroke,[g] "and how does fortune banter us."

The character of the queen [says Stanhope, having chiefly in mind the political influence of Anne], need not detain us long. She was a very weak woman, full of prejudices, fond of flattery, always governed blindly by some female favourite, and, as Swift bitterly observes, "had not a stock of amity to serve above one object at a time." Can it be necessary to waste many words upon the mind of a woman who could give as a reason — a lady's reason! — for dismissing a cabinet minister that he had appeared before her in a tie-wig instead of a full-bottom? Is it not evident that in such a case we must study the advisers and not the character of a sovereign — that we must look to the setting rather than to the stone?[f]

POLITICAL GROWTH IN REIGN OF ANNE

With Anne ended the dynasty of the Stuarts. She was [says Keightley[b]] a woman of narrow intellect, but of good intentions; a model of conjugal

and maternal duty. The title of 'Good Queen Anne," given to her, proves the public sense of her virtues. She possessed, however, a portion of the obstinacy of her family, and had some of their notions of prerogative. In person the queen was comely, and her voice was so melodious that it acted like a charm on the auditors when she spoke from the throne.[1] All through her reign she was highly and deservedly popular.

During the reigns of William and Anne the constitution, as was to be expected, received many improvements. By the Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement the limits of the prerogative were ascertained; the Toleration Act, imperfect as it was, put an end to the persecution of the nonconformists; the law of treason was improved and made certain; the liberty of the press was completely established. The judges now for the first time became really independent, as they were to retain their places during good behaviour, and be removable only in case of the commission of some great offence or by an address of both houses of parliament.

It was at this period that a national bank was first established in England, and paper-money, that most valuable aid to commerce, if judiciously managed, was introduced. The system of funding and the consequent formation of a national debt were now first brought into action by the inventive genius of Mr. Montague (Lord Halifax) when chancellor of the exchequer. It originated in the issue of exchequer-bills (some for as low a sum as £10 or £5) to the amount of £2,700,000 bearing interest and transferable. The advantage to government of this happy temerity, as it was termed, was speedily discerned, and the practice of mortgaging future revenue, which has since been carried to such an enormous extent, was soon commenced.

To this period may also be referred the permanent establishment of a standing army in England. The efforts of the last two princes of the house of Stuart to obtain this implement of despotism, as they held it to be, had proved abortive; but the two great wars which had succeeded the Revolution, and the close connection in which England was thereby engaged with the continental powers, had formed the army into a profession, and also made apparent that she must at all times have in readiness for domestic defence or external operation a force more efficient than trained bands, which in skill and discipline might be on a footing with those of the continental powers. Much jealousy was entertained for a long time at this new description of force, and it formed a fruitful subject of declamation for pretended patriots, though the annual mutiny bill, on which it depended for its existence, made it be completely under the control of parliament. It has ever since proved the most efficient instrument, not merely in protecting the country from foreign enemies but in preserving internal tranquillity, and has never been employed in encroachments on the liberty of the subject. It is worthy of remark that from the very commencement commissions in the British army have been matters of purchase, and that at a very high rate.

The despatches of foreign ambassadors, which furnish so many materials for the history of the houses of Tudor and Stuart, now become comparatively of little importance. Foreign envoys were no longer on the same footing of familiar intercourse with the British sovereigns or their ministers; and as the struggles in parliament henceforth were more for place than for principles, they had less occasion to take any share in the parliamentary contests. They transacted their business with the secretaries of state, and the accounts of

[1 Of Anne in her later years, however, W. H. S. Aubrey[h] says: "She was a victim of gluttony and obesity. Her embonpoint was colossal. A popular sobriquet applied to her was Brandy Nan because of her potations."]

events which they used to write to inform their courts of were now generally to be found in the columns of the newspapers which appeared daily.

LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC ADVANCEMENT

It may finally be observed that this period and the early part of the succeeding one were the golden age of literary men if not of literature in England. Though the sovereigns themselves were indifferent to them, the ministers loved and encouraged literature and science. Thus Sir Isaac Newton was master of the mint, and John Locke a commissioner of trade; Matthew Prior an envoy at the court of France, and Joseph Addison, a secretary of state; not to mention Swift and others, who were promoted in their professions.[b] Foremost among this distinguished company was Sir Isaac Newton. This pre-eminent light of the modern world in mathematical and astronomical science was born at Closterworth, in the county of Lincoln, on Christmas Day, 1642 (old style). Even his boyhood was devoted to science, and his sports were scientific experiments; for his time was chiefly spent in constructing models of clocks, windmills, and other articles of nice and accurate calculation in mechanics, so that, while at school at Grantham, his lodging-room was a workshop that resounded with continual hammering. He even improved the kites of his school fellows by contriving their shape and proportions, and adjusting the string, upon mathematical principles.

All this was accompanied with such superiority of intellectual power in other departments that when he pleased he could outstrip his companions at their daily tasks, and was soon at the head of the school. At the age of eighteen he was sent to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he quickly arrested the attention not only of his fellow students but of Dr. Isaac Barrow, by his rapid proficiency in the science of mathematics. His regular study of Euclid, it has been said, was at first animated by a desire to explore the wonders of judicial astrology; but on having tested it by severe calculation, and discovered its emptiness, he threw both it and Euclid aside, and advanced to higher pursuits. The first result of these studies was his *New Method of Infinite Series and Fluxions*, which was published in Latin. In 1664, he turned his attention to the improvement of telescopes, and having procured a prism he detected, by careful observation, the fallacy of Descartes' doctrine of colours, upon which he published his *New Theory of Light and Colours*. The plague having broke out at Cambridge in 1665, Newton retired to his own house in the country, where he prosecuted his studies in solitude; and while thus occupied, his great theory of gravitation [which found ultimate expression in his *Principia*] first suggested itself to his mind. Thus, the foundation of all his stupendous discoveries was laid when he was only twenty-four years of age.

The career of Sir Isaac Newton after this period, and the works which he published illustrative of his discoveries in the laws of nature and the science of astronomy, would of themselves require a lengthened chapter; it is enough to state that, being revolutions, they met with their full share of envy and opposition. But they established themselves at last as immutable, inexpugnable truths, and the reflective world, upon which they dawned like a sunshine, was lost in delight and wonder. "Does Mr. Newton eat, or drink, or sleep like other men?" exclaimed the marquis de l'Hospital, himself a very eminent mathematician: "I represent him to myself as a great celestial genius entirely disengaged from matter." The amiable and accomplished Queen Caroline, (wife of George II) who took great delight in the philosopher's society, declared herself happy in having come into the world at a time which

put it into her power to converse with him. Honours, both literary and political, were conferred upon Newton; he was appointed professor of mathematics at Cambridge, sent to parliament as one of its representatives, made warden of the mint, and invested with knighthood; But these distinctions which he did not need, and which are now seldom remembered, were themselves honoured by his accepting them. His life, which was extended to his eighty-fifth year, was employed in the same philosophical researches, until its termination on March 20th, 1727, when he died, leaving behind him a renown which can only perish with that universe of whose laws of action he was the inspired expounder. His amiable moral qualities and his devotedness to revealed religion, that were in contrast with the selfish and irreligious spirit of the age, are too universally known to require description.

A fit contemporary for Sir Isaac Newton was John Locke, one of the greatest philosophers and most powerful writers which England, rich in such minds, has produced. He was born at Wrington, Somersetshire, on the 29th of August, 1632. He was educated first at Westminster School, and afterwards at Christ Church College, Oxford, where, having thoroughly studied the philosophy of the schools which still predominated at the university, and acquired all the benefit which its training was fitted to impart, he attained the higher knowledge of perceiving its inefficiency as a guide to truth, and the necessity of better lights than the peripatetics. This perception was greatly aided by his study of the writings of Descartes; and thus both Locke and Newton, though in different ways, owed much to the influence of that bold and original thinker.

In consequence of a feeble constitution, Locke combined the study of medicine with that of ethics and metaphysics; but though he never took the degree of doctor, or practised the healing art professionally, his knowledge of it was so respectable that he was generally addressed by the title of doctor of medicine. After the Restoration he had tempting offers to become a diplomatist; but he preferred the study of philosophy to political honours, although he became the friend and counsellor of the earl of Shaftesbury. After a life chiefly spent in study, Locke, in 1675, repaired to the south of France for the benefit of his health; and his journal of a four years' residence there shows how closely he watched and how sagaciously he investigated the great events that passed before his notice. His connection with Shaftesbury involved him in the earl's disgrace; and when the latter was obliged to retire to Holland, Locke followed at the close of 1683, and remained in that country until the Revolution, when he returned home in the same fleet that conveyed the princess Mary to England. But during the interval his exile had not been unmolested; for through a groundless charge of treason preferred against him in his absence, he was formally ejected from his student's place in Christ Church College; and in consequence of the Monmouth insurrection, in which he was causelessly suspected to have had a share, an application was made by the English envoy to the Dutch government, to have Locke sent home a prisoner. On the settlement of William and Mary, Locke had high offers to go abroad in a public capacity, but contented himself with the office of commissioner of appeals, which brought him a small revenue of £200 per annum.

Matters of greater importance, indeed, and more congenial to his character than embassies and state negotiations, were at present absorbing his attention; for in the following year (1690) he completed and published his renowned masterpiece, the *Essay on Human Understanding*, a work which he had begun to plan so early as 1670. Its appearance was startling: it was a revolution

in the intellectual world for which men were not prepared, much as they had been lately accustomed to changes; and the schoolmen, especially, were little inclined to unread their learning, abandon their old authorities, and adopt rules of thought and reasoning more accordant with every-day language and commonplace reality. In this recusancy the University of Oxford went so far that at a meeting of the heads of the institution it was agreed, that each should prevent Locke's book from being read by the students of his college. But in spite of this and similar opposition, the principles of the essay forced their way with the resistlessness of truth, and the work was recognised as "one of the noblest, most useful, and most original books the world ever saw." It is not too much, indeed, to say that it constituted a new era in the history of human thought, from the importance of its innovations, and the influence they have more or less exercised upon all the succeeding systems of philosophy. But much though the world has been indebted to Locke as a philosopher, it scarcely owes him less as a political writer; and his productions on toleration, on civil government, on money and the raising of its value, on education, etc., were as bold and original, and as persuasive as his *Essay on Human Understanding*. These, with his religious works in defence and illustration of the doctrines of Christianity, though so numerous as to fill ten octavo volumes, have been frequently republished, not only in portions, but collectively. Having thus, during a sickly but extended life, done so much for intellectual renown, and won the love of all who knew him by his uprightness, meekness, and Christian charity, the close of his life, in 1704, was in consistency with its whole tenor, being spent in the study of the Bible, and a calm, hopeful preparation for eternity. To a young gentleman's inquiry as to the shortest and surest way to attain a true knowledge of the Christian religion, Locke's memorable answer was, "Let him study the Holy Scripture, especially the New Testament; it has God for its author, salvation for its end, and truth without any mixture of error for its matter." Till his last hour its perusal was his chief occupation; and when the dimness of approaching death was gathering upon his eyesight, its consolatory pages were read to him by his own desire, until the moment of his departure had arrived.

Such were Newton and Locke, the ornaments of the age, who divided between them the empire of human thought, and who taught the world not only by their wisdom, but by their example and high moral worth. It was such men whom the age especially needed to give philosophy its right direction, and inquiring spirits their best example. The change, indeed, for the present was imperceptible, and years were to elapse before it could be realized. But its coming was as certain as that of the buried harvest, and the present generation is living in its abundance.

ARCHITECTURE

In turning our attention to the progress of literature, science, and the fine arts, as manifested in the productions of that period, the department of architecture also solicits our notice. This at once is evident from the fact that the metropolis of the empire, which in a few days was swept away, was replaced by another, richer, statelier, and larger, than the former, and that so great a work was accomplished in a very few years. No other nation could have achieved such a stupendous feat; and London restored was a triumph of English wealth, resources, and enterprise, that gave full promise of the ascendency which the country was afterwards to attain. On this occa-

sion, too, it may emphatically be said that the emergency called forth the man, so that when a new metropolis worthy of the national grandeur was to be created, a great architect was at hand to direct the undertaking. The vast, varied and creative mind of Sir Christopher Wren, extending over a long life, sufficed not only to commence but complete the work, so that upon the gates of the capital itself, as well as upon his tomb in St. Paul's, the motto might have been engraved: *Si monumentum quæris, circumspice.*

This great architect, who at the commencement of his career seems to have been ignorant of his proper vocation, as well as the great work which he was destined to accomplish, was originally a student at Oxford, where mathematics and astronomy occupied his chief attention; and such was his proficiency in these sciences that at the early age of eighteen he was one of the most distinguished of those illustrious philosophers who afterwards, in 1660, constituted the Royal Society. England, however, was to be sufficiently enriched by her Newton; and therefore Wren, after obtaining a high reputation in the mathematical and astronomical sciences, turned his attention to their practical application by the study of architecture, so that, in 1661, he was appointed coadjutor to Sir John Denham, the poet, who, on the death of Inigo Jones, had been raised by royal favour to the post of surveyor-general.

Of course, the duties of such a partnership would fall upon Sir Christopher, and one of the first was to survey and plan the restoration of St. Paul's cathedral, now gradually falling into ruin. Sir Christopher soon found that such a restoration would at best be but a patchwork; and while the question was pending whether the building should be repaired or wholly rebuilt, the great conflagration stepped in to decide the controversy. Both capital and cathedral were now a heap of rubbish, and all must be made anew. It would be unfair to ask how much the exultation of Wren at being thus emancipated from the tinkering-up of an old worn-out city may have qualified his regret at the demolition and sympathy for the sufferers; it is enough to know that he set to work to repair the evil, and soon created a better London than the former. Never upon any one architect, perhaps, had such a task been devolved since the days of the building upon Shinar. As the legislature had now a full opportunity for passing such enactments as might secure comfortable healthy houses and commodious streets, it was decreed that in future all buildings in London should be of brick or stone; that party walls, of sufficient strength and thickness, should separate one house from another; and that rain-water pipes should be substituted for the spouts that had been wont to pour their torrents from the house-tops upon the heads of those who walked below; while builders were exhorted to devise improvements for their structures by making mouldings, and projections of rubbed brick.

In the meantime, Wren had surveyed the ruins, and presented his plan for laying out the new town. Need it be added that this plan, though grand, regular, and comprehensive, was crossed, altered, and curtailed, through the caprice, the jealousy, or poverty of those at whose expense it was to be realised, and who therefore claimed a principal voice in its details? Still, much was accomplished, although it fell far short of the original. Such was also the fate of St. Paul's, the crowning work and masterpiece of the great architect, the plan of which the duke of York altered to suit the popish ceremonial, when Romanism should be restored in Britain, although Wren with tears remonstrated against the interference. Such, too, in a still greater degree was the fate of the London monument, the original plan of which, as presented by Sir Christopher, was highly graceful and appropriate, but which had the fate to

fall into the hands of the civic authorities for realisation. Let us forget, if we can, what they made of it:

> London's column, pointing to the skies,
> Like a tall bully lifts the head and lies.

The amenities of modern society have prevailed at last. The lie is expunged, and the "tall bully," as if he had just escaped the infliction of the pump, stands shivering and crestfallen in a corner.

Besides St. Paul's, which Sir Christopher had the singular good fortune to complete as well as plan, he superintended the erection of fifty-one churches in London, which still constitute the chief architectural ornaments of the now greatly changed and improved metropolis. To these might be added public buildings both in London and elsewhere, of which a mere list would exceed our limits. After having done so much for his country, and raised the character of its architecture to so high an eminence, his fate was that which usually awaits the greatest of benefactors: society united to persecute that excellence which it could not equal, and return injuries for those benefits which it could not repay. Deprived of his office of surveyor-general, which he had held for forty-nine years, he calmly exclaimed, "*Nunc me jubet fortuna expeditius philosophari*": and retired to the country at the age of eighty-six, where he spent the remaining five years of his life in contemplation and reading, and chiefly in the study of the Holy Scriptures. There, also, he closed his career; "cheerful in solitude," says his son, "and as well pleased to die in the shade as in the light." His final resting-place, as well as fittest monument, was the vault of St. Paul's, in which his remains were deposited. His fame was so great, and his excellence so transcendent, that during the present period no other English architect is named. Whether his place has been adequately filled at any period since his departure, can be best learned by a glance at our public buildings.

The greatest poet of the age next to Milton, and the most influential in forming the spirit and developing the maturity of English literature, was John Dryden, the Chaucer of the seventeenth century. He was born at Aldwinkle, Northamptonshire, in 1632, and educated first at Westminster School under the celebrated Dr. Busby, and afterwards at Trinity College, Cambridge. His first poetical attempt, which he gave to the world in 1649, was an elegy on the death of Lord Hastings, a young nobleman of high character and promise; but a subject so well fitted to call forth affectionate enthusiasm at least, if not poetical inspiration, from a young poet of seventeen, was such a tissue of cold conceits and overstrained artificial figures, as to give no promise whatsoever of the excellence he was afterwards to attain. The young lord had died of the small-pox, and Dryden, directing his admiration to the pustules, converts them into ornaments on the soil of Venus — into jewels — into rosebuds — and finally into pimples, each having a tear in it to bewail the pain it was occasioning! This was enough, and he remained in silence for nine years afterwards — not idly, however, as was manifested not only by his general scholarship, but the superior taste of his next production, in which he had the resolution to abandon his models of Donne and Cowley, and become a genuine follower of nature. This poem, entitled "*Heroic Stanzas on the Death of Oliver Cromwell*," was a proper theme for Dryden, who had been educated among Puritans, and patronised at the court of the Protector. With the Restoration, however, he was ready with a palinode under the title of "*Astræa Redux*," welcoming the return of Charles II, and predicting from the event a millennium of political happiness; and in 1666 appeared his "*Annus Mirabilis*,"

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the subjects of which were the Dutch War and the fire of London. It was only now, indeed, that his mind broke forth in full vigour after so thorough a maturing, and established him in the highest rank of poetry. Long before this, however, his republican and Puritan sympathies had expired; the new king and court were more to his taste; and as his small patrimonial estate yielded only about £60 a year, while his wants equalled a tenfold amount, his chief dependence was royal favour, which he was ready to purchase at any price. And seldom, indeed, has such an amount of genius been so mercilessly exacted, or so poorly repaid. It was Samson in the prison-house grinding for his daily subsistence.

During a literary life, continued to such a period, and urged to such constant exertion by the claims of necessity, the productions of Dryden were both numerous and diversified. Besides many smaller poems, which of themselves would fill several volumes, he wrote eight of considerable length, of which *The Hind and the Panther*, and *Absalom and Achitophel*, are the most distinguished. As a dramatic writer he wrote twenty-eight plays. Besides a poetical version of Vergil, he gave translations from Ovid, Theocritus, Lucretius, Horace, Juvenal, and Persius. He also wrote adaptations, under the name of *Fables*, from Chaucer and Boccaccio, which, though produced in his old age, constitute the most popular and pleasing of his writings. Indeed, it is perceptible throughout the course of his writings, that although his mind was slow in maturing, it continued in active operation to the close, and that, too, with growing improvement, so that his latest productions were also his best.[1]

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The manners of the English gentry, in this age, were, in a great measure, purely national, and, except at court, had received from foreign nations neither polish nor corruption. To travel had not yet grown to be a very common practice. It was not yet thought that a visit to more genial climes or more lovely landscapes was the best preparation for afterward living happily and contented in one's own. In fact, according to the old English maxims, no one could go abroad without special permission from the sovereign. Thus, in the reign of Elizabeth, Sir William Evers was severely punished because he had presumed to make a private journey to Scotland. In the first part of the eighteenth century, the same authority seems to still have existed, at least with respect to the great nobility. The duke of Shrewsbury, for example, could not go abroad, in 1700, until he had obtained leave from King William. Thus, also, the duke of Marlborough's application for a passport, in 1712, was opposed by several members of the cabinet. The fees for a passport at the foreign office amounted to upwards of £6, a sum far from inconsiderable in those days, and serving as a check upon the lower class of travellers. To travel with passports from the foreign ministers resident in England is a later innovation.

Thus amongst the gentry and middle classes of Queen Anne's time the French language was much undervalued, and seldom studied. At court, however, the case was very different; and, though few could speak French very accurately, it is remarkable how much the style of many eminent men at this period, in their private correspondence, teems with gallicisms. The letters of Marlborough, especially, appear written by a Frenchman. Thus, for example, he uses the word "opiniatrety" for obstinacy, and "to defend" instead of to forbid.

At the Peace of Utrecht the population of England was not much above

five millions. It may be doubted whether that of Scotland exceeded one million, or that of Ireland, two. It is certain, however, that the rural inhabitants of England then very far outnumbered those in the towns; but the latter having since increased in a much greater proportion, more especially in the manufacturing districts, the two classes have come nearly to an equality; a change which has involved within it the germ of other changes.

The national debt, at the accession of Anne, had been only £16,000,000, with an interest of £1,300,000. In 1714, it had grown to £52,000,000, with an interest of £3,300,000. By the accounts presented to parliament in that year, it appeared that the expense of the late war during twelve years amounted to nearly £69,000,000, making a yearly average of above five millions and a half. The debts, during this period, seem to have been contracted on very moderate terms. Lord-Treasurer Godolphin observes, in one of his letters, in 1706: 'Though the land and trade both of England and Holland have excessive burdens upon them, yet the credit continues good, both with us and with them; and we can, either of us, borrow money at four or five per cent.; whereas, the finances of France are so much more exhausted that they are forced to give 20 and 25 per cent. for every penny of money they send out of the kingdom, unless they send it in specie." In 1709, the supplies voted exceeded seven millions, a sum that was unparalleled, and seemed enormous. In fact, though these sums at present may appear light in our eyes, they struck the subjects of Anne with the utmost astonishment and horror. "Fifty millions of debt, and six millions of taxes!" exclaimed Swift: "the high allies have been the ruin of us!" Bolingbroke points out, with dismay, that the public revenue, in neat money, amounted, at the Revolution, to no more than two millions annually: and the public debts, that of the bankers included, to little more than £300,000. Speaking of a later period, and of a debt of thirty millions, he calls it "a sum that will appear incredible to future generations, and is so almost to the present!" How much juster and more correct on this point were the views of Secretary Stanhope. In the minutes of a conference which he held in 1716, with Abbé Dubois, the following remark is recorded of him: "However large our national debt may be thought, it will undoubtedly increase much more, and believe me it will not hereafter cause greater difficulty to the government, or uneasiness to the people, than it does at present."

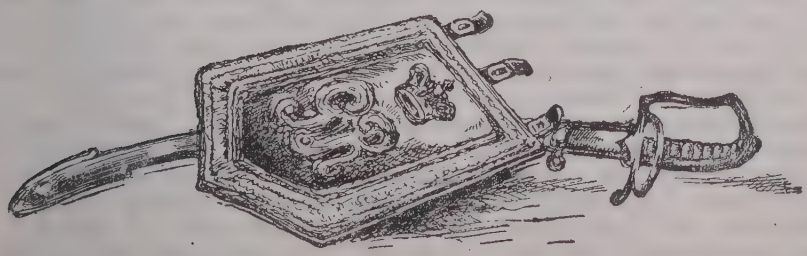
But, though we might astonish our great-grandfathers at the high amount of our public income, they may astonish us at the high amount of their public salaries. The service of the country was then a service of vast emolument. In the first place, the holder of almost every great office was entitled to plate; secondly, the rate of salaries, even when nominally no larger than at present, was, in fact, two or three times more considerable from the intermediate depreciation of money. But even nominally, many offices were then of higher value, and when two or more were conferred upon the same person he, contrary to the present practice, received the profits of all. As the most remarkable instance of this fact, I may mention the duke and duchess of Marlborough. Exclusive of Blenheim, of parliamentary grants, of gifts, of marriage portions from the queen to their daughters, it appears that the fixed yearly income of the duke, at the height of his favour, was no less than £54,825, and the duchess had, in offices and pensions, an additional sum of £9,500 — a sum infinitely greater than could now be awarded to the highest favour of the most eminent achievements.

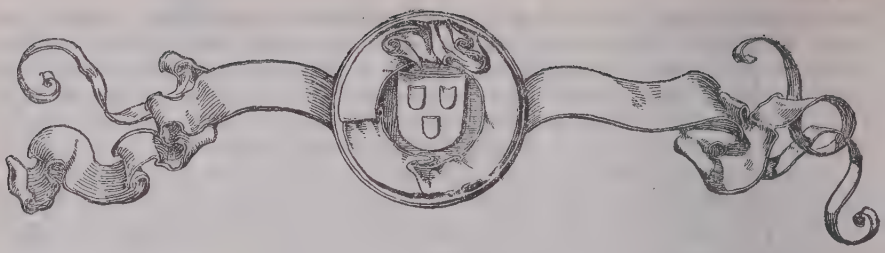
There can be no doubt that the former scale was unduly high: but it may be questioned whether we are not at present running into another as dangerous extreme; whether by diminishing so much the emoluments of public service

we are not deterring men with genius, but without fortune, from entering the career of politics, and forcing them rather to betake themselves to some lucrative profession; whether the greatest abilities may not thereby be diverted from the public service; whether we are not tending to the principle that no man, without a large private property, is fit to be a minister of state; whether we may not, therefore, subject ourselves to the worst of all aristocracies, an aristocracy of money; whether we may not practically lose one of the proudest boasts of the British constitution under which great talent, however penniless, or lowborn, not only may raise but frequently has raised itself above the loftiest of our Montagus or Howards.

In Queen Anne's time the diplomatic salaries were regulated according to a scale established in 1669. Ambassadors-ordinary in France, Spain, and the emperor's court had £100 a day, and £1,500 for equipage; in Portugal, Holland, Sweden, and the other courts, £10 a day and £1,000 for equipage. Ambassadors-extraordinary had everywhere the same allowances as the ambassadors-ordinary, and differed only in the equipage money, which was to be determined by the sovereign according to the occasion. Considering the difference in the value of money, such posts also were undoubtedly more lucrative and advantageous than at present. But, on the other hand, these salaries — and sometimes even those of the civil government at home — were very irregularly paid, and often in arrear. "I neither have received nor expect to receive," says Bolingbroke,*j* in one of his letters, "anything on account of the journey which I took last year by her majesty's order (into France); and as to my regular appointments, I do assure your lordship I have heard nothing of them these two years."

Ministerial or parliamentary corruption — at least so far as foreign powers were concerned — did not in this generation, as in the last, sully the annals of England. Thus, for example, shamefully as the English interests were betrayed at the Peace of Utrecht by the English ministers, there is yet no reason whatever to suspect that they, like the patriots of Charles II's reign, had received presents or "gratifications" from Louis XIV. Should we ascribe this change to the difference of the periods or of the persons? Was the era of the Peace of Utrecht really preferable to that of 1679, hailed by Blackstone as the zenith of British constitutional excellence? Or were Bolingbroke and Oxford more honest statesmen than Littleton and Algernon Sidney?*j*





CHAPTER XIII

THE REIGN OF GEORGE I

[1714–1727 A.D.]

"The era of the Georges may be compared to the era of the Antonines at Rome. It was a period combining happiness and glory — a period of kind rulers and a prosperous people. While improvement was advancing at home with gigantic strides — while great wars were waged abroad — the domestic repose and enjoyment of the nation were scarcely ever for a moment broken through. The current was strong and rapid, but the surface remained smooth and unruffled. Lives were seldom lost, either by popular breaches of the law or by its rigorous execution. The population augmented fast, but wealth augmented faster still; comforts became more largely diffused, and knowledge more generally cultivated. Unlike the era of the Antonines, this prosperity did not depend upon the character of a single man. Its foundations were laid on ancient and free institutions, which, good from the first, were still gradually improving, and which alone, amongst all others since the origin of civil society, had completely solved the great problem, how to combine the greatest security to property with the greatest freedom of action."—STANHOPE.[b]

THE Regency Bill, passed in 1705, had provided for the government on the demise of Anne, and the seven great officers of state, together with eighteen peers, named in an instrument signed by the elector of Hanover, took upon themselves the temporary administration. Of the eighteen peers named by George, the greater number were determined whigs; and Argyle, Cowper, Halifax, Townshend, and Devonshire were among them. Marlborough was not named, nor was his son-in-law, Sunderland: this was not extraordinary, but it excites some surprise to see the illustrious Somers excluded also. The great general, on landing at Dover, received an enthusiastic welcome, and his entry into London was like a triumph. Two hundred gentlemen on horseback met him on the road, and the procession was joined by a long train of horses and carriages. Marlborough went straight to the house of lords and took the oaths to King George; but then, mortified at his exclusion from the regency, he retired into the country. The lords-justices appointed Joseph Addison to be their secretary, and ordered that all despatches addressed to Bolingbroke should be delivered to Addison. In the Scottish capital King George was proclaimed without opposition; but for some days there prevailed great doubt and anxiety as to Ireland: and the lords of the regency, or lords-justices, thought at one moment of despatching thither General Stanhope as commander-in-chief, and Marlborough's son-in-law, Sunderland, as lord-lieutenant, without losing time in waiting for the king's instructions; but

[1714 A.D.]

they soon received intelligence that all was quiet, and that King George had been peaceably proclaimed at Dublin by the lords-justices of Ire and, the archbishop of Armagh, and Sir Constantine Phipps, whose toryism had formerly been suspected to be of the jacobite bias.

Not a moment was lost by the whigs in England in putting forth claims to the honours and emoluments of office, and in scheming what should be the new cabinet. The bishopric of Ely, and every good thing that happened to be vacant in the church, was asked for, and every place at court, such as the captaincy of the band of gentlemen pensioners, the groomship of the bedchamber, etc., was grasped at by several competitors. Baron Bothmar was made the medium of these applications to Hanover.

But we may turn from these pettinesses, which were the inevitable consequences of a demise and a new succession, to matters of greater weight, in which the interests of three nations were concerned, and in which they were but too often sacrificed to private ambition and the interests of worthless individuals. According to a very important provision in the act of regency, the houses of parliament met on the day of the queen's death, though it was a Sunday, and all such members as were in or near town hastened to their seats. The tories attempted to procure an adjournment till the following Wednesday; but Sir Richard Onslow represented that the state of the nation was too critical to allow of delay; and the houses met again on Monday. Three days were spent in administering and taking oaths to the new sovereign. In the same breath, and with the same drop of ink, they expressed their deep grief at the death of their late sovereign lady Queen Anne, of blessed memory, and their lively pleasure at the accession of King George, whose right to the crown was so undoubted, and whose virtues were so princely.

THE KING, THE PRETENDER, AND THE NEW PARLIAMENT

All those who wished well to the Protestant succession were impatient for the arrival of the new king, whose delay on the Continent excited universal surprise. Other princes had shown the extreme of eagerness for a far less glittering prize; but the phlegmatic George I seemed to look almost with indifference to the crown of three great and rising kingdoms; and it was not till six o'clock in the evening of the 18th of September, or nearly seven weeks after the death of Anne, that he landed at Greenwich with his eldest son, Prince George. His subjects of Hanover had witnessed his departure with regret and tears — his English subjects received him with joy and acclamations, although on a near view they saw little to admire in his personal appearance or in his bearing, which were plain and undignified.

His majesty presently proceeded to complete his ministerial arrangements: Lord Halifax was appointed first lord-commissioner of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; Lord Cowper, again chancellor; Nottingham, president of the council; Marlborough, commander-in-chief and master-general of the ordnance; Wharton, (who was made a marquis), lord privy-seal; Orford, first lord of the admiralty; Shrewsbury, lord-chamberlain and groom of the stole; the duke of Devonshire, lord-steward of the household; the duke of Somerset, master of the horse; Sunderland, lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and Robert Walpole, whose ability in debate was worth a high price, paymaster of the forces. In Scotland, the jacobite earl of Mar was turned out, and the duke of Montrose put in his place; and the duke of Argyll was entrusted with the supreme command of the forces there. In Ireland, Sir

Constantine Phipps was deprived of the seals, and Mr. Broderick made chancellor. These ministerial arrangements were all completed before the 20th of October, on which day the coronation was performed at Westminster with the usual solemnities. The old abbey was thronged with nearly all the peers, whether whig, tory, or jacobite; the indolent *insouciant*-looking Oxford was there, and so was his keen-eyed, animated rival, Bolingbroke. The usual promotions in the peerage followed the ceremony.



GEORGE I
(1660–1727)

On the 29th of August the Pretender, who had gone from Bois-le-Duc to drink the mineral waters of Plombière, signed and sent forth a manifesto as erting his right to the throne of Great Britain, and explaining somewhat too clearly the causes of his inactivity up to "the death of the princess our sister, of whose good intention towards us we could not for some time past well doubt: and this was the reason we then sat still, expecting the good effects thereof, which were unfortunately prevented by her deplorable death." This was at once a capital blunder and a glaring proof of the little attention the exiled prince paid to the safety of his friends in England. The whigs instantly caught at the words as additional and incontrovertible evidence as to the intentions of the late ministry: the tories insisted that the manifesto was a false document basely forged by the whigs, to throw discredit upon them and dishonour the late queen; but they were driven from this position by the thick-headed and thick-hearted pretender, who openly acknowledged the authenticity of the manifesto.[c]

IMPEACHMENT OF BOLINGBROKE, OXFORD, AND ORMONDE

The parliament being dissolved, a new one met (March 17th, 1715). It proved decidedly whig, and it proceeded without delay to the impeachment of some of the late ministers for the Peace of Utrecht and other matters; and a committee of secrecy, with Walpole for its chairman, was appointed to examine the papers of Bolingbroke and others which had been seized. When it had made its report, Walpole arose and impeached Henry Lord Bolingbroke of high treason. Lord Coningsby then rose and said, "The worthy chairman of the committee has impeached the hand, but I impeach the head; he has impeached the 'erk, I impeach the master"; and he impeached Robert Earl of Oxford and Mortimer of high treason. On the 21st of June Stanhope impeached the duke of Ormonde of high treason; the next day Lord Strafford was impeached of high crimes and misdemeanours by Mr. Aislabie. Sir Joseph Jekyl, a whig of unquestionable honesty, was against impeaching

[1715-1716 A.D.]

either Oxford or Ormonde, and he spoke warmly in favour of the latter; but the spirit of the commons was not to be controlled. Bolingbroke and Ormonde both fled to the Continent; Oxford more manfully stood his ground, and was committed to the Tower.

The subsequent fate of these noblemen was as follows: Bolingbroke repaired to the court of the Pretender, which was at Commerci in Lorraine, and became his secretary of state. He exerted all his abilities in the service of that contemptible prince; but, the factions of the petty court proving too strong for him, he was charged with treachery, and dismissed. He then bent all his efforts to procuring the reversal of his attainder in England, which he at length obtained in 1723, through the influence of the duchess of Kendal. The interest of the venal duchess was procured by a bribe of £11,000, and Walpole was threatened with a dismissal by the king if he refused to promote the measure. Walpole consented to the restoration of Bolingbroke's estates, but would not agree to his being permitted to resume his seat in the house of peers. Bolingbroke forthwith commenced a political warfare against Walpole and the whig party, which only ceased with his life in 1751. Ormonde, against whom nothing could be proved, unwisely followed the example of Bolingbroke, and was like him attainted; he remained to the end of his life in the cheerless court of the Pretender, almost its solitary ornament. Oxford, after lying two years in the Tower, took occasion of a new modification of the ministry to petition for his trial being brought on. All the customary solemn preparations were made for it; but a disagreement arising between the two houses, the commons refused to proceed with their impeachment, and the peers acquitted the earl, who, however, was excepted from an act of grace then passed, of which the only consequence to him was a prohibition to appear at court.

MAR'S RISING (1715–1716 A.D.)

Meantime the Pretender and his partisans were secretly preparing to make an effort for the overthrow of the new government. The earl of Mar, disgusted at the manner in which his declaration of loyalty had been received by the king on his landing, and alarmed at the vindictive spirit shown by the whigs, lent an ear to the agents of the pretender, retired to the Highlands, and in concert with some noblemen and chiefs of clans raised the standard of James III (September 6th). Two vessels arrived with arms, ammunition, and officers from France, and he was soon at the head of ten thousand men. The government proceeded to act with great vigour; the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended and several suspected noblemen and members of the house of commons were arrested. The death at this conjuncture of Louis XIV was a great prejudice to the cause of the Pretender; for the duke of Orleans, who became regent during the minority of the young king, found it his interest to attach himself to the house of Brunswick.

While Mar had his headquarters at Perth, and the duke of Argyll, who commanded the royal forces, lay at Stirling, the Pretender was proclaimed in the north of England by the earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forster, who were joined by the Scottish lords Winton, Nithsdale, Carnwath, and Kenmure. At Kelso they were reinforced by a body of Highlanders sent by Mar, under the command of Brigadier Mackintosh. They thence proceeded to Penrith, where the *posse comitatus* of Cumberland fled at their approach, and advanced till they reached Preston in Lancashire; but here they were assailed by the royal troops under generals Willis and Carpenter, and obliged to surrender at discretion (November 13th).

The very day of the surrender at Preston a battle was fought between Argyll and Mar. As the latter was preparing to march southwards the duke advanced from Stirling and spread his camp from the village of Dunblane to the Sheriff-muir. His forces did not exceed four thousand men, while the army with which Mar attacked him amounted to nine thousand. The left wing of the royalists was in the short space of seven minutes routed and driven off the field by the clansmen; but the right wing, led by the duke in person, defeated and chased the left of the enemy. When the victorious troops on each side returned from the pursuit, they found themselves facing each other, each occupying the ground held by the other previously. They remained inactive till the evening, when the duke retired to Dunblane and the rebels to Ardoch. Next morning the duke returned and carried off the wounded and four pieces of cannon left by the enemy. The loss was five hundred slain on each side; each claimed the victory, but it was really on the side of the duke.

Mar returned to Perth, and soon after (December 22nd) the Pretender himself landed at Peterhead, and having been proclaimed, issued proclamations and received addresses as he passed through Aberdeen, Dundee, and Scone. He joined the army at Perth and his coronation was fixed for the 23rd of January (1716); but ere that day arrived, the intelligence of Argyll's being strongly reinforced had convinced his supporters of the hopelessness of resistance. The Pretender, therefore, with the lords Mar, Melford, and some others, got aboard a French vessel at Montrose, and standing for the coast of Norway to escape the English cruisers, arrived within five days safely at Gravelines. The rebel army was disbanded at Badenoch; the common people retired to their homes; most of the leaders escaped to France.[9]

When the Pretender arrived, *incognito*, in the neighbourhood of Paris, Bolingbroke waited upon him, attempted to revive his spirits, and to prescribe a political line of action. The prince professed the greatest affection, begged his lordship to follow him into Lorraine, and pressed him in his arms at parting, like a bosom friend. But, three days after this, when Bolingbroke thought his master was many a French league off, his lordship received a visit from the duke of Ormonde, who handed him two orders just written by the Pretender, and stating, *sans phrases*, that he was dismissed from his post as secretary of state, and must deliver to the duke of Ormonde all the papers in his office! The witty profligate says that this all might have been contained in a moderate-sized letter-case, but the rage which this treatment excited was scarcely to be contained in any space. Bolingbroke, with all his genius, had been duped and insulted by a blockhead and a bevy of women. Instead of taking post for Lorraine, as he had promised his secretary he would do, the Pretender had merely gone to an obscure house in the Bois de Boulogne, close to Paris, and had there confabulated and plotted with a set of kept-women and secretaries of foreign embassies, who used the place, and the majority of the persons assembled in it, for two kinds of intrigues.

Bolingbroke says that he had in his hands matter wherewith to damp the triumph of the duke of Ormonde, who was now secretary of state as well as lord-general to the prince without state or army, but that he scorned to make use of it. But Bolingbroke instantly renounced and denounced all connection with the jacobites; made overtures to Lord Stair, who was too conscious of his ability to despise him, and told Maria d'Este, the wretched mother of a wretched son, that he wished his arm might rot off if he ever again drew sword or pen for that cause. The duke of Berwick saw at once the enormous blunder that had been committed in thus dismissing the only Englishman the Pre-

tender ever had able to manage his affairs, and dismissing him in such an insulting manner as to make reconciliation impossible.

But, in the meantime, hundreds, thousands of Englishmen and Scots were paying a severe penalty for their rash doings. In Scotland, the number of prisoners was very small, and little work was done by the courts of law; but the clans were set loose upon one another, and the troops of George were put to live at free quarters in the houses and upon the estates of the jacobites. But, in England, Forster's imbecile conduct and dastardly surrender at Preston had filled the jails of the north with prisoners of a strange variety of conditions — nonjuring Protestants, high-church divines, popish priests and monks in disguise, fox-hunting jacobite squires, and Catholic officers and non-commissioned officers who had been turned out of the army on account of their religion; and mixed with these were Highland chiefs and dunniewassails, and jacobite Lowland lairds, who had marched with Forster from Kelso. Upon some of these unfortunate captives military law was executed, and they were tried in bands by a court-martial, and then shot in a heap, while above five hundred prisoners of inferior condition were left inhumanly to starve of hunger and cold in various castles and jails in the north.

Forster and the most conspicuous of the leaders were marched off for London, where they arrived on the 9th of December. When these unfortunate gentlemen had crossed Finchley common, and reached the brow of Highgate hill, they were made to halt, and to submit to numerous indignities: their arms were tied behind their backs like cut-throats and cut-purses; their horses were led by foot-soldiers, and their ears were stunned by all the drums of the escort beating a triumphal march, and by the shouts, scoffs, and jeers of the multitude. Upon their reaching the city, such as were lords or noblemen were sent to the Tower — the rest were divided among the four common jails. They were not long suffered to remain there in doubt and uncertainty. the nation, the parliament which re-assembled on the 9th of January were eager for an example, in the spirit of the time, and far too anxious for blood. Mr. Lechmere, after a long and vehement speech, impeached James, earl of Derwentwater, of high treason. Other members of the commons, with fewer words, but equal heat, impeached Lord Widdrington, the earls of Nithsdale, Winton, and Carnwath, Viscount Kenmure, and Lord Nairn. Not a single voice was raised in opposition, not an effort made in debate to avert the doom of these incompetent revolutionists, though certainly there was still many a jacobite in the house. On the 19th of January these noblemen were all brought before the house of lords, assembled as a court of justice in Westminster Hall, with Earl Cowper, the chancellor, presiding as lord high-steward. They knelt at the bar till the chancellor desired them to rise; and then they all, but one, confessed their guilt, and threw themselves upon the mercy of King George — a prince neither unmerciful nor cruel, but far indeed from possessing either a tender heart or a lively imagination. Sentence of death, as traitors, was forthwith pronounced upon Derwentwater, Widdrington, Nithsdale, Carnwath, Kenmure, and Lord Nairn; and preparations were ordered for the trial of Lord Winton, who had pleaded not guilty. Secretary Stanhope, who was a man of feeling, interposed and saved the life of Lord Nairn, who had been his schoolfellow: but the united interest and earnest supplications of the duchess of Cleveland and Bolton, of the young countess of Derwentwater pleading with tears for the husband she tenderly loved, and of many other ladies of rank, failed in moving the rough and sturdy king, who admitted them to an audience, but adhered to his purpose, which was the purpose of the majority of his ministers.

Bribes, which had succeeded before in like circumstances, were offered now without effect. Sixty thousand pounds was tendered for the single pardon of Lord Derwentwater, for whose present hard fate tears were shed and lamentations raised in every valley and on every hillside in Cumberland. Some of the best of the whigs in the commons, and among them poor Steele, would have saved life without money or bribe: but Robert Walpole, who in after life was certainly not a cruel minister, was on the present occasion perfectly inhuman: he expressed his horror and disgust at the leniency of these whigs, whom he called "unworthy members of this great body," since they could, "without blushing, open their mouths in favour of rebels and parricides." As, however, favourable circumstances had arisen for the earl of Carnwath and Lord Widdrington, and as some respect was due to the opinion and feeling of the house of lords, those two noblemen were respited. The three remaining victims were left for execution, and, to prevent any further intercession, orders were sent to the Tower to have the block ready on the following morning. But during that night the conjugal affection and heroism of Lady Nithsdale robbed the block of a head. She dressed her lord in her own clothes, and he escaped by night, and in that disguise, out of the Tower. There thus remained only two victims — the English Lord Derwentwater and the Scottish Lord Kenmure: and they, at an early hour the next morning — the 24th of February — were brought to the scaffold on Tower Hill.

Lord Winton, who had pleaded not guilty, embarrassed his prosecutors, for, though he seemed at times crazy or half idiotic, he managed his business with considerable craft and skill, and on his trial struck one of the first of whigs and ministers with a sharp repartee. He was not put upon his trial till the 15th of March, having gained time by petitions and other devices. He was found guilty of high treason, and sent back to the Tower: but it appears that there was no real intention to proceed to execution, and, after lying some time in that state prison, he effected his escape.

In the beginning of April a commission for trying the rebels of inferior rank met in the court of common pleas. Forster, Brigadier Mackintosh, and twenty of their confederates were found guilty on indictments for high treason. Forster and Mackintosh were both fortunate enough to break their prison and escape, and seven others followed their example, and got safe to the Continent. But four were executed in London, and twenty-two in Lancashire, where above a thousand submitted to the king's mercy, and petitioned to be transported to the colonies in America. The amount of punishment and of blood seemed in those days unaccountably and imprudently small.[c]

Punishment was not, however, the only object of the ministers; they thought also of prevention. On the 1st of March, Lechmere moved for leave to bring in "a bill to strengthen the Protestant interest in Great Britain by enforcing the laws now in being against papists" — such, in those times, being the panacea for all evils! Lechmere was seconded by Lord Coningsby, and no member venturing to oppose his motion, the bill was passed on the 17th of April; and we find that one of its clauses provided for the "effectual and exemplary punishment of such as being papists shall enlist themselves in his majesty's service."

THE SEPTENNIAL ACT (1716 A.D.)

But by far the most important and most celebrated measure of the government was their change in the duration of parliament. Under the act passed in 1694 its period had been fixed at three years. The cause of that

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narrow limitation may probably be found in the enormous period of seventeen years, to which Charles II had prolonged his second parliament, and which, by a natural revulsion, drove the minds of men into the opposite extreme. The triennial system had now been tried for upwards of twenty years, and found productive of much inconvenience without any real benefit. There is no evidence whatever to prove that the house of commons had even in the smallest degree shown itself more watchful or public spirited during that epoch than either before or since; nay, on the contrary, it may be asserted that the grossest and most glaring cases of corruption that could be gleaned out of the entire parliamentary annals of Great Britain belong to those twenty years. The speaker (Sir John Trevor), on one occasion, accepted a bribe of 1000 guineas from the city of London, and, on its detection, was himself obliged to put to the vote that he had been guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour. The secretary of the treasury (Mr. Guy), on another occasion, was sent to the Tower for a similar offence. A shameful system of false endorsement of exchequer bills on the part of several members was detected in 1698; and even Burnet,[i] the apologist of those times, is reduced to admit the existence, and deplore the extent, of the corruption.

It is not to be supposed, however, that this was the cause which principally, if at all, influenced the ministers in proposing the restoration of septennial parliaments. Theirs was a case of pressing and immediate danger. A rebellion scarcely quelled — an invasion still threatened — parties in the highest degree exasperated — a government becoming unpopular even from its unavoidable measures of defence: such were the circumstances under which, according to the act of 1694, the parliament would have been dissolved at the risk of tumults and bloodshed — a most formidable opposition — and, perhaps, a jacobite majority. What friend of the Protestant succession could have wished to incur this terrible responsibility? Even those who may approve of triennial parliaments in general, would hardly, I think, defend them at such a juncture. According to this view of the subject, there was at first some idea of providing only for the especial emergency; but it was judged more safe and constitutional to propose a uniform and permanent recurrence to the former system. It was, therefore, on permanent grounds that the question was argued in 1716; and we need scarcely add that it is on such only that it should be considered now.

In considering, therefore, the general question we may, in the first place, cast aside the foolish idea that the parliament overstepped its legitimate authority in prolonging its existence; an idea which was indeed urged by party spirit at the time, and which may still sometimes pass current in harangues to heated multitudes, but which has been treated with utter contempt by the best constitutional writers.[1] If we look to the practical effects of the change, the most obvious and most important is the increased power of the popular branch of the legislature. Speaker Onslow, a very high authority on this subject, was frequently heard to say that the Septennial Bill formed the era of the emancipation of the British house of commons from its former dependence on the crown and the house of lords.

The ministers determined that their proposed bill should originate in the house of lords. It was there that they felt least sure of a majority; and they wished, that, in case of failure, their friends in the commons should not at

[1] Mr. Hallam[k] observes: "Nothing can be more extravagant than what is sometimes confidently pretended by the ignorant, that the legislature exceeded its rights by this enactment, or, if that cannot legally be advanced, that it at least violated the trust of the people and broke in upon the ancient constitution."

least incur needless unpopularity, nor lose ground at the ensuing elections. Accordingly, on the 10th of April, a bill for the repeal of the Triennial Act was brought in by the duke of Devonshire. It was of course keenly opposed by the whole weight of the opposition, yet their numbers were less formidable than had been apprehended; and their chief division on the bill going into committee, gave them only sixty-one votes against ninety-six.

The Septennial Bill, having passed the lords, was sent down to the commons, and read a second time on the 24th of April. Walpole being then severely indisposed, he was unable to take any part in support of the measure; but it had his full concurrence.

In committee on the bill, Lechmere proposed a clause to disable such persons from becoming members of either house of parliament as have pensions during pleasure. But Stanhope urged that such a clause would only clog the bill and endanger its miscarriage, a part of it being an infringement on the privileges of the peers; and he announced his intention of himself bringing in a separate bill with reference to pensioners in the house of commons. Accordingly, he over-ruled Lechmere's proposition (probably intended as a stratagem for defeating the Septennial Bill altogether); and the same evening he moved for leave to bring in a bill to disable any person from being chosen a member of, or sitting or voting in, the house of commons, who has any pension during pleasure, or for any number of years, from the crown. This bill was accordingly prepared, and ordered to be brought in by Stanhope, Craggs, and Boscawen, and it passed on the 8th of June. As for the Septennial Bill, it was read a third time on the 26th of April, the minority mustering no more than 121.

THE KING AND THE PRINCE OF WALES

During the time that the ministers were carrying the Septennial Act and their other measures through parliament, they had another struggle, almost as important and far more difficult to maintain, at court. The king's impatience to revisit his German dominions could no longer be stemmed. It was in vain that his confidential advisers pointed out to him the unpopularity that must attend, and the dangers that might follow, his departure at such a crisis; their resistance only chafing instead of curbing his majesty, and at length the ministers let go the reins. Two great obstacles, however, still remained to delay his journey — first, the restraining clause in the Act of Settlement; and, secondly, his jealousy of the prince of Wales, whom, in his absence, it would be indispensable to invest with some share at least of power and sovereign authority.

As to the first of these difficulties, it might have been met in two modes; by proposing to parliament either an occasional exception, or a total repeal of the restraining clause. The former would certainly have been the more safe and constitutional course, but the latter was thought the most respectful, and accordingly preferred. Accustomed as George was to foreign habits, and attached to his Hanoverian subjects, his ardent desire to visit them should be considered a misfortune indeed to Great Britain, yet by no means a blemish in his character. But it certainly behoved the legislature to hold fast the invaluable safeguard which they already possessed against his foreign partialities. It might, therefore, be supposed by a superficial observer, that the repeal of the restraining clause, when proposed by Sir John Cope in the house of commons, would have been encountered with a strenuous opposition. On the contrary, it passed without a single dissentient voice; the whigs and the

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friends of government supporting the wishes of the king, and the tories delighted at the prospect that his majesty's departure would expose his person to unpopularity and his affairs to confusion.

The jealousy which George I entertained of his son was no new feeling. It had existed even at Hanover, and been since inflamed by an insidious motion of the tories in the house of commons, that, out of the civil list, £100,000 should be allotted as a separate revenue for the prince of Wales. The motion was over-ruled by the ministerial party, and its rejection offended the prince as much as its proposal had the king.

Such being his majesty's feelings, he was unwilling to entrust the prince with the government in his absence, unless by joining other persons in the commission, and limiting his power by the most rigorous restrictions. Through the channel of Bernsdorf, his principal favourite, he communicated his idea to the members of the cabinet, and desired them to deliberate upon it. The answer of Lord Townshend to Bernsdorf is still preserved. He first eagerly seized the opportunity of recapitulating in the strongest manner the objections to the king's departure, and then proceeded to say, that the ministers having carefully perused the precedents, found no instance of persons being joined in commission with the prince of Wales, and few, if any, of restrictions upon such commissions; and that they were of opinion "that the constant tenour of ancient practice could not conveniently be receded from." Under such circumstances, the king found it impossible to persevere in his design. Instead, however, of giving the prince the title of regent, he named him Guardian of the Realm and Lieutenant — an office unknown in England since the days of the Black Prince. He also insisted that the duke of Argyll, whom he suspected of abetting and exciting his son in ambitious views, and who, as groom of the stole to the prince, had constant and easy access to his person, should be dismissed from that and all his other employments. Having thus settled, or rather unsettled matters, George began his journey on the 9th of July, and was attended by Stanhope.

It cannot be denied that at this period the popularity of George I was by no means such as might have been expected from his judicious choice of ministers, or from his personal justice and benevolence of disposition. These qualities, indeed, were not denied by the multitude, but they justly complained of the extreme rapacity and venality of his foreign attendants. Coming from a poor electorate, a flight of hungry Hanoverians, like so many famished vultures, fell with keen eyes and bended talons on the fruitful soil of England. Bothmar and Bernsdorf, looking to the example of King William's foreign favourites, expected peerages and grants of lands, and were deeply offended at the limitations of the Act of Settlement. Robethon, the king's private secretary, whilst equally fond of money, was still more mischievous and meddling; he was of French extraction, and of broken fortunes: a prying, impertinent, venomous creature, forever crawling in some slimy intrigue. All these, and many others, even down to Mahomet and Mustapha, two Turks in his majesty's service, were more than suspected of taking money for recommendations to the king, and making a shameful traffic of his favour.

But by far the greatest share of the public odium fell upon the king's foreign mistresses. The chief of these, Herrengard Melesina von Schulenburg, was created by his majesty duchess of Munster in the Irish peerage, and afterwards duchess of Kendal in the English. She had no great share of beauty; but with George I a bulky figure was sufficient attraction. To intellect she could make still less pretension. Lord Chesterfield, who had married her niece, tells us that she was little better than an idiot; and this

testimony is confirmed by the curious fact that one morning, after the death of her royal lover, she fancied that he flew into her window in the form of a raven, and accordingly gave the bird a most respectful reception. She affected great devotion, and sometimes attended several Lutheran chapels in the course of the same day — perhaps with the view of countenancing a report which prevailed, though probably without foundation, that the king had married her with the left hand, according to the German custom. Her rapacity was very great and very successful. After the resignation of the duke of Somerset, no master of the horse was appointed for several years, the profits of the place being paid to the duchess; and there is no doubt that her secret emoluments for patronage and recommendations far surpassed any outward account of her receipts. Sir Robert Walpole more than once declared of her (but this was after the death of George I), that she would have sold the king's honour for a shilling advance to the best bidder.

The second mistress, Sophia Baroness Kilmanseck, created countess of Darlington, was younger and more handsome than her rival; but, like her, unwieldy in person and rapacious in character. She had no degree either of talent or information, it being apparently the aim of George, in all his amours, to shun with the greatest care the overpowering dissertations of a learned lady.[b]

ENGLAND AND THE CONTINENTAL POWERS

In the spring of 1716, defensive alliances had been concluded by the British government with the states general and with the emperor, to operate in case of aggression on either by France or other powers. The issue, however, of the rebellion of 1715 had entirely indisposed the government of the regent of France to any rupture with England. The duke of Orleans was moreover anxious to procure the support of England to his succession to the crown of France, in the event of the death of Louis XV, a sickly boy. The claim to that crown had been renounced by the Bourbon king of Spain; but Philip V might interpret that renunciation according to the power which he might possess of setting his agreement at nought. Whilst George I was at Hanover this summer, negotiations were going forward between Stanhope, his secretary of state, and the abbé Dubois, the profligate but most able servant of the regent. The English government desired the expulsion of the Pretender from France and its dependencies; and was anxious to stipulate that a new harbour should be abandoned which Louis XIV had begun to construct at Mardyke, to serve the same warlike purposes as Dunkirk, which had been demolished according to the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht. The agent of the regent was ready to yield these points, to secure the friendship of the government of King George. Thus the policy of England and France tended towards peace and a more intimate alliance. On the other hand, the continental objects of George I threatened to involve his island subjects in a war, in which they would certainly not have engaged had their king not also been elector of Hanover. When Charles XII of Sweden, in 1714, after those five years of seclusion at Bender which followed the disastrous day of Pultowa, burst upon Europe again, he found a large part of his territories divided among many rapacious neighbours, with whom he would have to fight if Sweden were to regain any semblance of her old power. Frederick IV of Denmark, in 1712, had conquered Schleswig and Holstein, Bremen and Verden. To strengthen himself against Charles, "the Swedish-iron hero" — as Mr. Carlyle calls him — Frederick bartered away Bremen and Verden to

the elector of Hanover, in 1715, for £150,000, on condition that George should join a coalition against Sweden. George's son-in-law, Frederick William of Prussia, had gone to war that same year, with his giant grenadiers, to compel Charles to resign his pretensions to Stettin, which Prussia had obtained in pawn for a payment of £60,000. The northern war blazed furiously. The elector of Hanover sent a British fleet into the Baltic to coerce Sweden; and with six thousand Hanoverians joined the Prussians, Danes, and Russians, against "the lion-king." At Stralsund Charles made his last effort. He was overpowered; and getting away to Sweden, meditated schemes of vast import, but thoroughly impracticable. Charles endeavoured to gratify his revenge against England in stirring up another jacobite insurrection. Northern Europe was now still more agitated; for the czar Peter had marched with his Muscovites into Mecklenburg, and was threatening Denmark. George was for violent measures against Russia, which his minister Stanhope very wisely discountenanced. This smoke did not burst into flame. In the conduct of the negotiation with France there was a difference of opinion between Stanhope at Hanover, and Townshend at home; and this, with other less dignified causes, produced a partial breaking up of King George's first whig ministry.

MINISTERIAL DISSENSIONS

The popularity which the prince of Wales acquired during the king's absence was looked upon with fear and suspicion at Hanover. He was affable; appeared fond of English customs; spoke our language tolerably well; and went amongst the people in a free and unreserved manner. Party writers began to contrast the son with the father. The prince was not discreet in a position where discretion was so essential. He manifested an eagerness to open the parliament in person during the king's absence; whilst the king desired that the prorogation might be extended, to enable him to remain longer at Hanover. Townshend, in his communications with Stanhope, had pressed that the king should speedily decide as to his return; intimated the prince's wish to open parliament; and suggested that in certain emergencies a larger discretionary power should be given to the "guardian of the realm." The king was enraged; and avowed his determination to dismiss his chief minister from his office of secretary of state. To soften this dismissal Townshend was offered the office of lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The secretary at first stoutly refused. His colleagues were indignant. Stanhope, from Hanover, tried to persuade them to acquiesce in the king's determination. The whigs, he wrote to Mr. Methuen, one of the commissioners of the treasury, "may possibly unking their master, or (which I do before God think very possible) make him abdicate England; but they will certainly not force him to make my lord Townshend secretary." The fallen minister was at last induced to accept the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland; and Methuen was appointed secretary of state as the colleague of Stanhope. The apparent renewal of the friendly relations of the sovereign and his ministers was not of long duration.

The king opened the session of parliament on the 20th of February, 1717. He announced that a Treaty of Alliance had been concluded between Great Britain, France, and the states general. There were to be no longer apprehensions about Dunkirk and Mardyke; the pretender was to be removed beyond the Alps. This treaty, concluded on the 4th of January, 1717, is known as the Triple Alliance. The king further notified that he had directed

papers to be laid before parliament, "which contain a certain account of a projected invasion." These papers were "copies of letters which passed between Count Gyllenburg, the barons Görtz, Spaar, and others, relating to the designs of raising a rebellion in his majesty's dominions, to be supported by a force from Sweden." The discovery of this scheme had delayed the opening of the session. In October, some letters between Baron Görtz, the bold and intriguing minister of Charles XII, and Count Gyllenburg, the Swedish envoy in London, had been intercepted and deciphered by the English government. On the 29th of January, Stanhope, as secretary of state, laid the information thus obtained before the council; and it was determined to resort to the extraordinary measure of arresting the Swedish envoy, and of seizing his papers. Gyllenburg, of course, stoutly resisted; and pleaded the protection to which the representatives of foreign governments are entitled by the law of nations. That law, however, does not sanction an ambassador in being the active instrument of plots against the government to which he is accredited. General Wade carried off the contents of the Swede's escritoire, and put a guard over his prisoner. The contents of the papers fully justified the act of the government. Görtz had organised a scheme for an insurrection in England, and a simultaneous invasion of Scotland by the king of Sweden. Spain had entered into the confederacy. Its prime minister, Alberoni, had remitted a million of French livres to Spaar, the Swedish envoy in Paris, to set the forces of Charles XII in motion. The Pretender had offered £60,000 for the same object. The whole affair exploded upon the arrest of Gyllenburg. The king of Sweden did not disown the act of his ministers, neither did he own them; but he ordered the British resident at his court to be put under arrest. Apprehensions of danger from Sweden were still professed by the English ministry; and on the 3rd of April, Stanhope delivered to the commons a royal message, asking for an additional supply, "not only to secure his majesty's kingdoms against the present dangers with which they are threatened from Sweden, but likewise to prevent as far as possible the like apprehensions for the future." The motion for a supply was only carried by a majority of four votes. It was opposed by many of the whigs, and coldly supported by others. Walpole, to whom the house looked up on all financial questions, spoke indeed in favour of the motion, but with a reserve that was more significant than censure. It was clear that the most important of the whig leaders were jealous of the influence of Sunderland, who was now held to be the king's chief adviser. The result of this debate was that the same evening Townshend was dismissed from his office of lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and that, the next morning, Robert Walpole resigned — firm in his resistance to the entreaties of the king to keep the seals of chancellor of the exchequer. Other resignations followed, including that of Methuen. Stanhope now became the head of the government; Sunderland and Addison were appointed secretaries of state; and James Craggs secretary for war.

THE QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE

The period during which Stanhope had the chief administration of affairs, from 1717 to his death in 1721, was a period of extraordinary excitement in the complicated policy of various European states, and of momentous embarrassment in the financial operations of the English people and the English government. The chief instigator of the disputes which in 1717 threatened to involve Europe again in a general war was Cardinal Alberoni, the prime

minister of Spain. He had great projects in view, which he thought would raise Spain in the scale of nations. He prepared an armament at Barcelona, whose destination was wholly unknown. In August, 1717, a Spanish fleet anchored in the bay of Cagliari; and eight or nine thousand troops made a descent on the island of Sardinia, of which they took possession after a stout resistance from Spaniards of the Austrian party. The expedition was not merely intended to seize this barren territory. Spain had an eye to Sicily, which had been ceded at the peace to Victor Amadeus. England interposed, in the endeavour to preserve the peace of Europe. Negotiations went forward, without much effect; Stanhope having sent his cousin, afterwards earl of Harrington, as ambassador to Spain. The regent of France also sent his ambassador. But the bold and crafty Alberoni wanted only to gain time, and he made the most extensive preparations for war upon a great scale. Spain, directed by the energy of this adventurer, threw off her accustomed lethargy. In a year or two he had set in motion every instrument of intrigue against France and England. The Turks had been totally defeated by Prince Eugene at the great battle of Peterwaradin. Alberoni urged the sultan to persevere in the war with the emperor. He had encouraged Baron Görtz in his schemes for the invasion of England by Sweden. He had entered into correspondence with the Pretender, and proposed a Spanish expedition to land in Britain, to be commanded by James, or by the duke of Ormonde. He fomented insurrections and conspiracies in France. In 1718 it became evident that the British government must prepare for warlike operations, and give up its attempts at mediation. Alberoni, whose vanity made him presumptuous, but whose acuteness gave him signal advantages over ordinary politicians, must have offered many a rude shock to the complacency of diplomatic routine.



EASTGATE HOUSE, ROCHESTER
(Original of the "Nun's House" in *Edwin Drood* by Dickens)

The English negotiators had to attempt the difficult task of reconciling the conflicting interests of the emperor and the Bourbon king of Spain. The Treaty of Utrecht had failed in placing the peace of Europe on a durable foundation. There must be other territorial arrangements, which it was the object of the Quadruple Alliance of England, Holland, France, and the emperor to effect. Exchanges of dominion were to be made between the rivals; something gained and something yielded on either side; doubtful successions guaranteed; compensations; all interests consulted but that trifling one, the welfare of those handed about from potentate to potentate. Alberoni resolved for war, exclaiming, "The Lord's hand is not shortened."

ARREST OF THE PRINCE OF WALES

With this threatened interruption to the peace of Europe, the administration of Stanhope, who was now raised to the peerage, had to meet the parliament which was summoned for the 21st of November. Just at this time a scene took place within the walls of St. James' palace, which threatened as much embarrassment to the tranquil progress of government as any complication of foreign affairs. The king and the prince of Wales openly quarrelled. The rupture was deemed of sufficient importance to warrant the secretary of state in writing an explanation of the circumstances to the foreign ministers.

Then was exhibited the unbecoming spectacle of the heir-apparent in opposition to the government of his father; of the court of Leicester House in rivalry to the court of St. James. The discarded members of the whig cabinet could at Leicester House lament, in common with tories and jacobites, over their exclusion from power. Walpole and Shippen could make common cause as assailants of the existing government, however irreconcileable themselves upon the principles upon which the government could be conducted. The king, on the other hand, was surrounded by some indiscreet and unscrupulous adherents. After his majesty's death, Queen Caroline found amongst his private papers a proposal from the earl of Berkeley, first lord of the admiralty in 1718 — which proposal was in the handwriting of Charles Stanhope — to seize the prince of Wales, and carry him off to America. George I had too much sense to adopt the kidnapping project; but he formed a crude plan to obtain an act of parliament that the prince should be compelled to relinquish his German possessions upon coming to the throne of Great Britain. The friends of constitutional monarchy were alarmed at these proceedings, and it was fortunate that the power which the great abilities of Walpole eventually secured under George I, enabled him to use, for the purpose of outward reconciliation, the influence which he had obtained over the prince of Wales during his term of opposition politics.

WAR WITH SPAIN

Into fightings arising out of the squabbles of the empire and of Spain — or rather out of the squabbles of [in Carlyle's[d] phrase] "Kaiser Karl VI and of Elizabeth Farnese, termagant queen of Spain" — was England precipitated. When the number of troops to be maintained came to be discussed in parliament, "downright Shippen" said that some expressions of the king's speech "seem rather calculated for the meridian of Germany than of Great Britain." He added, "It is the only infelicity of his majesty's reign that he is unacquainted with our language and constitution, and it is therefore the more incumbent on his British ministers to inform him, that our government does not stand on the same foundation with his German dominions, which, by reason of their situation, and the nature of their constitution, are obliged to keep up armies in time of peace." For these expressions Mr. Shippen was sent to the Tower, and there remained till the prorogation of parliament in March. There were interesting debates in both houses on the evident tendency to engage in war indicated by the number of troops to be employed, but the parliament was prorogued with the royal expression of a hope that such treaties might be concluded, "as will settle peace and tranquillity amongst our neighbours." The hope was illusive; and indeed was contrary to a message from the crown, just at the close of the session, pointing out the

necessity of an increase of the navy. No specific object was named; but Walpole observed that the message and the address which was voted had the air of a declaration of war against Spain.

On the 4th of June, Admiral Byng sailed for the Mediterranean, having twenty ships of the line under his command; for intelligence had been received that an armament of twenty-nine ships of war, with transports for thirty-five thousand soldiers, had sailed from Barcelona with sealed orders. The English prime minister, Lord Stanhope, in the desire to avert war, had proceeded to Madrid; and he was even prepared to give up Gibraltar, which it appears he thought "of no consequence." Alberoni, amidst pacific professions, had manifested no disposition to abate his pretensions. Whilst Stanhope was talking of peace, the Spanish fleet had sailed into the bay of Solento, and having landed a large force upon Sicilian ground under the marquis di Lede, the troops in a few days had become masters of Palermo. The chief military operation was the siege of Messina. On the 31st of July the citadel was invested. On the 1st of August, Sir George Byng's fleet was anchored in the bay of Naples, where he took on board two thousand German troops to reinforce the Piedmontese garrison of Messina. The Spanish fleet would have been in comparative safety if they had remained at anchor in the road of Messina, in line of battle, with the batteries behind them that Di Lede had constructed. The admirals chose to put to sea, and Byng hurried after the Spaniards, through the straits of Faro. On the 11th of August the English squadron was carried by a breeze into the heart of the Spanish fleet, off Cape Passero. Six of their men of war had been separated from their main body, and a division, commanded by Captain Walton, was despatched by the English admiral to intercept them. The battle, it is held, was commenced by the Spaniards. Byng was superior in force; and the Spanish admirals acted without a settled plan. But they fought bravely, till the main fleet was all taken or destroyed. The report of Captain Walton to his admiral, is the very model of a business-like despatch: "Sir, we have taken and destroyed all the Spanish ships which were upon the coast: the number as per margin." The Spanish fleet was thus swept away; but Byng, in a letter to Di Lede, affected to consider this catastrophe as not necessarily involving a war between the two nations. Messina fell before the Spanish troops, at the end of September; and Byng again anchored in the bay of Naples. Alberoni did not quietly endure the pacific mode in which his fleet had been annihilated. He seized all British vessels and goods in Spanish ports.

The war smouldered on during two years; for an object which, as Carlyle truly said, "could not be excelled in insignificance." King George, in opening parliament on the 11th of November, announced that he had concluded terms and conditions of peace and alliance between the greatest princes of Europe, but that Spain "having rejected all our amicable proposals, it became necessary for our naval forces to check their progress." Walpole headed in the commons the opposition to an address of thanks, contending, that by their giving sanction to the late measures, they "would screen ministers, who, having begun a war against Spain, would now make it the parliament's war." The motion for an address of thanks was carried by a majority of sixty-one.

BILL FOR RELIEF OF DISSENTERS

A domestic measure of real interest to the nation, and honourable to the ministry to have proposed, was carried during this session, with some curtailments of its original design. It was a bill for the relief of Protestant dis-

senters, entitled "a bill for strengthening the Protestant interest in these kingdoms." Stanhope took a liberal view of the religious differences which had so long agitated the nation, and he desired to repeal, not only the Act against Occasional Conformity, the Schism Act, and the Test Act, but to mitigate the penal laws against Roman Catholics. It was contended, and perhaps prudently, by some of his colleagues, that by aiming at too much nothing would be accomplished. The debates were warm in both houses; and finally, by a majority of only forty-one, the measure was passed, without the repeal of the Test Act, and without any attempt to put the Roman Catholics upon a juster footing of equality, however limited, with their fellow-subjects.

SETTLEMENT OF THE SPANISH DIFFICULTIES

The hostility of Alberoni towards the government which had proved the most formidable enemy to his designs for the extension of the power of the Spanish monarchy, now assumed the somewhat dangerous form of an alliance with the Pretender, and a direct assistance to him in another attempt at the invasion of Great Britain. There was no longer to be hope for the house of Stuart in the rash designs of Charles of Sweden. He had fallen by a stray bullet — probably by the hand of an assassin — in the trenches of Frederickshall. He no more will terrify the world with his volcanic outbreaks. Alberoni was to accomplish, by weaving his web of intrigue around the persevering adherents of James, what his brother intriguer Görtz had failed to accomplish. Upon the sister of Charles XII succeeding to the crown of Sweden, there had been a political revolution, and the restless minister of the late king had perished on a scaffold. Alberoni had failed in the issue of a conspiracy which he had stirred up against the regent Orleans. It was effectually crushed; and, whatever were the private views of the regent, his lenity in this affair was a proof that he possessed one of the best attributes of power, "the quality of mercy." The plot of the duke and duchess of Maine being clearly traced to the schemes of the Spanish minister, war was declared by France against Spain. There was one great card more to play. The Pretender was invited to Madrid. He safely reached that capital from Italy, and was received with signal honours. The duke of Ormonde, and the earl Marischal and his brother, had also passed from France into Spain. An expedition had been prepared by Alberoni, which it was originally intended that James should lead.

But it was at length arranged that Ormonde should land in England; that Lord Marischal should sail with some forces to Scotland; and that Keith, his brother, should go through France to gather together the jacobites who had taken refuge there. The armament which sailed from Cadiz, consisting of five men-of-war, with twenty transports, carrying five thousand men, was scattered by a great storm in the Bay of Biscay. The crews threw overboard the stands of arms, the munitions of war, and the horses, to lighten their vessels; and the greater part of the armada returned to Spanish ports, in a dismantled condition. The earl Marischal, with two frigates, carrying about three hundred troops, proceeded to Scotland; and his brother, with Tullibardine, Seaforth, and a few other noble refugees, joined him in a small vessel. The whole proceeding was known to the British government, through information furnished by the regent of France. The adventurers, with the Spanish soldiers, landed on the banks of Loch Alsh, in the month of May, 1719. The vessels returned to Spain; and the Scottish leaders were left to

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face their desperate enterprise. They established themselves in an old castle in the inner reach of the loch; but their attempts to fortify it afforded them no safety. Three English vessels of war entered these solitary waters, and battered the rude tower to the ground. Scattered parties of Highlanders joined the Spaniards; and the whole body, about fifteen hundred — some accounts say two thousand — encamped at Glenshiel. In this valley, surrounded by mountains, whose pathways were known only to the natives, they remained inactive, expecting to be joined by large bodies of insurgents. No general rising took place in the Highlands. No great chiefs again ventured to appear in arms against a strong government. In June, General Wightman, with sixteen hundred troops, marched from Inverness. He hesitated to attack desperate men in their formidable pass; but a sharp struggle took place with detached bodies on the mountain sides, which lasted three hours. The next day the Spaniards surrendered as prisoners of war; but the Highlanders had disappeared. Wightman had twenty-one men killed, and a hundred and twenty-one wounded. He brought into Edinburgh two hundred and seventy-four Spanish prisoners. The Scottish leaders took shelter in the Western Isles; and finally escaped to Spain.

Whatever opposition might be raised to the origin and objects of the war in which England was engaged against France, no one could complain that the naval power of the country was inefficiently employed. No British admiral could have manifested more energy and promptitude than Admiral Byng displayed, in exploits that required the utmost courage and decision of character. He rendered the most efficient aid to the forces of the emperor in the contest with the Spaniards for the possession of Sicily. By his sagacious counsels he gave a successful direction to the languid efforts of the imperial commanders, who were jealous of each other, and divided in their plans. Their troops were destitute of provisions, and he supplied them by sea with stores, to prevent them starving in the interior of the island. They were insufficiently supplied with ammunition, and he furnished them with the means of attack and defence. With such aid the Austrians, after a serious defeat at Franca Villa, in June, 1719, were enabled to besiege the Spaniards in Messina, of whose citadel they obtained possession in October. There were military operations of less importance before the Spaniards finally evacuated Sicily and Sardinia.

Meanwhile, the French had sent an army against Spain, under the command of the duke of Berwick, the natural son of James II — the general who had won the victory of Almanza for the Bourbon king of Spain. Berwick was now to lead an army against the same king; and he was to be assisted by English sailors belonging to the government of the sovereign who was regarded as an usurper by the head of his own family. The French made themselves masters of Fuenterabia and St. Sebastian; and Lord Cobham, with an English squadron, captured Vigo. These disasters might have convinced Alberoni that the conflict with these great powers, in which Spain had engaged, was an undertaking in which his own abilities could not supply the want of material resources. But he probably was not prepared to be deserted by the court which he had so ably served in the endeavour to increase its power and importance. Before the reverses in Sicily, Alberoni had made overtures for peace. Stanhope proposed to Dubois, to demand from King Philip the dismissal of his minister. His ambition, said Stanhope, had been the sole cause of the war; and "it is not to be imagined that he will ever lose sight of his vast designs, or lay aside the intention of again bringing them forward, whenever the recovery of his strength, and the remissness of the allied powers, may

flatter him with the hopes of better success." King Philip submitted to this dictation.

In December, 1719, Alberoni, by a royal decree, was dismissed from all his employments, and was commanded to leave the Spanish territory within twenty-one days. Incapable grandees rejoiced that the son of an Italian gardener no longer ruffled their solemn pride; some loftier spirits testified their respect to fallen greatness. The cardinal went back to Italy, a poor man. After vain attempts to resist or evade the demands of the allies that Spain should accede to the Quadruple Alliance, that accession was proclaimed in January, 1720; Philip declaring that he gave peace to Europe at the sacrifice of his rights. He renewed his renunciation of the French crown. Europe was again at peace. Even the czar of Muscovy had been warned by the presence of an English fleet in the Baltic, that he would not be permitted utterly to destroy Sweden. By England's protection of the female successor of Charles XII, the elector of Hanover secured Bremen and Verden. The policy of foreign affairs did not exclusively contemplate the safety of King George's island subjects, but there was no advocacy of merely German policy of which the nation had a right to complain. The reputation of Great Britain was not damaged by the mode in which the war had been carried on. Her naval strength had been successfully exerted. A peace of twelve years, with a very trivial interruption, was the result of the Quadruple Alliance.

THE PEERAGE BILL (1719 A.D.)

The two parliamentary sessions of 1719 were remarkable for ministerial attempts to carry a measure which would have produced a vital change in the composition of the house of lords. It was proposed to limit the royal power of creating peers; and the king was persuaded to send a message to the lords, that his majesty has so much at heart the settling the peerage of the whole kingdom upon such a foundation as may secure the freedom and constitution of parliament in all future ages, that he is willing his prerogative stand not in the way of so great and necessary a work.

In February, resolutions were proposed in the upper house that the English peers should not be increased beyond six of their present number; with the exception of princes of the blood; and that instead of there being sixteen elective peers for Scotland, the king should name twenty-five as hereditary peers. In the house of lords, the resolutions were carried by a large majority. The proposition produced an excessive ferment. The whig members and the whig writers took different sides. Addison supported the bill; Steele opposed it. The measure was abandoned on account of the strong feeling which it produced on its first introduction; but it was again brought forward in the session which commenced on the 23rd of November. It passed the lords, with very slight opposition. In the commons the bill was rejected by a very large majority, 269 to 167. On this occasion Walpole, generally the plainest and most business-like of speakers, opposed the bill with a rhetorical force which, according to the testimony of Speaker Onslow, "bore down everything before him." The exordium of his speech is remarkable: "Among the Romans, the wisest people upon earth, the Temple of Fame was placed behind the Temple of Virtue, to denote that there was no coming to the Temple of Fame, but through that of Virtue. But if this bill is passed into a law, one of the most powerful incentives to virtue would be taken away, since there would be no arriving at honour but through the winding-sheet of an old

decrepit lord, or the grave of an extinct noble family; a policy very different from that glorious and enlightened nation, who made it their pride to hold out to the world illustrious examples of merited elevation:

Patere honoris scirent ut cuncti viam."

The opponents of the Peerage Bill did not fail to use the obvious argument, that although the prerogative of the crown might be abused by the creation of peers, as in the late reign, to secure a majority for the court, there was a greater danger in so limiting the peerage as to make the existing body what Walpole called "a compact impenetrable phalanx."

THE SOUTH SEA BUBBLE

The great event of the sixth year of the reign of George I was the exciting affair of the South Sea scheme — an event upon which, after the lapse of nearly two hundred years, we may still look with greater interest than upon the treaties and the wars of which Carlyle[d] has said, with some truth, that they are to us as the "mere bubblings up of the general putrid fermentation of the then political world." Few people of that time clearly understood what this famous South Sea project meant; and it is somewhat difficult to make it intelligible now.

In the infant days of the national debt the great terror of statesmen was its increase and duration. At the accession of Queen Anne, the debt amounted to sixteen millions; at her death it had reached fifty-two millions. In 1711 there was a floating debt of about ten millions. Harley, then lord-treasurer, proposed to create a fund for that sum; and to secure the payment of interest, by making certain duties of customs permanent. Capitalists who held debentures were to become shareholders in a company incorporated for the purpose of carrying on a monopoly of trade to the Spanish coasts of South America; making the new fund a part of their capital stock. Thus was established the South Sea Company. When the Peace of Utrecht was completed, Spain refused to permit any approach to the free trade which would have made such a commercial company of value. One ship only was allowed to be sent annually. A few factories were established, and the one ship sailed in 1717. Alberoni broke the treaty, and seized the British goods. But the company had other means for the employment of capital; and many opulent persons were amongst its shareholders and directors.

At the opening of the session of parliament in November, 1719, the king said to the commons, "I must desire you to turn your thoughts to all proper means for lessening the debts of the nation." In January, 1720, a proposal was read to the house of commons from the South Sea Company, in which it was set forth that if certain public debts and annuities were made part of the capital stock of the company, it would greatly contribute to that most desirable end adverted to in his majesty's speech. Before that speech was delivered Sir John Blunt, a South Sea director, had been in communication with the ministers, who gave a favourable ear to his projects. There was an annual charge upon the revenue of eight hundred thousand pounds, for irredeemable annuities granted in the reigns of William and Anne. To buy up these annuities was the advantageous point in the proposal of the company. The house of commons agreed in the necessity of reducing the public debts. "Till this was done," said Mr. Brodrick, who moved that other companies should be allowed to compete, "we could not, properly speaking, call ourselves a nation." The Bank of England accordingly sent in a rival proposal;

and the two companies went on outbidding each other, till the South Sea Company's large offer to provide seven millions and a half to buy up the annuities was accepted. The annuitants were not compelled to exchange their government security for the company's stock; and the chief doubt seemed to be whether the greater number would consent to this transfer. Although the terms offered by the company to the annuitants were not encouraging, there was a rush to accept them. To hold stock in a company whose exclusive trading privileges might realise that "potentiality of wealth" which is never "beyond the dreams of avarice," was a far grander thing than to receive seven, eight, or even nine per cent. upon annuities. Within six days of the announcement of the company's terms, two-thirds of the annuitants had exchanged their certain income for the boundless imaginary riches of South America.

Upon this foundation was built the most enormous fabric of national delusion that was ever raised amongst an industrious, thrifty, and prudent people. It had been long manifest that there was a great amount of superfluous capital, especially of the hordings of the middle classes, which wanted opportunities for employment. To obtain interest for small sums was scarcely practicable for the mass of those who were enabled to keep their expenditure below their incomes. Before the beginning of the century, companies, more or less safe, had been formed to meet this desire for investments. In spite of the long wars of the reigns of William and Anne, and the jacobite plots and rebellions which threatened the Protestant succession, the country was going steadily forward in a course of prosperity. Wherever there is superfluous wealth, beyond the ordinary demands of industry for capital, there will be always projectors ready to suggest modes for its co-operative uses. In the summer of that year, the South Sea year, "the dog-star rages" over Exchange Alley with a fury that has never been equalled; because no capitalist, even to the possessor of a single shilling, was then too humble not to believe that the road to riches was open before him. Subscribers to projects recommended by "one or more persons of known credit," were only required to advance ten shillings per cent. A shilling, and even sixpence per cent. was enough to secure the receipt for a share in the more doubtful undertakings. Shares of every sort were at a premium, unless in cases where the office that was opened at noon on one day was found closed on the next, and the shillings and sixpences had vanished with the subscription books.

But the great impulse to the frantic stock-jobbing of that summer was the sudden and enormous rise in the value of South Sea stock. In July, Secretary Craggs wrote to Earl Stanhope, who was abroad with the king, "it is impossible to tell you what a rage prevails here for South Sea subscriptions at any price. The crowd of those that possess the redeemable annuities is so great, that the bank, who are obliged to take them in, has been forced to set tables with clerks in the streets." The hundred-pound shares of the South Sea Company went up to a thousand pounds in August. The shares of the Bank of England and of the East India Company were transferred at an enormous advance. Smaller companies of every character — water companies, fishery companies, companies for various manufactures, companies for settlements and foreign trade — infinite varieties, down to companies for fattening hogs and importing jackasses from Spain — rushed into the market amidst the universal cry for shares and more shares. The directors of the South Sea Company opened a second, a third, and a fourth subscription. They boldly proclaimed that after Christmas their annual dividend should not fall short of fifty per cent. upon their £100 shares. The rivalry of the

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legion of projects of that season was odious to these great lords of the money market. The government itself began to think that some fearful end would come to the popular delusion; and a royal proclamation was issued against "mischievous and dangerous undertakings, especially the presuming to act as a corporate body, or raising stocks or shares without legal authority." It was calculated that the value of the stock of all the companies, with corporate authority or no authority, amounted at the current prices to five hundred millions sterling; being five times as much as the circulating medium of Europe, and twice as much as the fee simple of all the land of the kingdom. The attempt of the South Sea Company to lessen the number of their competitors was the prelude to their own fall. At their instance, writs of *scire facias* were issued, on the 18th of August, against four companies; and the subscribers to these, and to all other projects not legalised, were ordered to be prosecuted by the officers of the crown. A panic ensued. In a day or two, the stocks of all the companies not incorporated rapidly fell; and with the downward rush went down every description of stock. Before August, knowing and cautious holders of South Sea stock began to sell out.

Walpole, who had originally opposed the scheme, did not carry his opposition to the extreme of neglecting his opportunity of largely adding to his fortune, by investing at the proper time, and selling out at the proper time. The earl of Pembroke applied to Walpole for his advice as to the great question of selling when the shares were at their culminating point. The adroit financier coolly answered: "I will only tell you what I have done myself. I have just sold out at £1,000 per cent., and I am fully satisfied." By the middle of September holders of South Sea stock were crowding the Exchange, not as eager buyers, but as more eager sellers. The stock was at 850 on the 18th of August; in a month it had fallen to 410. Mr. Brodrick, on the 13th of September, writes that the most considerable men of the company, "with their fast friends, the tories, jacobites, and papists," had drawn out; "securing themselves by the losses of the deluded thoughtless numbers, whose understandings were overruled by avarice, and hopes of making mountains of mole-hills. Thousands of families will be reduced to beggary. The consternation is inexpressible; the rage beyond expression; and the case is so desperate, that I do not see any plan or scheme for averting the blow." On the 29th of September, South Sea stock had fallen to 175. This greatest of bubbles had burst.

Many persons of rank and station were not so prudent as Walpole and the earl of Pembroke had been. The duke of Portland, Lord Lonsdale, and Lord Irwin were provided with colonial governments to enable them to live. Merchants, lawyers, clergy, physicians passed from their dream of fabulous wealth and from their wonted comforts into poverty; some "died of broken hearts; others withdrew to remote parts of the world, and never returned." It has been observed by Craik*i* that "the calamitous effects of the madness were rather individual and immediate, than permanent or general. There was little, if any, absolute destruction of capital. The whole mischief consisted in a most quick and violent shifting of property from one hand to another." But the derangement of the ordinary course of industry was to be added to this shifting of property. Serious as was this temporary evil; furious as it made the sufferers in their reproaches against every one but themselves; eager as it rendered the legislature for confiscation of the property of the South Sea directors, the national credit was not permanently impaired by the infatuation which produced so much private misery. In this respect, the issue of the South Sea scheme was essentially different from the Mississippi scheme of

John Law in France, which also exploded in that fatal year for projectors; producing there what was equivalent to a national bankruptcy. When the South Sea crash came, there was an alarm for its public consequences. But Walpole, who had again joined the government, though in a subordinate office, applied his great financial abilities to avert the difficulties which this convulsion might occasion to the state; and instead of joining the first cry for vengeance upon the South Sea directors, he calmly said in parliament that if London were on fire wise men would endeavour to extinguish the flames before they sought for the incendiaries. When the king opened the session on the 8th of December, the royal speech recommended measures "to restore the national credit." Walpole was regarded by all parties as the man to effect this.

WALPOLE TO THE RESCUE (1721–1722 A.D.)

To endeavour to equalise, to the most inconsiderable extent, the losses and gains of individuals by the extravagant rise and sudden depression of South Sea stock, would have been a task far beyond the province of any minister of state. The financial abilities of Walpole were necessarily directed to the very difficult labour of disentangling the government from the embarrassments of the South Sea Company. The English ministry had never attempted to sustain the value of the company's shares by arbitrary edicts; or to interfere with their fall by regulations that were based upon other principles than the great natural laws by which the money market, like every other market, must be governed. The French ministry, when the scheme of Law for relieving its exhausted finances by a paper currency, based on the imaginary riches of Louisiana, was in the course of breaking down, gave its orders that individuals should not retain in their possession any sum beyond a small amount of gold and silver, and should be compelled to carry on their transactions in Law's substitute for money. The shares were not to fall according to the rate at which their owners were willing to sell them, but to sink in nominal value, by a monthly reduction, till they had reached half their original price, at which rate they were to be fixed.

All this, of course, was the merest convulsion of despotism. The regent had shifted a large amount of the debts of the state to the deluded people, and no attempt was made to retrieve the national credit. Walpole had to pursue a policy which was the only possible one under a limited monarchy; and which indeed was not beset with the difficulties that the government of the regent would have had to encounter in any struggle to be honest. The French finances were hopelessly embarrassed by a long course of extravagance, before Law thought he could perform the part of the magician in the Arabian story, making a scrap of paper pass as a piece of silver. The English finances were healthy, though the national debt amounted to fifty or sixty millions. The French government adopted the schemes of Law, to furnish the means of new extravagances. The English government went into the scheme of the South Sea Company, with the view of redeeming a portion of the national debt, and thus of lessening the amount of taxation. Voltaire records that he had seen Law come to court with dukes, marshals, and bishops following humbly in his train. The English court was not free from shame in the South Sea project. Half a million of fictitious stock had been created by the directors, previous to the passing of the bill. The duchess of Kendal, as well as other favourites of the king, had large douceurs out of the profits which the directors made by the transfer of these shares; and it is lamentable to add that

Craggs, the secretary of state, his father the postmaster-general, and Aislabie, the chancellor of the exchequer, were amongst the recipients of this bribery. It was the business of parliament to trace the extent of the corruption; and to punish in some degree those directors for vengeance upon whom the nation was frightfully clamouring.

Although in the petitions to parliament "for justice on the authors of the present calamities," we may see how individuals come to consider the losses produced by their own insensate desire for sudden riches as national misfortunes, we may yet observe how general is the calamity when a people think to grow rich by gambling instead of by work. Want of money is the universal cry. No branch of industry had been exempted, according to these petitions, from suffering. There may be exaggeration in these complaints. But it is nevertheless easy to understand how difficult it would be, in a condition of society where commercial credit was not upheld by large banking operations, to escape very serious evils, when the many streams and rills in which capital ordinarily flowed were diverted into one vast flood, and thus for a while the channels were left dry from which industry derived its regular nourishment.

The commons, through the entire session, were occupied with investigations and discussions connected with the financial convulsion. Walpole brought forward his plan for sustaining the national credit, and had induced the house to agree that the public contracts with the South Sea Company should be undisturbed. His first proposal, to engraft a portion of the stock of that company into the Bank of England, and another portion into the East India Company, was carried after much debate; but this plan was ultimately merged into another measure. The private estates of the directors were to be regarded as a fund to provide some remedy for the public embarrassment. A bill was passed, to compel them to deliver on oath an estimate of the value of their property, and to prevent them going out of the kingdom. A secret committee of inquiry was appointed. After they had examined Mr. Robert Knight, the cashier of the company, he fled to Brabant. A reward of £2,000 was offered for his apprehension; but it was believed that there were influences at work powerful enough effectually to screen him. Knight was arrested at Antwerp; but the states of Brabant refused to give him up. "Screen" became a bye-word. Caricatures — which it is said were become common at this period for political objects — had for their point the duchess of Kendal and the flight of the cashier. "The Brabant Screen" exhibited the king's mistress sending Knight upon his travels, giving him his dispatches from behind a screen.

The prudent cashier took care to obliterate, as far as possible, the evidence that great ladies and ministers of state had been corrupted by the South Sea directors. The committee of the commons reported that "in some of the books produced before them, false and fictitious entries were made; in others entries with blanks; in others entries with erasures and alterations; and in others leaves were torn out." They found, further, that some books had been destroyed, and others taken away or secreted. Out of the mouths of the directors the committee extracted evidence to show that there had been extensive appropriation of stock to "certain ladies," at the instance of Mr. Secretary Craggs; and the proof was clear that persons high in office had received and held stock during the time that the company's bill was depending in parliament, "without any valuable consideration paid, or sufficient security given for the acceptance of, or payment for, such stock." Nevertheless, Charles Stanhope, one of the accused, was cleared by a majority of three. The earl of Sunderland was exonerated by a larger majority; but he

could not stand up against the popular odium, and resigned his post of first commissioner of the treasury. Aislabie, the chancellor of the exchequer, was expelled the house, and was sent to the Tower. James Craggs died of small-pox, during the heat of this inquiry. His father, the postmaster-general, destroyed himself by poison.

Their charges against the directors were founded upon their practice of "selling their own stock at high prices, at the same time that they gave orders for buying stock upon account of the company"; and upon their various contrivances "to give his majesty's subjects false notions of the value" of the South Sea stock. Their punishment, under the bill that was passed, was severe. Their estates, amounting to two millions sterling, were confiscated for the relief of the sufferers by their schemes. A small allowance was made to each, but they were disabled from ever holding any place, or for sitting in parliament. Such visitations for their offences were thought far too lenient by the greater number of their contemporaries. They may now be considered excessive.

DEATH OF STANHOPE AND MARLBOROUGH

During a debate in the lords upon the conduct of the South Sea directors, the duke of Wharton, as profligate as he was able, made a furious attack upon Stanhope, comparing him to Sejanus. The anger to which the earl was moved produced a rush of blood to his head. A temporary relief by cupping was obtained; but the next day the skilful and honest secretary of state suddenly expired. No suspicion of improper connection with the South Sea scheme had affected his honour. Lord Townshend again became secretary of state. With Walpole, chancellor of the exchequer, salutary measures were pursued to restore confidence. The South Sea Company were relieved from certain engagements to make advances to the government; and the credit of their bonds was sustained at its just value.

The session of 1722 was a busy session. Questions more important than those connected with party interests were discussed. An act had been passed in the last session — under the apprehension of the plague, which was raging in France — for the building of pest-houses, to which infected persons and even the healthy of an infected family, were to be removed; and lines were to be drawn round any infected town or city. Earl Cowper, the ex-chancellor, a man of liberal and enlightened views, moved for the repeal of these powers, as unknown to our constitution, and inconsistent with the lenity of free government. But his motion was rejected. "The people called Quakers" had presented a petition, complaining that, under their present form of affirmation, they were unable to answer in courts of equity, take probates of wills, prove debts on commissions of bankruptcy, take up their freedoms, and be admitted to poll at elections for their freeholds. Upon a debate in the lords, Atterbury, the bishop of Rochester, spoke against indulgences "to be allowed to a set of people who were hardly Christians." The London clergy petitioned against a bill for their relief, contending that, however the Quakers might be injured in their private affairs, "an oath was instituted by God himself as the surest bond of fidelity amongst men," and that any relaxation of that principle would only tend to multiply a sect "who renounce the divine institution of Christ, particularly that by which the faithful are initiated into his religion." The bill for the relief of the Quakers was passed, in spite of the hard terms in which they had been assailed. The session was prorogued to the 15th of March; and it was previously dissolved,

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under the provisions of the Septennial Act. During the prorogation, the earl of Sunderland died; and his father-in-law, the great duke of Marlborough, terminated his chequered career of political time-serving and of military glory.

STUART ASPIRATIONS

In 1720, the wife of James Edward carried forward the aspirations of the house of Stuart into another generation, by giving birth to a son. Atterbury, the most uncompromising of partisans, considered this "the most acceptable news which can reach the ears of a good Englishman." Charles Edward Louis Casimir, whose royal descent was put beyond suspicion by the presence of seven cardinals in the chamber of the princess, was destined even in his cradle to give the signal for conspiracies and possible insurrections. The duke of Ormonde was again to lead foreign forces to the invasion of Britain. The jacobites in England, amongst whom there were five earls, and the undaunted bishop of Rochester, were to get possession of the Tower, seize all the deposits of public treasure, and to proclaim James III. A judicious, and in many respects impartial, historian, ascribes what he calls "the second growth of jacobitism" to the publication in the reign of Anne of Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*. Atterbury was one of its editors. The "gray discrowned head" of Charles; the exile and the restoration of his son — these were the stirring recollections that made the remnant of the old cavaliers, now bearing the somewhat less glorious name of tories, turn to the first Charles' grandson "pining in a distant land, under circumstances not far unlike to those of Charles Stuart in France."



A JACOBEAN MANSION IN BIRMINGHAM

The departure of the king, in the summer of 1722, upon his usual visit to his German dominions, was to be the signal for an invasion of England by the Pretender and his faithful Ormonde. Disbanded troops of various countries were being collected together for this enterprise. The managers of the plot had the supreme folly to apply to the regent of France for the aid of five thousand men; and the regent, having more respect for treaties than Louis XIV, informed the British minister at Paris of the application. The vigilant Walpole was soon acquainted with the plan of action and the names of the actors. The king was advised not to go to Hanover; a camp was formed in Hyde Park; and some of the conspirators — two nonjuring clergymen, two Irish priests, a young barrister, and two lords — were apprehended. After a delay of three months, the bishop of Rochester was arrested, and, after examination before the council, was sent to the Tower.

For nearly thirty years had Francis Atterbury been known as the keenest of controversialists, as well as the most impressive of preachers. From the beginning of the century he had been considered as the leader of the high church party, the great asserter of the independence of convocation. Grad-

ually he had become identified with the most extreme principles of passive obedience; was the prompter of Sacheverell in his defence in 1710; was recognised as having earned a bishopric when Harley came into power; and had, upon the death of Queen Anne, taken a very decided part in his hostility to the Hanoverian succession. His arrest in August, 1722, produced the most violent ferment amongst his church party. The Episcopal order, it was proclaimed, was outraged. Atterbury was prayed for in the London churches. Atterbury was represented, in a print intended to move the popular sympathy, as standing behind his prison bars, gazing upon a portrait of Laud. The plot, it was maintained, was a base fiction. The new parliament met in October; and the king, in his speech on the 11th, announced the discovery of a dangerous conspiracy, and the arrest of some of the conspirators. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended for a whole year; and the consent of the house of peers was desired to sanction the detention in the Tower of the bishop of Rochester, lords North and Grey, and the earl of Orrery. A foolish declaration, signed "James Rex," had been issued on the 22nd of September, in which James III, king of England, Scotland, and Ireland, proposed that George should quietly deliver to him the throne of those kingdoms; when he, King James, would bestow upon George the title of king in his native dominions, and invite all other states to confirm it. Moreover, the British crown should be confirmed to the penitent usurper, if ever he should attain it in the due course of legitimate succession. This wonderful production was ordered by parliament to be burnt by the common hangman, as "a false, insolent, and traitorous libel." On the 1st of March, 1723, a committee of the commons made a report of their examinations into the evidence of the conspiracy. It is a document of great length. It involved other eminent persons besides those who had been arrested. Christopher Layer, the barrister, had been previously tried and condemned in the King's Bench. He was the only person who suffered capital punishment. Bills of pains and penalties were passed against the two Irish priests. The most important person amongst the accused, the bishop of Rochester, was also proceeded against by bill, enacting his punishment and deprivation. This bill passed the commons without a division. Atterbury declined making a defence before the lower house; but on the 6th of May he stood at the bar of the house of lords; and after the evidence against him had been gone through he defended himself with great ingenuity and eloquence.

The debate amongst the peers on the question of the passing of the bill was remarkable for the constitutional opposition of Lord Cowper, the ex-chancellor.

The connection of Atterbury with the exiled family, before his banishment, has been abundantly proved by other evidence than that within the reach of his accuser and judges. The bill against him was passed by a majority of forty peers; most of the bishops voting against him. He embarked for France in June, 1723; and died at Paris in 1732.

AFFAIRS OF IRELAND; WOOD'S BRASS HALF-PENNIES

In 1724, through the ordinary course of ministerial rivalries and jealousies, the accomplished Lord Carteret was removed from the office of secretary of state, which he held in conjunction with Lord Townshend, and the same course was pursued towards him, as towards Townshend himself in 1716. Carteret was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland — a post considered of far less anxious responsibility than that of secretary of state. During his lord-

[1724 A.D.]

lieutenancy Ireland became no bed of roses. Amongst the many real wrongs which Ireland has borne, and the not less numerous imaginary grievances of which she has complained, in her connection with England, there is probably no example of a national ferment so wholly disproportionate to the extent of the injury, as that of Wood's patent for a coinage of copper farthings and halfpence. No one can doubt that when a nation is in almost utter want of money of the lowest denomination, the extortions practised upon the humblest classes must be considerable. Ireland was so completely without a currency to conduct the smaller operations of trade, that labourers were paid by cards bearing the seals and signatures of their employers. In all such cases of a questionable or a depreciated currency, it is the poor man who has to bear the largest amount of trouble or loss. In 1722, a patent was granted to William Wood, a proprietor and renter of iron and copper mines in England, to enable him to coin farthings and halfpence for Ireland to the value of £108,000. There is no doubt that the patentee was to make a profit, for the duchess of Kendal had been bribed to promote the grant of the patent. But Walpole and his subordinates took every reasonable measure of precaution that the coinage should not become an opportunity for fraud or excessive gain. Sir Isaac Newton, as master of the mint, approved the terms of the contract; and when the coins were in circulation, and it was seen that discontent was assiduously stirred up, an assay was made by the officers of the mint, and it was declared that in weight and fineness of metal the pieces were satisfactory. The difference of exchange between England and Ireland had been thought a satisfactory reason for a slight diminution in weight of the copper currency for Ireland.

The Irish parliament, moved in some degree by the apparent neglect of this exercise of the royal prerogative, without consulting the Irish privy council, voted an address to the king, that the terms of the patent would occasion a loss to the nation of 150 per cent. Walpole was astonished, as he well might be, at this impudent declaration of a legislative body. He examined the matter carefully; and perceived that the assertion was founded upon a computation that the rough Irish copper was worth twelvepence a pound, and that a pound of halfpence and farthings coined out of fine copper were to pass for thirty pence. He found that the mint of London paid eightcenpence per pound for prepared copper; that the charge of coinage was fourpence per pound; and that the duties and allowances upon copper imported into Ireland amounted to 20 per cent. A committee of the English privy council went into a searching examination of the whole affair; and fully justified the patentee from any charge of having abused the fair terms of his patent. It was, however, conceded that the amount of farthings and halfpence issued should not exceed £40,000 in value; and that this money should not be a legal tender for a larger sum than fivepence halfpenny in one payment.

Under these circumstances, in 1724, a letter was published by M. B. Drapier, addressed "to the tradesmen, shopkeepers, and country people in general, of the kingdom of Ireland, concerning the brass halfpence coined by one William Wood, hardware man," which letter thus solemnly opens: "What I intend now to say to you is, next to your duty to God and the care of your salvation, of the greatest concern to yourselves and your children: your bread and clothing, and every common necessary of life, entirely depend upon it." The writer, as every one guessed, was the famous dean of St. Patrick's; and certainly no pen was so able as that wielded by Jonathan Swift, to raise a popular clamour by the most skilful treatment of his subject; and,

what was perhaps as much to the purpose, by the most unscrupulous assertions.

Throughout the whole of the Drapier Letters, Swift's argument rests upon the most solid basis of political economy; but his premises are utterly false. He knew well what England and Ireland had suffered by the depreciation of the coin. This bold opponent of the government which had delivered his country from despotism, says, "I intend to truck with my neighbours, the butchers and bakers and the rest, goods for goods; and the little gold and silver I have I will keep by me, like my heart's blood, till better times, or until I am just ready to starve; and then I will buy Mr. Wood's money, as my father did the brass money in King James' time, who could buy £10 of it for a guinea." Against such logic as this what could simple truth avail? The Irish went mad about Wood's halfpence.



JONATHAN SWIFT
(1667–1745)

When Carteret came over, he found the Irish people in a state of frenzy. He tried what are called strong measures. He offered a reward of £300 for discovering the author of the Drapier letters. He prosecuted their printer. The grand jury threw out the bill; and another grand jury made a presentment, setting forth, that "several quantities of base metal coined, commonly called Wood's Halfpence, have been brought into the port of Dublin, and lodged in several houses in this city, with an intention to make them pass clandestinely"; and that "having entirely his majesty's interest and the welfare of our country, and being thoroughly sensible of the great discouragements which trade hath suffered by the apprehensions of the said coin, whereof we have already felt the dismal effects; and that the currency thereof will inevitably tend to the great diminution of his majesty's revenue, and the ruin of us and our posterity, do present all such persons as have attempted or shall endeavour by fraud or otherwise, to impose the said halfpence upon us, contrary to his majesty's most gracious intention, as enemies to his majesty's government, and to the safety, peace, and welfare of all his majesty's subjects of this kingdom." It was in vain that the government attempted to stand up against this storm. The grand jury said, "we do, with all great gratitude, acknowledge the services of all such patriots as have been eminently zealous for the interest of his majesty and this country, in detecting the fraudulent imposition of the said Wood, and preventing the passing of his base coin." Swift wrote this eulogy upon his own patriotism. He had beaten the government of King George. The patent was withdrawn.

IMPEACHMENT OF THE LORD CHANCELLOR (1725 A.D.)

In 1725, England presented the miserable spectacle which she had witnessed in the reign of James I — a lord chancellor impeached for malversation in his great office. Thomas Parker was a very different man from Francis Bacon; and the offences of which the earl of Macclesfield was accused were of another character than those which were the ruin of the viscount St Albans. The chancellor of King James was disgraced upon the charge of having received bribes from suitors. The chancellor of King George was impeached, found guilty, excluded forever from office, and fined thirty thousand pounds, upon the charges of selling masterships in the court of chancery, and of conniving at the frauds of the masters in trafficking with the trust-money of the suitors, and the estates of widows and orphans. Lord Campbell, in controverting a disposition in some writers of recent times to consider that Lord Macclesfield was unjustly condemned, holds that "his conviction was lawful and his punishment was mild."

FOREIGN RELATIONS

The foreign policy of George I, under the able administration of Walpole, had become decidedly pacific. The nation was manifestly prospering under the relief which peace had brought. The fear of the Pretender, and of Spanish or Swedish invasions, had passed away. The house of Brunswick, after ten years of struggle, was firmly fixed on its constitutional throne. Yet there were still threatenings of war. The congress of Cambrai, to which the difficulties that had not been finally settled by the peace of 1720 had been referred, had been wearily discussing certain royal claims and disputes — "bailing out water with sieves" — for four or five years. The regent Orleans had died during these tedious protocollings, in 1723. Louis XV, declared of age, had taken the government of France into his own hands, with the duke de Bourbon as his minister. The alliance of France with England continued uninterrupted. But the emperor Charles, and the king of Spain, Philip, were coming to a closer understanding about territorial arrangements than England, France, and Russia thought safe.

The Treaty of Hanover bound England, France, and Prussia — the date, September 3rd, 1725 — in an engagement to hold by each other, if either were attacked. The tables were turned since the War of the Succession. The old foes were fast friends, and the old friends bitter foes; and all these changes took place, as in private friendship, for "some trick not worth an egg." War seemed imminent, however pacifically disposed were Fleury and George. When the English parliament met on the 20th of January, 1726, the king announced the conclusion of his defensive treaties with the most Christian king and the king of Prussia, to which several of the powers had been invited to accede.

Warlike movements were very soon organised in England. The czar Peter was dead. The czarina Catherine I had prepared a fleet for co-operation with Austria and Spain. Admiral Wager sailed to the Baltic with an English fleet; and the politics of Russia became more pacific. A squadron under Admiral Hosier blockaded Porto Bello — an unfortunate enterprise, for the brave admiral and a large number of his fleet's crews perished of yellow fever in the Spanish main. If this activity was not war, it was very like war. In the parliament which met in January, 1727, the king announced that he had received information upon which he could wholly depend, that

one of the secret articles of the Treaty of Vienna was an agreement to place the Pretender upon the throne of Britain. The parliament instantly voted a large increase of the army and navy. The emperor was advised by Palm, his minister at London, to disavow such a secret agreement. The indiscreet resident addressed a memorial to the king, a translation of which was printed and published; in which the secret articles were disavowed, and the royal word was spoken of with disrespect. The two houses were indignant at "the insolence" of the imperial minister in dispersing his memorial through the kingdom; declaring "their utmost abhorrence of this audacious manner of appealing to the people against his majesty." Palm was commanded immediately to leave England.

Spain was assembling an army for the siege of Gibraltar, under the command of the count de las Torres; who boasted that in six weeks he would drive the heretics into the sea. On the 11th of February the siege was commenced. English men-of-war in the harbour secured a constant supply of provisions for the garrison from the coast of Africa. Lord Portmore — one of the men whose energy age appeared unable to cripple — hastened from England, in his eightieth year, to defend the fortress of which he was governor. For four months the Spaniards ineffectually fired upon the rock, and then they raised the siege.

THE DEATH OF GEORGE I (1727 A.D.)

On the 15th of May, 1727, King George closed the session of parliament preparatory to his departure for Hanover. He adverted to the attack upon Gibraltar. He had suspended, he said, his resentments under such provocation; and instead of having immediate recourse to arms, and demanding that assistance of his allies which they had engaged, and were ready, to give, he had concurred with France and the states general in making overtures of accommodation. Sweden had acceded to the Treaty of Hanover; and a convention had been signed by Denmark. The overtures of accommodation, thus mentioned, had been successful. The Austrian ambassador signed, on the 31st of May, preliminaries of peace with England, France, and Holland. Spain remained alone; neither prepared for war, nor acceding to the conditions of peace.

At this juncture the power of Walpole seemed to be somewhat endangered. Bolingbroke — who had been allowed by the intervention of Walpole to return to England; who was about to embark at Calais at the close of his exile, when Atterbury landed there a banished man; who had been restored to his estates by act of parliament in 1725 — was intriguing to reach once more the possession of power under George which he had obtained under Anne. He had secured, by bribes and protestations, the favour of the duchess of Kendal, the mistress, or according to some, the left-handed wife of the Hanoverian king. The duchess presented to her royal admirer a memorial from Bolingbroke, in which he denounced Walpole as the author of every public evil. The king put this paper into the hands of Walpole, with his usual straightforward mode of action. The ambitious statesman therein requested an interview with his sovereign. George was indisposed to grant this meeting. Walpole earnestly pressed it, with his never-failing sagacity; for, as he himself said, "if this was not done, the clamour would be, that I kept his majesty to myself, and would allow none to come near him to tell the truth." George told his minister that Bolingbroke's complaints and representations were "bagatelles."

The king set out for Hanover on the 3rd of June, accompanied by the duchess of Kendal and Lord Townshend. The unhappy wife of George had

died on the 13th of November, 1726, after many schemes of escape. The king landed on the 7th at Vaert, in Holland. On the 8th he proceeded on his journey, leaving the duchess of Kendal on the Dutch frontier. On the 9th, he slept at Delden; and was again in his coach at four o'clock in the morning of the 10th, accompanied by two official persons of the court of Hanover. In the forenoon of that day he was struck by apoplexy. He refused to stop at Ippenburen, as his attendants wished. His hands fell; his eyes were heavy; but his will was strong. "Osnabruck! Osnabruck!" he exclaimed. His one surviving brother, the prince bishop, had his palace at Osnabruck. The king's voice grew fainter. He murmured in his death-sleep, "*C'est fait de moi*" (All is over with me). All was over. When the bishop was roused by the gallop of horses in his court-yard at midnight, George, king of Great Britain, and elector of Hanover, was dead. He was buried in Hanover.*f*





CHAPTER XIV

THE REIGN OF GEORGE II

[1727–1760 A.D.]

George II was the last foreigner by birth who has held the English throne; he was a monarch almost as foreign in his tastes and interests as in his nativity. Yet there was an openness and honesty about his personal dealings which gained his subjects' respect. He was blind to the charms of what, in his German accent, he called bainting and boetry, but he was unambitious; he remained true to the principles under which he succeeded to the crown; he did not trick nor quibble; and was more useful and infinitely more safe, in those days of loose political morality and unprincipled selfishness, than if he had had greater abilities with more unscrupulous desires. — WHITE.[1]

GEORGE II was born in 1683, and had married in 1705 Princess Caroline of Anspach, by whom he had four daughters and two sons; Frederick, Prince of Wales, born in 1707, and William, duke of Cumberland, in 1721. His parts were not so good as his father's, but, on the other hand, he had much less reserve and shyness, and he possessed another inestimable advantage over him — he could speak English fluently, though not without a foreign accent. His diminutive person, pinched features, and frequent starts of passion, were not favourable to the royal dignity, and his mind still less. He had scarcely one kingly quality, except personal courage and justice. The former he had highly signalised at the battle of Oudenarde as a volunteer, and was destined to display again as sovereign at Dettingen; and even in peace he was so fond of the army, and of military details, that his nickname among the jacobites was the Captain. A love of justice was apparent in all the natural movements of his mind. But avarice, that most unprincely of all passions, sat enshrined in the inmost recesses of his bosom. Its twitches were shown on all occasions. His purse was often in his hands, not to give from it, but to feel, and count over. "Soon after his first arrival in England," Walpole[c] tells us, "Mrs. —— one of the bedchamber women, with whom he was in love, seeing him count his money over very often, said to him, 'Sir, I can bear it no longer; if you count your money once more I will leave the room.'" An extreme minuteness and precision in keeping his private accounts saved him a little money, and lost him a great deal of time. "He has often told me himself," says Lord Chester-

[1727 A.D.]

field, "that little things affected him more than great ones; and this was so true, that I have often seen him put so much out of humour at his private levee, by a mistake or blunder of a *valet de chambre*, that the gaping crowd admitted to his public levee have from his looks and silence concluded that he had just received some dreadful news.

"He troubled himself little about religion, but jogged on quietly in that in which he had been bred, without scruples, doubts, zeal, or inquiry. Of acquired knowledge he had little, professing great contempt for literature; but he sometimes read history, and had an excellent memory for dates. His habits were very temperate, and so regular that he scarce ever deviated from his beaten daily track: in the words of one of his courtiers,[d] "he seems to think his having done a thing to-day an unanswerable reason for his doing it to-morrow." Business he understood well, and transacted with pleasure. Like his father, he was far too Hanoverian in his politics, nor wholly free from the influence of mistresses. But his reign of thirty-three years deserves this praise — that it never once invaded the rights of the nation, nor harshly enforced the prerogatives of the crown; that its last period was illumined by the glories of Wolfe and of Chatham; and that it left the dynasty secure, the constitution unimpaired, and the people prosperous.

Queen Caroline had been handsome in her youth, and to the last retained great expression in her countenance, and sweetness in her smile. Her character was without a blemish, and her conduct always marked by judgment and good sense. During the violent quarrels between her husband and his father, she had behaved so prudently that she equally retained the affection of the first and the esteem of the latter. With the nation also she was more popular than any other member of her family, till George III. Her manner most happily combined the royal dignity with female grace, and her conversation was agreeable in all its varieties, from mimicry and repartee up to metaphysics. In fact, her only faults were those of a Philaminte or a Belise. She was fond of talking on all learned subjects, and understood something of a few. Her toilet was a strange medley; prayers, and sometimes a sermon, were read; tattle and gossip succeeded; metaphysics found a place; the head-dress was not forgotten; divines stood grouped with courtiers, and philosophers with ladies! On the table, perhaps, lay heaped together, the newest ode by Stephen Duck upon her beauty, her last letter from Leibnitz upon free will, and the most high-wrought panegyric of Doctor Clarke, on her "inimitable sweetness of temper," "impartial love of truth," and "very particular and uncommon degree of knowledge, even on matters of the most abstract speculation." So great was the influence of Queen Caroline over her husband, that neither in the church nor in the state were any appointments made without her having at least some share in them, and during ten years she may be said to have governed England. But she was one of those "who if she rules him, never shows she rules." Her power was felt, not displayed. She had the art of instilling ideas into the king's mind, which after a time he found there, and believed to be his own.

THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE II (1727 A.D.)

The despatch from Lord Townshend, announcing the king's death, reached London on the 14th of June. Walpole immediately hastened to the palace of Richmond, where he was told that the prince, according to his usual custom, had retired to bed for an afternoon slumber. His highness (so we may call him for the last time) being awakened, at Walpole's desire, started up and

made his appearance half-dressed. Walpole knelt down and kissed his hand; but the king was at first incredulous, nor convinced of the truth, until Townshend's letter was produced. The minister then inquired whom his majesty would be pleased to appoint to draw up the necessary declaration to the privy council, fully hoping that the choice would fall upon himself. "Compton," answered the king, shortly, and Walpole withdrew in the deepest disappointment.



GEORGE II
(1683–1760)

Sir Spencer Compton, the second surviving son of the earl of Northampton, was chosen speaker in 1715, and a Knight of the Bath, on the revival of that order. He and Lord Scarborough had been the chief favourites of the king as prince of Wales. He was respectable in his private, regular in his public, character. In the speaker's chair, where form rather than substance is required, he had fulfilled his duty well, but the seals of office were too heavy for his hands. So little acquainted was he with real business that when Walpole conveyed to him the king's commands he avowed his ignorance, and begged Walpole to draw up the declaration for him. Sir Robert willingly complied, and the declaration which he wrote was carried by Compton to the king.[b]

WALPOLE CONTINUES IN POWER

The king when prince had taken offence at some expressions used by Walpole and had declared that he would never employ him, and that minister now regarded his dismissal as certain. George had actually fixed on Sir Spencer Compton for his prime minister, and his obstinacy was well known; yet after all Walpole retained his post and held it for many years. For this he was indebted to the queen, who knew his abilities; she recollected that the late king had said to her that Walpole could "convert stones into gold"; Walpole also engaged to obtain from the commons an augmentation of £130,000 to the civil list, and a jointure of £100,000 a year for the queen; and as Compton candidly avowed his own incompetency for the situation, the king gave up his purpose. The ministry therefore remained unchanged, and Walpole, when the new parliament met, performed his engagements to the king and queen. He continued to be the moving power of government for a space of nearly fifteen years, during which period England enjoyed tranquillity. Cardinal Fleury, who governed France, was a decided lover of peace and steadily attached to the English alliance; so that though Hanover

was the means of engaging England in the mazes of German politics, there was no war till towards the close of Walpole's administration, when hostilities broke out with Spain.

The ministerial majority in the house of commons was considerable; but there was a strong opposition composed of three sections. These were the discontented whigs headed by William Pulteney, a man of high character and great abilities; the tories, about one hundred and ten in number, chiefly country gentlemen, led by Sir William Wyndham; and the jacobites, who counted fifty, under the consistent and honest Shippen. The principal supporters of the minister were his brother Horace Walpole, Lord Hervey, Henry Pelham (brother to the duke of Newcastle), Sir William Yonge, and Mr. Winnington. In *The Craftsman*, a periodical conducted by Bolingbroke, aided by Pulteney, the opposition had a powerful organ of offence.

Various attacks were made on the ministry on the subjects of the standing army (the great bugbear of the age) and the subsidies paid to some of the petty sovereigns of Germany; but they were always repelled by numbers if not by arguments. On the subject of pensions the minister felt his position less tenable, and he found it necessary to vary his tactics. From the Restoration, when it first became permanent, the house of commons had always contained a large portion of venality within its walls. Direct bribes in hard cash were the first and simplest course, and this continued long to prevail; pensions, which are of a similar nature, gradually came into operation.

It was against the system of pensions that the opposition now directed its efforts. There were already acts incapacitating the holders of them from sitting in the house of commons; but they had proved useless, as the government would not tell who had pensions, and the amount of secret-service money was considerable. Mr. Sandys therefore brought a bill (1730), by which every member was to swear that he did not hold a pension, and that in case of his accepting one he would make it known to the house within fourteen days. This the king called a "villainous bill"; but Walpole would not incur the odium of opposing it, and it passed the commons by a majority of ten. But, as he expected, it was thrown out in the lords, and its fate was similar whenever it was brought in again.

Shortly after the rejection of the pension bill a partial change took place in the ministry. Lord Townshend and Walpole, though brothers-in-law, had been for some time at variance on questions of foreign and domestic policy; their tempers were opposite; the former being frank, haughty, and impetuous; the latter, cool, calm, and pliant. They have, not unaptly, been compared to Mark Antony and Augustus, Lady Townshend being their Octavia. But she was now dead; and Townshend, finding his influence inferior to that of Walpole, gave in his resignation. He retired to his paternal seat of Rainham in Norfolk, where he devoted himself to agriculture, and abandoned politics so completely that he never even revisited the capital. The two secretaries now were the duke of Newcastle, and Stanhope, lately created Earl of Harrington.

THE EXCISE BILL (1733 A.D.)

Sir Robert Walpole far outwent his contemporaries in the knowledge of the true principles of finance and trade; and having had ample information of the ruinous extent to which the practice of smuggling had been carried in consequence of the defective state of the laws of the customs, he formed a grand scheme for abolishing the land-tax, preventing fraud, increasing the

revenue, simplifying the taxes and collecting them at the least possible expense. This was what was called the "excise scheme," of which Dean Tucker, a most competent judge, asserts that the effect would have been to make "the whole island one general free port, and a magazine and common storehouse for all nations."[e]

The excise duties, first levied in the civil wars, and continued, but curtailed at the Restoration, had been progressively increased during the stormy reigns of William and Anne. The chief articles subject to them were malt, salt, and the distilleries: their average yearly proceeds rose, under William, to nearly one million; under Anne, to nearly two millions. No additional excise was laid on during the whole reign of George I, except a small duty on wrought plate by Stanhope. From the progress of consumption, however, they had come in 1733 to produce about £3,200,000. But, meanwhile, the frauds and abuses in other parts of the revenue had become so great, and so repeatedly forced upon the consideration of Walpole, as to turn his thoughts to the whole subject, and induce him to frame a comprehensive measure upon it.

Early intelligence reached the opposition that some such plan was brewing, and they took care to poison and prepossess the public mind against it even before it was known. When the sinking fund was discussed, Pulteney pathetically cried, "But, Sir, there is another thing, a very terrible affair impending! A monstrous project! yea, more monstrous than has ever yet been represented! It is such a project as has struck terror into the minds of most gentlemen within this house, and of all men without doors! I mean, Sir, that monster the excise! That plan of arbitrary power which is expected to be laid before this house in the present session!" The sensible advice of Mr. Pelham, to wait till the plan was disclosed, and not "to enter into debates about what we know nothing of," was utterly unheeded; and while the secrecy of the plan did not suspend the censures of the opposition, it enabled them to spread throughout the country the most unfounded and alarming rumours respecting it. A general excise is coming! was the cry; a tax on all articles of consumption; a burden to grind the country to powder; a plot to overthrow the ancient constitution, and establish in its place a baleful tyranny! *The Craftsman* had scarcely words enough to express his terror and resentment; and his eloquent voice found a ready echo in the bosoms of the people. For the excise duties, partly from their burden and partly from their invidious mode of collection, were most highly unpopular. They were considered oppressive, and contrary to the spirit of the constitution — called sometimes the cause and sometimes the consequence of bad government; and these feelings, which had arisen long before the scheme of Walpole, continued long after it. Perhaps the strongest proof of them is displayed by the invectives of so great a writer as Doctor Johnson, in so grave a work as his *Dictionary*, In the first edition, published in 1755, the word "excise" is explained as "a hateful tax levied upon commodities, and adjudged, not by common judges of property, but by wretches hired by those to whom excise is paid!

Thus the public mind being highly sensitive, and easily excited upon the subject, and Walpole, as usual, paying little attention to the power of the press, there was a general ferment against the new scheme, even while its true nature and object remained entirely unknown. Many constituent bodies — amongst them the citizens of London — held meetings and sent instructions to their members, entreating them to vote against every extension of the excise laws, in any form or on any pretence whatsoever. It was under these unfavourable circumstances, and after several preliminary skirmishes, that

Sir Robert, on the 14th of March, disclosed his design in a temperate and masterly speech. He first complained of the common slander, that he had intended to propose a general excise. "I do most unequivocally assert," said he, "that no such scheme ever entered my head, or, for what I know, the head of any man I am acquainted with. My thoughts have been confined solely to the duties on wine and tobacco; and it was the frequent advices I had of the shameful frauds committed in these two branches, and the complaints of the merchants themselves, that turned my attention to a remedy for this growing evil. I shall, for the present, confine myself entirely to the tobacco trade."

He next proceeded to detail the various frauds on the revenue in this trade — frauds so frequent and so complicated, that while the gross produce of the tax was on an average £750,000, the net produce was only £160,000. The remedy he proposed was, stating it briefly, to bring the tobacco duty under the laws of excise, and to effect some improvements in the latter. The same might afterwards be applied to the similar case of the wine duty; and thus would the revenue be increased, at the same time that the fair dealer was protected. A system of warehousing for re-exportation, if desired, was likewise to be instituted, "which will tend," said the minister, "to make London a free port, and, by consequence, the market of the world." By the increase in the revenue the land-tax would no longer be required, and might be altogether abolished. "And this," added Walpole, "is the scheme which has been represented in so dreadful and terrible a light — this the monster, the many-headed monster, which was to devour the people, and commit such ravages over the whole nation!"

To the country gentleman, the abolition of the land-tax was clearly a great boon. To the merchant importer, the turning of the duties on importation into duties on consumption was undoubtedly no less a benefit. The working classes were not at all concerned in the question, since the retailers already sold tobacco at the rate of duty paid. Thus, then, unless we are prepared to say, with Sir William Wyndham, that "in all countries, excises of every kind are looked on as badges of slavery," we shall rather join some of the ablest writers on finance of later times in approving the main principles and objects of Walpole's scheme.

Far different was the language of the opposition of the day. In answer to the complaint of previous misinterpretation, Sir John Barnard declared it "such a scheme as cannot, even by malice itself, be represented to be worse than it really is!" Pulteney assailed it with raillery. "It puts me in mind of Sir Ephraim Mammon in *The Alchemist:* he was promised the philosopher's stone, by which he was to get mountains of gold, and everything else he could desire, but all ended at last in some little charm for curing the itch!" The eloquence of Wyndham was more solemn: he thundered against corrupt motives and impending tyranny, and evoked the shades of Empson and Dudley, those two unworthy favourites of old time. "But what," he added, "was their fate? They had the misfortune to outlive their master, and his son, as soon as he came to the throne, took off both their heads!" — no obscure allusion to Frederick, Prince of Wales, who was then present under the gallery.

During the debate, the doors were beset by immense multitudes, all clamorous against the new measure and convened partly, perhaps, by the efforts of the opposition, but still more by their own belief that some dreadful evil was designed them. To this concourse Sir Robert referred in his reply: "Gentlemen may give them what name they think fit; it may be said that

they came hither as humble supplicants, but I know whom the law calls 'sturdy beggars,'" — a most unguarded expression! For though the minister meant it only to denote their fierce and formidable clamours, yet it was ever afterwards flung in his teeth as though he had wished to insult the poverty of the people and debar their right of petition; and the phrase immediately became the war-whoop of the opponents to the bill.

At two o'clock in the morning, and after thirteen hours' debate, the house divided, and the numbers were found to be, for the measure 266, against it 205 — a victory, indeed, for the minister, but a large and most alarming increase of the usual minority against him. As Sir Robert went out to his carriage some of the "sturdy beggars," highly exasperated, seized him by the cloak, and might have done him some injury, had not Mr. Pelham interposed. Two days afterwards, on reporting the resolutions carried in committee, the debate was resumed with fresh vigour on the part of the opposition. However, the resolutions were carried by the same majority as before. Several other debates and divisions ensued before the bill came to a second reading, but the majority in these gradually dwindled from sixty to sixteen.

During this time, also, the popular ferment grew higher and higher. Petitions poured in from several large towns. The common council of London indited the most violent of all, under the guidance of Alderman Barber, a noted jacobite, who had been Swift's and Bolingbroke's printer, and was now lord mayor. The instructions sent by different places to their representatives to oppose the bill were collected and published together, so as to stir and diffuse the flame; and the minister was pelted by innumerable other pamphlets; various in talent but all equal in virulence. "The public," says a contemporary, *f* "was so heated with papers and pamphlets, that matters rose next to a rebellion."

The storm thus thickening around the court, Queen Caroline applied in great anxiety to Lord Scarborough, as to the king's personal friend, for his advice. His answer was, that the bill must be relinquished. "I will answer for my regiment," he added, "against the Pretender, but not against the opposers of the excise." Tears came into the queen's eyes. "Then," said she, "we must drop it!" Sir Robert, on his part, summoned a meeting of his friends in the house of commons, and requested their opinion. The general sentiment amongst them was still to persevere. It was urged that all taxes were obnoxious, and that there would be an end of supplies if mobs were to control the legislature in the manner of raising them. Sir Robert, having heard every one first, declared how conscious he felt of having meant well; but that, in the present inflamed temper of the people, the act could not be carried into execution without an armed force; and that he would never be the minister to enforce taxes at the expense of blood.

The voice of moderation having thus prevailed, when on the 11th of April there came on the order of the day for the second reading, Walpole rose, and moved that it should be postponed for two months; and thus the whole measure was dropped. The opposition were scarcely satisfied with this hard-won victory, and wished to reject the bill with the brand of their aversion upon it; but the general sense of the house was so evidently against the suggestion, that it was not pressed, nor even openly proposed. Throughout England, however, the news was hailed with unmixed pleasure, and celebrated with national rejoicings. The Monument was illuminated in London; bonfires without number blazed through the country; the minister was in many places burnt in effigy amidst loud acclamations of the mob; any of his friends that came in their way were roughly handled; and cockades were eagerly

[1734 A.D.]

assumed with the inscription, "Liberty, property, and no excise!" But amidst the general joy their ill-humour against the minister gradually evaporated, or rather spent itself by its own force; and their loyalty was immediately afterwards confirmed and quickened by the welcome intelligence that the princess Anne, the king's eldest daughter, was espoused to the young prince of Orange. Walpole congratulated himself on this new turn given to the public feeling, and determined to run no risk of stirring it once more against him. It was indeed his favourite maxim at all times, as his son assures us, *Quieta ne moveas* (Let sleeping dogs lie) — a maxim bad under a bad constitution, but surely good under a good one; a maxim to be shunned at Milan, to be followed in London. When, in the next session, Pulteney insinuated that the excise scheme was to be revived, "As to the wicked scheme," said Walpole, "as the honourable gentleman was pleased to call it, which he would persuade us is not yet laid aside, I, for my own part, can assure this house I am not so mad as ever again to engage in anything that looks like an excise, though, in my own private opinion, I still think it was a scheme that would have tended very much to the interests of the nation." It is very remarkable, however, that, after his time, some of the least popular clauses of the excise scheme were enacted, and that there was no renewal of clamour, because there was a change of title. So little do things weigh with the multitude, and names so much![b]

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The last session of the parliament chosen in 1727 was opened by the king on the 17th of January, 1734. The policy of a government anxious to maintain neutrality whilst other nations were at war, and at the same time to make it understood that a strong desire for peace was no symptom of national weakness, was never more emphatically expressed than in the words which Walpole put into the mouth of George II. A new quarrel had broken out in Europe upon the death, in 1733, of Augustus II, king of Poland. Austria and Russia advocated the succession of his son. France supported the election of Stanislaus, who had been king before Augustus. The war assumed a more general character, and revived some of the old disputes between France, Spain, and Austria. An army of French, Spaniards, and Sardinians overran Austria. Lombardy, Naples, and Sicily were invaded by Don Carlos, duke of Parma, the son of the queen of Spain; and the Austrians being unable to resist, he was crowned king of Naples and Sicily as Charles III. On the Rhine the war was conducted by Prince Eugene, still vigorous, against Marshal Berwick. The son of James II was killed at the siege of Philipsburg. The companion in arms of Marlborough held his ground in this campaign, and died two years after.

The great merit of Sir Robert Walpole, in resolutely maintaining the policy of neutrality, may be better appreciated from the circumstance that the king and queen were opposed to his pacific views. George used daily to tell his minister that it was with the sword alone he desired to keep the balance of Europe. He could not bear the thought of growing old in peace, and rusting in the cabinet, whilst other princes were busied in war, and shining in the field. The observant vice-chamberlain says that the queen, with all her good sense, was as unmanageable as the king. "Wherever the interest of Germany and the honour of the empire were concerned, her thoughts and reasonings were often as German and imperial as if England had been out of the question." The perseverance of Walpole had its reward. He

was odious at Vienna; but before the end of the summer of 1734, George said to his minister, "I have followed your advice, Walpole, in keeping quiet, contrary often to my own opinion and sometimes I have thought contrary even to my honour, but I am convinced you advised me well." The king had discovered that overtures of friendship from all parties had been the result of the pacific policy of his minister; that as a possible mediator he was of more importance than as a rash belligerent.

Walpole continuing firm in maintaining the neutrality of England, in conjunction with the states general, the emperor sent an emissary to London, to intrigue with some members of the opposition against the prime minister. Sir Robert detected the Austrian agent, and the abbé Strickland, bishop of Namur, was obliged to depart, although he had been graciously received at court. The pacific minister had an argument for the king and queen, which sounds like insular selfishness, but which insular common sense will always applaud: "There are fifty thousand men slain this year in Europe, and not one Englishman." Under the mediation of England and Holland, peace was concluded in 1735. By this pacification, France added Lorraine to her territory.

WALPOLE VERSUS BOLINGBROKE

The repeal of the Septennial Act was the great domestic question of this session The party that advocated a return to triennial parliaments would possess the superior popularity in the coming elections. No doubt many who now opposed the government upon this measure would be open to the charge of inconsistency; for "whig patriots," especially Pulteney, had supported the Septennial Act of 1716. Bolingbroke, the arch enemy of Walpole, was at hand to combat every scruple of conscience, and induce the listeners to his sophistries to believe that political tergiversation was a virtue. The prime minister must be struck down, and for that purpose any weapon was lawful. In the debate upon this constitutional question, Sir William Wyndham, the great tory chief, made an attack upon Walpole, which Walpole treated as the inspiration of Bolingbroke. Over the parliamentary bitterness of adverse factions oblivion mercifully spreads her veil in most cases. But in this case, the portrait of Walpole drawn by Wyndham, and the portrait of Bolingbroke drawn by Walpole, are masterpieces of invective, which take us into the very heart of those days when the right honourable member in the blue ribbon had to endure the taunts of his adversaries with rare equanimity, or to turn upon them like a noble animal at bay, as he did upon this memorable occasion.

The session was closed on the 16th of April, and on the 18th the parliament was dissolved. The boldness with which Walpole had stood up against attack had produced a sensible effect upon his adversaries. To Walpole's philippic against Bolingbroke has been attributed the resolution of that most able but dangerous man to leave England and English politics. This view is perhaps overstrained. But he was a disappointed intriguer. He retired to France. "My part is over," he said, "and he who remains on the stage after his part is over deserves to be hissed off."

THE GIN ACT (1736 A.D.)

The first session of the new parliament, which met in January, 1735, was prolonged only till May. The king announced his determination to visit his

dominions in Germany, and the queen was appointed regent. George was sorely tempted to engage in the war by an offer of the command of the imperial army on the Rhine. Walpole had foreseen such a possible flattery of the king's military ambition; and had prepared him to say, that he could not appear at the head of an army as king of England, and not have an Englishman to fight under him. The summer passed without any important military operations. On the 22nd of October the king returned from Hanover — according to Lord Hervey in very bad temper, and dissatisfied with everything English. His majesty had left a lady in Hanover, Madame Walmoden, to whom he wrote by every post. Soon after his return the preliminaries of a general peace were signed at Vienna. Europe would be at rest again for four years. "The happy turn which the affairs of Europe had taken" was announced at the opening of parliament in January, 1736. The tranquillity of England and Scotland was seriously disturbed in this season of foreign pacification.

On the 20th of February a petition against the excessive use of spirituous liquors was presented to the house of commons from the justices of peace for Middlesex. The drinking of Geneva, it was alleged, had excessively increased amongst the people of inferior rank, the constant and excessive use of distilled spirituous liquors had already destroyed thousands, and rendered great numbers of others unfit for labour, debauching their morals, and driving them into every vice. Upon the motion of Sir Joseph Jekyll, it was proposed to lay a tax of twenty shillings a gallon upon gin, and to require that every retailer should take out an annual licence costing £50. Walpole gave no distinct support to this measure, nor did he oppose it. He saw that a greatly reduced consumption of spirituous liquors would affect the revenue; that a high duty would produce less than a low duty; and he therefore proposed that £70,000 which had been appropriated to the civil list from the smaller duties on spirits should be guaranteed, if the prohibitory rate were adopted. Pulteney opposed the bill altogether, upon the principle that he had heard of sumptuary laws by which certain sorts of apparel had been forbidden to persons of inferior rank; but that he had never before heard of a sumptuary law by which any sort of victuals or drink were forbidden to be made use of by persons of a low degree. Yet the magnitude of the evil certainly warranted some strong legislative measure. It was stated that there were twenty thousand houses for retailing spirituous liquors. Sudden deaths from excessive gin-drinking were continually reported in the newspapers. The extent of this vice was too obvious to allow the arguments against the impossibility of preventing evasion of the duties to have much weight. Compliance with the statute was to be enforced by the machinery of the common informer. So the bill was passed, and was to come into operation after the 29th of September.

On that day the signs of the liquor-shops were put in mourning. Hooting mobs assembled round the dens where they could no longer get "drunk for a penny and dead-drunk for twopence." The last rag was pawned to carry off a cheap quart or gallon of the beloved liquor. As was foreseen, the act was evaded. Hawkers sold a coloured mixture in the streets, and pretended chemists opened shops for the sale of "cholick-water." Fond playful names, such as Tom Row, Make Shift, the Ladies' Delight, the Baulk, attracted customers to the old haunts. Informers were rolled in the mud, or pumped upon, or thrown into the Thames. Gin riots were constantly taking place, for several years. "The Fall of Bob" was the theme of ballad and broadside, which connected the minister with "Desolation, or the Fall of Gin." The

impossibility of preventing by prohibitory duties the sale of a commodity in large request was strikingly exemplified in this gin struggle. It became necessary in 1743, when the consumption of gin had positively increased, to reduce the excessive duty. A ludicrous example of one of the abortive attempts at minute legislation is exhibited in a rejected clause of the act of 1736. In the wish to protect the sugar colonies by encouraging the consumption of rum, it was proposed to exempt punch houses from the operation of the Gin Act, provided the agreeable liquor so retailed was made of one-third spirit and two-thirds water, at the least, so mixed in the presence of the buyer. If the liquor were stronger than what sailors call "two-water grog," the tippler might pay for his bowl by laying an information.

THE PORTEOUS TRAGEDY IN EDINBURGH (1736 A.D.)

The Porteous tragedy of Edinburgh in 1736 has become the property of romance. One writer appears to think that the function of the historian has been superseded by that of the novelist. But "the real events," "the true facts," have a significance which the writer of fiction does not always care to dwell upon. They strikingly illustrate the condition of society. They are essentially connected with the history of public events which preceded them, and of public events which came after. They illustrate the policy of the government and the temper of the governed. We cannot pass them over or deal with them slightingly. They form the subject of very important parliamentary proceedings in 1737, which are necessary to the proper understanding of the relations between England and Scotland. An impartial review in this as in most other cases, is as much to be aimed at as a picturesque narrative.

Smuggling in England had long been carried on to an enormous extent. The seafaring population were accustomed to look upon many gainful adventures as lawful and innocent which we now regard as criminal. The slave trade, with all its odious cruelties, was a regular mercantile undertaking. Buccaneering in the South Seas was a just assertion of the rights of the British flag. The contraband trade in brandy, tea, and tobacco, was a laudable endeavour to sell their countrymen goods at a cheap rate bought in a fair market. But the principle of smuggling was not recognised as a national benefit. The merchant was opposed to it. The wealthy consumer had conscientious scruples against encouraging it. In Scotland the nation, with the exception of a few flourishing trading communities, abetted smuggling, and regarded smugglers as useful members of society. In a report attributed to Duncan Forbes, it is said, "The smuggler was the favourite. His prohibited or high-duty goods were run ashore by the boats of whatever part of the coast he came near. When ashore, they were guarded by the country from the custom-house officer. If seized, they were rescued; and if any seizure was returned, and tried, the juries seldom failed to find for the defendant. Mr. Burton[n] points out the difference in the circumstances of England and Scotland which made the principle of equality of taxation odious; and emphatically says, "For more than half a century after the union, English fiscal burdens were as unbearable to the Scots as they would be to the Norwegians at the present day."

The small seaports on the coast of Fife were more remarkable than any other districts of the wide and ill-defended seaboard of Scotland, as the haunts of the most daring bands of systematic smugglers. Two such persons, named Wilson and Robertson, having had some goods seized by the officers of revenue, entered with two associates the custom-house of Pittenweem,

and, when the collector fled, carried off a large sum of money. Wilson and Robertson were apprehended, were tried, and were sentenced to death. Mr. Lyndsay related that Wilson maintained, to the last moment, that he was unjustly condemned. "He admitted," to one of the reverend ministers of Edinburgh, "that he had taken money from a collector of the revenue by violence; that he did it because he knew no other way of coming at it; that the officers of the revenue had by their practice taught him this was lawful, for they had often seized and carried off his goods by violence; and so long as they had goods of greater value in their hands than all the money he took from them, they were still in his debt, and he had done no wrong." There can be no doubt that the mob of Edinburgh, and many above the mob, took the same view of Wilson's offence; and held the same opinion about revenue laws.

The attempt of Wilson and Robertson to escape from the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, when Wilson, a bulky man, stuck fast in the iron bars of his cell, is as well known as any of the adventures of Jack Sheppard. His generous effort to save his comrade after the condemned sermon in the Tolbooth church, has redeemed his memory from the ignominy of the common malefactor. Surrounded by four keepers, Wilson held two with his hands and a third with his teeth, whilst Robertson knocked down the fourth and escaped. This heroism made Wilson's own fate certain. He was executed on the 14th of April; whilst the populace looked on with stern compassion. No attempt at rescue was made, for the place of execution was not only surrounded by the city guard, but by a detachment of the Welsh fusiliers. After the body was taken down, a rush was made to seize it from the hangman. The populace then attacked the city guard, who were under the command of John Porteous, their captain. Porteous was a man of strong passions, very often brought into conflict with the blackguards of the city, and now in peculiarly ill temper from his dignity being interfered with by the unusual presence of a military force, called to assist in keeping the peace. He is said to have fired himself; he certainly ordered his gendarmerie to fire upon the people. Several persons were killed or wounded. The fusiliers also fired; but in firing above the heads of the mob, they hit several who were lookers-on from the adjacent windows. Porteous was brought to trial in July, before the high court of justiciary, on a charge of murder, for having caused the death of citizens without authority from the civil magistrate. He was convicted, and sentenced to capital punishment; but his conduct being considered by the council of regency in London as an act of self defence, he was reprieved by the English secretary of state. His execution had been fixed by the authorities of Edinburgh for the 8th of September. The news of the reprieve produced a sensation that foreboded mischief.

The 8th of September fell on a Wednesday. A report had gone forth that some tumult would take place on that day, when the populace, being disappointed of a legal sacrifice to their revenge, would attempt some daring act against Porteous. This was deemed a foolish story; but the lord provost of Edinburgh took some precautions to resist any outrage on that Wednesday. Porteous himself had no fears. A Scottish clergyman, Mr. Yates, had preached in the Tolbooth church, Porteous being present, on Sunday the 5th; and he afterwards saw Porteous, and told him of the report, and advised him to be cautious about admitting persons to his room. Porteous slighted his information; and said, were he once at liberty, he was so little apprehensive of the people that he would not fear to walk at the Cross of Edinburgh with only his cane in his hand as usual. The Tolbooth of the Scottish capital,

like most other places of confinement, had its feasts for those who could pay, and its starvation for those who were destitute. On the evening of Tuesday, the 7th of September, Porteous was surrounded by a jolly party, draining the punch-bowl in toasting the speedy liberation of their friend. There was another remarkable festal assembly in Edinburgh that night. Mr. Lind, captain of the city guard, deposed that, "being informed that the mob was gathering, he went to Clark's tavern, where the provost was drinking with Mr. Bur, and other officers of his majesty's ship the *Dreadnought*, then stationed in the road of Leith; and upon acquainting him with the danger, the provost desired him to go immediately back, and draw out his men, and that he would instantly follow him, and put himself at the head of the guard to face the mob."

The mob was quicker than the provost or his captain. They had disarmed the guard; had taken possession of the guard-house; and were arming themselves with muskets, halberds, and Lochaber axes, which they there found. Edinburgh had suddenly fallen into the complete possession of a lawless multitude. The multitude went about their work with a calm resolution which was long attributed to an organisation proceeding from leaders much above the ordinary directors of mobs. No point was neglected. Magistrates rushed out to ring the alarm bell; the tower in which the bell hung was in the possession of the insurgents. Onward they marched, in numbers rapidly increasing, to the Tolbooth. Here they made a solemn demand that Captain John Porteous should be delivered up to them. Being refused, as they expected, they proceeded to batter the outer gate. Crowbars and sledge hammers were employed in vain. Fire accomplished what bodily strength could not effect. The rioters rushed to the apartment of the unhappy man. He was concealed in the chimney; but they dragged him down, and bade him prepare for death. Struggling ineffectually, he was carried to the Grass-market, the usual place of execution. He was carried on men's hands, as two boys carry a third, by grasping each other's wrists. This stern multitude went on in silence, the glare of torches lighting up their lowering brows and the pallid features of their victim. Near the spot where the gallows had stood on which Wilson was hanged, a pole projected from a dyer's shop. A rope was fastened round the neck of Porteous. He was not hanged quickly. There was a terrible scene of butchery. The organisers of this daring act were never discovered, after the most rigid investigation.

The Porteous outrage took place whilst Queen Caroline was regent in the absence of the king. She felt it as an insult to her authority, and the ministry were inclined to visit the apparent neglect of the magistracy of Edinburgh with serious humiliation. A bill was brought in for disabling the lord provost from ever holding office, and for imprisoning him; for abolishing the town guard of Edinburgh; for taking away the gates of the Netherbow-port. The Scottish peers, and the Scottish members of the commons, fired up at this supposed assault upon the national honour. In the course of the parliamentary inquiry the Scottish judges were summoned to give evidence upon some legal points. It was contended by the duke of Argyll and other peers that these judges ought to sit on the Woolsack as do the English judges, when their presence is wanted in the house of peers. There was no precedence for such a course, and the Scottish judges were required to stand at the bar. Scotland was outraged by this distinction. The debate in both houses upon the proposed measures of pains and penalties assumed the character of a national controversy. "Unequal dealing," "partial procedure," "oppression to be resisted," and an independent nation "forced back into a

state of enmity," were expressions which showed the danger to which this affair was tending.

Walpole hinted that when the bill was committed he should not object to amendments founded on reason and equity. When it finally went to the lords, it merely disqualified the lord provost from holding office, and imposed a fine upon the city of Edinburgh of £2,000, for the benefit of the widow of Porteous. Burton[n] has remarked that "no one can read these debates without seeing reasons why the conduct of Scotland was so different from that of England in the insurrection which broke out eight years afterwards." Although the modified statute upon the Porteous riot could scarcely be a reasonable cause for national irritation, a supplementary measure produced a violent opposition from the Presbyterian clergy. It was enacted that they should read from their pulpits, once a month, a proclamation for discovering the murderers of Captain Porteous. This was held to be an Erastian measure, interfering with the spiritual authority of the kirk. That proclamation also contained the offensive words, "the lords spiritual in parliament assembled." This was held to be a recognition of that church government which Scotland had rejected. At this period there was a schism amongst the Scottish clergy, and this measure had not a healing tendency. Some read the proclamation; some refused to do so. Compliance with the order of the government was held to be faithlessness to the church.[k]

DISSENSIONS IN THE ROYAL FAMILY

The principal hopes of the opposition in 1737 rested on Frederick, Prince of Wales, whose secret encouragement had now ripened into open support. His disagreements with his father were by no means of recent date. Even whilst he remained at Hanover, and whilst his father, as prince of Wales, had gone to England, they were near enough to bicker. His own wishes were strongly fixed on an alliance with the princess royal of Prussia, the same who afterwards became Margravine of Bareith, and who, in her memoirs, has left us a strange and probably exaggerated portrait of all her own relations. The marriage was earnestly desired by the queen of Prussia, and, indeed, by the chief members of both families; but the brutal temper of the king, who used to beat his daughter, and who wished to behead his son, and the personal antipathy[1] between him and his cousin George II, finally broke off the negotiations. Prince Frederick, in as much despair as a lover can be who has never seen his mistress, sent from Hanover one La Motte as his agent, to assure the queen of Prussia that he was determined, in spite of his father, still to conclude the marriage, and that he would set off in disguise for Berlin to execute his purpose. But the queen, in an overflowing transport of delight, could not refrain from imparting the good news to the English envoy at her court. He, as was his duty, gave timely notice to his own; the rash project was prevented; and the headstrong prince was summoned to England, where he arrived, to the great joy of the nation, in 1728.

For some years after his arrival, the prince remained tranquil; but, as he became familiar with the English language and customs, and conscious of his own importance, he entered more and more into cabals against his parents. His character was weak, yet stubborn; with generous impulses, and not without accomplishments; but vain, fond of flattery, and easily led by flatterers. Even after his marriage, and whilst devoted to his wife, he thought it incum-

[1 "The terrible Frederick William, satirically styled George II, 'My brother the comedian.'"—AUBREY.°]

bent upon him to affect the character of a man of intrigue: this reputation, and not beauty, appears to have been his aim; and his principle favourite, Lady Middlesex, is described as "very short, very plain, and very yellow, and full of Greek and Latin!"[b] He professed a love of literature; and his home was a resort for such men of talent as Pulteney, Chesterfield, Wyndham, Carteret, Cobham, and Bolingbroke. In fact, the time came when nearly all the wit and genius were ranged on the side of opposition.

The marriage of Frederick, in April, 1736, to Augusta of Saxe-Gotha, a princess of beauty and excellent judgment, did not, as was hoped, restore union to the royal family. Immediately afterward the prince began to complain unceasingly of the narrowness of his income; and, urged on by unwise advisers, he applied to Parliament to increase his annual allowance from £50,000 to £100,000. He even had the indelicacy to make promises to peers and commoners of what he would do for them when he came to the throne, if they would support him now; but, despite all his efforts, he was unable to accomplish his object.

At last one of the most extraordinary events in the private annals of royal houses separated the king and his son for years. At the time the prince and princess of Wales were residing with the king and queen at Hampton Court, the princess being far advanced in pregnancy. On the evening of Sunday, the 31st of July, the princess was taken ill; but the prince out of hostility to his father, insisted that his wife should not be confined at Hampton Court, and against all remonstrances, caused her to be transferred to Saint James', where she gave birth to a girl within an hour of her arrival. A correspondence ensued between George II and his rash son; the outcome of which was that, although the prince confessed his fault, the king ordered him to leave St. James' with all his family. Frederick did so, and took up his residence at Norfolk House.

DEATH OF QUEEN CAROLINE (1737 A.D.)

In the midst of these unseemly exhibitions, Queen Caroline who had long been afflicted with a dangerous complaint, was on the 9th of November taken dangerously ill. The prince of Wales expressed great desire to see his mother, but she refused consent. It was soon found that the disease had progressed too far to allow hope. On the 14th Sir Robert Walpole arrived from Houghton, and was conducted by the king to her majesty's bedside. Realising that her end was near, the queen pathetically recommended the king, her children, and the kingdom to the minister's care.

As the news that the queen was expected to die spread abroad there were many who expected that her death would mean the fall of Walpole, and Sir Robert himself seems to have shared this opinion. Lord Hervey[d] relates a curious conversation which occurred at this time between the great minister and himself. "Oh, my lord," said Sir Robert, "if this woman should die, what a scene of confusion will here be! I defy the ablest person in the kingdom to foresee what will be the consequence of this great event." Lord Hervey replied that the king would grieve for his wife a fortnight, forget her in a month, have two or three women with whom he would pass most of his time, and that Walpole would be more influential than ever. As Hervey predicted, the hopes of Walpole's enemies and the minister's own fears proved groundless.

The queen died on Sunday night, the 20th of November.[a] The king, with all his silliness about mistresses — a silliness which he avowed even to

his dying wife in well-known words indicative of the loose morality of the period — loved and respected Caroline; and the grief he showed for her, being universally known, made him for some time more popular and better spoken of than he had been before this incident. Truly does Carlyle say, "There is something stoically tragic in the history of Caroline with her flighty, vapouring little king: Seldom had foolish husband so wise a wife."[k]

THE RISE OF METHODISM

Far more important in its ultimate effects upon humankind than quarrels in the royal family or the death of the queen was a movement which was to awaken the religious spirit in England from the lethargic condition into which it had fallen. The movement originated in the meetings during the years 1729 to 1735 of a number of earnestly inclined Oxford students who were anxious to attain a deeper religious life. Chief among the members of this society were John and Charles Wesley and George Whitefield; the first two the sons of the episcopal rector of Epworth, and the last the son of an inn-keeper in Gloucestershire. The society and its members were much ridiculed by some of the other students; and, probably because the word "method," a favourite of their mother's, was much used by the Wesleys, the members of the society were called in derision "Methodists."

In 1735 the two Wesleys went out to the newly established colony of Georgia; but in 1738 John Wesley, after a somewhat stormy experience in the colony, returned to England, whither his brother had already preceded him. In the colony and in England John Wesley fell under Moravian influences, and shortly after his return he adopted the Moravian doctrine of "justification by faith." The society was then reconstituted, on the basis of a church within a church; a strict rule of life was adopted by the leaders; weekly confession of sins to one another, and weekly communion being among their practices. The leaders, all of whom were ordained ministers of the Church of England, became itinerant preachers, who held it to be their chief duty to preach repentance to sinners. By their earnestness and enthusiasm they quickly succeeded in arousing a passionate enthusiasm, but by their extemporaneous preaching, extravagant gestures, and stern denunciation of the idleness of the clergy, they also roused an almost equally passionate hostility, as a result of which most of the pulpits were closed against them. Circumstances thus compelled them by degrees to take steps in the direction of an independent organisation; in 1739 they began to create Methodist chapels, and in the same year they inaugurated the custom of field-preaching.

Despite all opposition, their following increased with wonderful rapidity. Their success was partly due to the fact that they made their appeals in large part to the poor and the illiterate, to whom they preached in the most impassioned manner an emotional religion which carried everything before it. But it was also due in perhaps equal measure to the remarkable ability of the leaders, particularly the Wesleys and Whitefield. Charles Wesley became the poet of the movement, and his hymns, many of which are in use to-day, were a powerful factor in melting the hearts of the people. Whitefield was a man of wonderful oratorical abilities, and, as a popular preacher, has rarely if ever been equalled in England. Possessing a voice so powerful that he could be heard distinctly in the open air by 30,000 people, a master of gestures faultless in beauty and propriety, he was equally capable of reducing to tears vast crowds of the half-savage colliers of Kingswood or of the rude colonists of America, or of fascinating the most refined

audiences in London. Many of the foremost men of the time, including the historian Hume and the statesman Bolingbroke, have left testimonials of their admiration of his wonderful effectiveness. "I happened," says Benjamin Franklin, "to attend one of his sermons, in the course of which I perceived he intended to finish with a collection, and I silently resolved he should get nothing from me. I had in my pocket a handful of copper money, three or four silver dollars, and five pistoles in gold. As he proceeded I began to soften, and concluded to give the copper. Another stroke of his oratory made me ashamed of that and determined me to give the silver; and he finished so admirably that I emptied my pocket wholly into the collector's dish, gold and all." On another occasion, in illustrating the peril of sinners, Whitefield portrayed a blind beggar drawing gradually nearer and nearer to the verge of a dizzy precipice, and so realistic did he make his description that when he reached the catastrophe, Lord Chesterfield, who formed one of the audience, was so carried away that he involuntarily exclaimed: "Good God, he's gone." John Wesley was neither so good a hymn writer as his brother, nor so eloquent a preacher as Whitefield; but he combined the earnestness of a religious enthusiast with talents for organization and management, and was the real leader of the movement.

John Wesley never acknowledged himself a non-conformist, and in the year of his death, 1791, he wrote, "I live and die a member of the Church of England, and no one who regards my judgment or advice will ever separate from it." But facts were too strong for him. He had already gone so far as to bestow orders, and a few years after his death the Methodist ministers began to administer the sacraments; as time went on the position of the Methodists as a separate religious body became clearly defined.

Not least important among the results of the movement was the growth within the Church of England of a considerable body, which, while holding aloof from the Methodists, nevertheless adopted many of their principles and practices. These persons, including John Newton, Hannah More, the poet Cowper, and many others, became known as the "Evangelical Party," and were active in furthering almost all the great philanthropic and religious works which marked the closing years of the 18th century.[a]

THE SPANISH WAR

The state of internal and external tranquillity which Walpole made it his task to maintain was not allowed to continue. For many years the merchants had been making complaints of the injuries done to English trade in the West Indies by the right of search for contraband goods exercised by the Spanish *guarda-costas*, or guardships, and the cruel treatment experienced by English mariners; in other words, that the Spanish government, whether wisely or not, exercised its undoubted rights, and that attempts were made to suppress the extensive smuggling trade which they carried on with the Spanish colonies. The opposition, glad of an occasion to embarrass the minister, joined heartily in the cry; papers were moved for, witnesses were examined before the house, and resolutions were passed. "The fable of Jenkins' ears," as Burke calls it, was of great service. This was a Scottish master of a ship, who said that seven years before he was taken by a Spaniard, who, beside treating him with great cruelty in other respects, cut off one of his ears and bade him carry it to his king, whom he would serve in the same way if he was there. When asked how he had acted on this occasion, Jenkins replied, "I recommended my soul to God and my cause to my country."

The story produced such an effect that Pulteney declared that the very name of Jenkins would raise volunteers. Jenkins always carried his ear about him wrapt in cotton. Some, however, said he had lost it on a very different occasion. Various attempts were made by Walpole to settle the Spanish matter by negotiation; at length (1739), rather than part with his power which he loved too much, he resolved to act contrary to his better judgment, and yield to the public will. War was therefore declared against Spain, an event which filled the nation with joy and exultation.

Admiral Vernon, a brave but presumptuous and self-sufficient officer, who commanded in the West Indies, with a squadron of six ships of war took, plundered, and destroyed Porto Bello (November 21st). His success having given a false idea of his abilities, he was selected to command an expedition on a large scale against Carthagena, having on board a body of land-forces under General Wentworth. It however proved a total failure.

A squadron, under Commodore Anson, was sent to sea in September, 1740, in order to attack the Spaniards in the Pacific Ocean. The history of this celebrated voyage cannot be given here in detail. We need only notice the dreadful ravages committed by the scurvy; the furious tempest encountered in the straits of Le Maire, in which the *Wager* was wrecked, and the *Pearl* and the *Severn* forced to return to Rio Janeiro. After a short stay at the island of Juan Fernandez to recover his men, Anson, with his two remaining ships, the *Centurion* and *Gloucester*, proceeded along the coast of Peru capturing the Spanish traders, and he took and burned the town of Paita. To capture the galleons from Manila, he sailed with the *Centurion* alone (being obliged to burn the *Gloucester*) across the Pacific. He stopped to refresh his crew at the isle of Tinian, and then proceeded to Canton in China. He afterwards captured a galleon immensely rich, and returned to England by the Cape of Good Hope, being the first Englishman who had circumnavigated the globe since the time of Drake. He arrived on the 15th of June, 1744, after an absence of nearly four years.

RETIREMENT OF WALPOLE (1742 A.D.)

The success of this war was not agreeable to the wishes of those who had urged it on. British trade suffered from the Spanish privateers, and the French gave symptoms of an intention to share in the contest. The blame of course was thrown on the minister, and the opposition now resolved to make a strenuous effort for his overthrow. Sandys moved (February 13th, 1741), after a long speech, for an address to his majesty to remove him from his presence and councils forever; Pulteney exerted all his eloquence in favour of the motion; but the minister was supported not only by his own friends but by several of the tories who regarded the motion as tending to an inquisitorial system, and Shippen left the house at the head of thirty-four of his adherents. After an able reply from Walpole, it was negatived by a large majority; the same was the fate of a similar motion in the lords.

A dissolution succeeded. Walpole is said to have relaxed in his usual exertions on these occasions, while all branches of the opposition made the utmost efforts: even the pretender wrote, directing his adherents to labour strenuously against the obnoxious minister There was also a schism in the cabinet, many of his colleagues being his secret foes. In the new parliament the proceedings on contested elections showed the minister that his power was gone; and when that of Chippenham was decided against him (February 3rd, 1742), he declared to the successful candidate that he would never again

sit in that house. An adjournment followed; Walpole was created Earl of Orford (9th), and two days after he resigned. The king accepted his resignation with tears, and never ceased to repose confidence in him. An attempt made by a secret committee of the commons for an inquiry into his conduct, for the purpose of fixing on him a charge of corruption and peculation, failed.[e]

STANHOPE'S ESTIMATE OF WALPOLE

The character of a statesman so reckless in opposition, but so eminent in office, deserves the most attentive consideration, and affords the best clue to the history of England for more than twenty years. During his life he was loaded with unmerited censures; since his death he has sometimes received exaggerated praise. Amidst the showers of invective which his enemies have poured, amidst the clouds of incense which his flatterers have raised, the true lineaments of his mind are dimly and doubtfully seen.

The talents of Walpole were eminently practical, and fit for the conduct of great affairs. He was always steady, and therefore usually successful in his schemes. His views of policy were generally most acute, and his knowledge of finance profound. No fanciful theory, no love of abstract principles, ever warped his judgment; even the most trying circumstances could very seldom ruffle his good humour; and calm himself, he worked upon the passions of others. So closely had he studied all the weak points of human nature — so skilfully were his address and management adapted to them, that he scarcely ever failed, either in public or in private, to gain upon his hearers. There have certainly been many more eloquent orators, but never, I believe, a more dexterous debater. He would not willingly leave even the least part of his subject untouched. He knew that weak minds seldom yield to a single argument, even to the strongest, but are more easily overpowered by a number, of whatever kind. Always catching and always following the disposition of the house — knowing exactly when to press, and when to recede — able at pleasure to unfold the most intricate details, or to involve in specious reasoning the grossest fallacies — he, in the long run, prevailed over spirits far more lofty and soaring.

We are assured, however, that the powers of debate were not those to which he entirely or principally trusted for the management of the house of commons. The indignant clamour of his contemporaries — the eloquent voice of a Wyndham — the magic pen of a Bolingbroke — have denounced in glowing terms the patron and parent of parliamentary corruption. Beneath the flowers of their rhetoric, and the venom of their party rancour, there is no doubt a foundation of truth. But the more equal tribunal of posterity has discovered no small excuse for him in the political turpitude even of many who thus arraigned him — in the general lowness and baseness of his age — in the fact, that so many of the representatives of the people were on sale, and ready, if not bought by Walpole, to be bid for by the jacobites. The more the private letters of this period come to light the more is this truth apparent. What shall we say, for example, when we find the great-grandson and representative of Hampden, and himself a distinguished statesman, having the effrontery to threaten in writing, as he does in a letter to Lady Suffolk, July 30th, 1727, that, unless he can obtain a pension from the reigning family, he will "very soon take service in some other family" — meaning the Pretender's? Are we really justified in speaking as if public men had been all disposed to be virtuous and incorruptible during Walpole's government, and were turned from the paths of honour by the address of that wily tempter?

[1742 A.D.]

Besides, are not these charges against Walpole marked by extreme exaggeration, even on the testimony of his enemies themselves? At the fall of Walpole a select committee was appointed to inquire into his public conduct during the last ten years, and out of its twenty-one members, that committee comprised no less than nineteen of his bitterest enemies. The minister then stood forsaken and alone — there was no court favour at his back — no patronage or lucre in his hands; much popularity to gain, and no danger to run by assailing him. Yet, even under such favourable circumstances, what did this ten years' siege upon his character, this political Troy, really bring forth at last? What facts does the report allege in support of its avowed hostility? An attempt upon the virtue of the mayor of Weymouth! The promise of a place in the revenue to a returning officer! The atrocity of dismissing some excise officers who had voted against the government candidate! Vague surmises from the large amount of secret service money! Now if Walpole had in real truth been the corrupter of his age; if he had prostituted public honours or public rewards in the cause of corruption; if fraudulent contracts, undue influence at elections, and bribed members of parliament, were matters of every-day occurrence — if, in short, only one-tenth part of the outcry against Walpole was well founded, how is it possible that powerful and rancorous opponents should be able to find only so few, imperfect, and meagre proofs to hurl against him? No defence on the part of Walpole's friends is half so strong and convincing as this failure of his enemies.



ROBERT WALPOLE
(1676–1745)

The administration of Walpole was prudently and beneficially directed to the maintenance of peace abroad, to the preservation of quiet, and the progress of prosperity at home. It may, however, be doubted whether, in his domestic policy, he was not too fond of palliatives, and applied himself merely to silence complaints, instead of redressing wrongs. It is also to be observed, that though he loved peace much, he loved his own power more. He kept the country from hostilities so long as he could do so with safety to himself; but when the alternative lay between a foolish war and a new administration, he never hesitated in deciding for the former. Office was, indeed, his natural element; when excluded from it, he was, as we have seen, most turbulent and restless; he crept back to it, through a peculiarly humbling coalition; and even at the end, Speaker Onslow assures us that he "went very unwillingly out of his power."

The knowledge of Walpole was very limited, and he patronised literature as little as he understood it. "In general," says his son, "he loved neither reading nor writing." "How I envy you!" he exclaimed to Fox, whom he found one day, after his fall, reading in the library at Houghton. His splendid success in life, notwithstanding his want of learning, may tend to show what is too commonly forgotten in modern plans of education — that it is of far more importance to have the mind well disciplined than richly stored — strong

rather than full. Walpole was, however, fond of perusing and quoting Horace, to whom, in his private character, he might, perhaps, not unaptly be compared. He was good-tempered, joyous, and sensual, with an elegant taste for the arts; a warm friend, an indulgent master, and a boon companion. We are told of him, that whenever he received a packet of letters, the one from his gamekeeper was usually the first which he opened. He had an easy and flowing wit, but too commonly indulged it to the utmost limits of coarseness; and Savage who had seen him familiarly at Lord Tyrconnel's, used to say of him that the whole range of his mind was from obscenity to politics, and from politics to obscenity. In his private expenses, he was not only liberal, but lavish; and it must be acknowledged that the magnificence of his buildings, the extent of his purchases, and the profusion of his entertainments at Houghton, gave his enemies no small handle for invective.

It would be unjust to Walpole to conclude his character without alluding to his mildness and placability towards his political opponents. The system under which contending statesmen used to raise up rival scaffolds, and hunt down one another even to the death, ended during his administration; although I must own that I think no small part of the praise belongs to the personal clemency and kindliness of George I and George II. On the whole [concludes Stanhope] Walpole appears to me to have been a man of many useful and some great qualities; who faithfully served his country, but who never forgot his own family; and who rose partly by the frailties of others, as well as by merits of his own. With every allowance for the "evil days and evil tongues" amongst which his lot had fallen, it is impossible not to own that his character wants something of moral elevation. Name him in the same sentence with a Chatham, and who will not feel the contrast? The mind of Chatham bears the lineaments of a higher nature; and the very sound of his name carries with it something lofty and august. Of Walpole, on the other hand, the defects — nay, perhaps, even the merits — have in them something low and common. No enthusiasm was ever felt for his person; none was ever kindled by his memory. No man ever inquired where his remains are laid, or went to pay a homage of reverence at his tomb. Between him and Chatham there is the same difference as between success and glory![b]

WALPOLE'S SUCCESSORS

The fall of Walpole was followed by a shifting of some of the officers of government. The people looked on, and saw that nothing else was changed. They had joined the cry of a parliamentary faction to hunt down one man. They looked in vain for any bettering of their domestic condition — for any signal display of national greatness. Some violent demagogues had talked of the scaffold for the minister who had governed the nation without bloodshed or proscription, at a period when a less firm hand would have encouraged the jacobites, and a less merciful hand would have hunted them into desperation. The mob carried about his effigy. "Satan" and "Bob" figured together in caricatures. The excitement was soon over. Walpole's ascendancy was the real keystone of the opposition arch, itself composed of very loose materials. The keystone was displaced, and the arch fell to pieces. Some of the opposition got places, others got none. The only change which could be popularly understood was, that an apparent reconciliation took place between the king and the prince of Wales. The prince went to court; and the king asked

his royal highness after the health of the princess. The duke of Argyll desired to form a coalition ministry — what was then first termed "a broad bottom." The plan would not succeed, and the duke retired in disgust. The king would have nothing to say to the tories.

Lord Carteret was the only member of the cabinet who possessed high ability. Pitt was not called to office. His exclusion was no doubt owing to the personal dislike of the king. Neither had Chesterfield or Lyttleton places. Carteret was a favourite of George and of his son. He was a general favourite, from his wit, his accomplishments, his gay humour. But he was a very indifferent substitute for the keen and painstaking Walpole, who, like all really great men, did not despise petty things, or think it beneath him to attend to the small details of public affairs. Carteret was satisfied to lead the king, by entering into his majesty's aspirations to hold the scales of European policy, and to command armies. He was asked by the chief justice to make an appointment to some office. "What is it to me," exclaimed the dashing minister, "who is a judge and who is a bishop? It is my business to make kings and emperors, and to maintain the balance of Europe." The balance was to be held by taking sixteen thousand Hanoverian troops into English pay.

ENGLAND AND THE WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION

When the king opened the session on the 16th of November, 1742, and mentioned "sixteen thousand of my electoral troops," as sent to the Low Countries, "with the Hessians in the British pay," it was felt that England was getting mixed up with Hanover in a way that Walpole would have scarcely dared to attempt. A grant of £657,000 was proposed by the secretary of war, to defray the cost of these troops. Then the national jealousy of foreign mercenaries, which the genius of William III was unable to stand up against, burst forth in contemptuous disregard of the king's relations with his hereditary state. Sir John St. Aubyn said that undoubtedly his majesty had a most passionate love for his native country — a passion which arises from virtue. "I wish that those who have the honour to be of his councils would imitate his royal example, and show a passion for their native country too; that they would faithfully stand forth and say, that as king of this country, whatever interests may interfere with it, this country is to be his first, his principal care; that in the Act of Settlement this is an express condition." Pitt was even bolder: "It is now too apparent that this great, this powerful, this formidable kingdom, is considered only as a province to a despicable electorate." The ministers commanded a majority. But such invectives went deep into the heart of the nation. It must be borne in mind that England was really not engaged in war with France, though she was paying troops to fight against the cause which France supported. She sent auxiliaries to the house of Austria, and these auxiliaries would necessarily come into conflict with the auxiliaries which France sent against the house of Austria. The absurdity of the situation was well expressed by Horace Walpole: "We have the name of war with Spain without the thing, and war with France without the name."

When Walpole fell, and England was at war with Spain and France — when the pacific French minister, Cardinal Fleury, was succeeded by the more energetic and more wily Cardinal Tencin — the vulnerable point in the position of the house of Brunswick was to be hit. In 1743 a great invasion was projected from France. Charles Edward was urged to leave Rome and

repair to Paris. He was nominally to command an army of veterans assembled at Dunkirk, having the great Marshal Saxe to lead the troops which were to drive the elector of Hanover from his usurped throne. The expedition sailed at the beginning of 1744 from Dunkirk. A great storm destroyed or scattered the fleet of transports; and Sir John Norris, who was ready for a fight in the Channel, was content to pick up a few dismantled vessels. Marshal Saxe went to take the command of an army in the Low Countries; and Charles Edward secluded himself at Gravelines, till a more favourable occasion should arise, when he should emerge from his obscurity as regent of Great Britain and Ireland.

When the king prorogued the parliament on the 21st of April, 1743, he announced that, at the requisition of the queen of Hungary, he had ordered his army, in conjunction with the Austrian troops, to pass the Rhine. His majesty immediately departed for Germany. The British troops in Flanders, under the command of the earl of Stair, had marched towards the Rhine in February. They were joined by the sixteen thousand Hanoverians in the pay of England; and by some Austrian regiments, commanded by the duke of Aremberg. In May the army had crossed the Rhine, and had taken up a station at Hochst, near Frankfort. Stair was waiting for Hanoverians and Hessians to add to his numbers; for the French marshal de Noailles, with an army of sixty thousand men, was within a few leagues of the British general's position. Stair made an imprudent movement, by which he was cut off from his supplies at Hanau. King George reached the army on the 19th of June, accompanied by his second son, the duke of Cumberland. The forty thousand men were reduced to thirty-seven thousand; they were on short rations, and the horses without forage. Their position was an unfavourable one near the village of Dettingen; the French general was at hand with a superior force. It was absolutely necessary that the allies should return to their magazines at Hanau.

On the 27th of June, before sunrise, they had commenced their march from Aschaffenburg towards Dettingen. They were ignorant of the exact position of the French, fancying their principal force was towards Aschaffenburg, in their rear. In this belief the king took the command of the rear-guard, as the post of danger. A large body of French were in their front, to contest the passage of the allies through the defile of Dettingen. George immediately rode from the rear to form his army in order of battle, with the almost desperate resolution of forcing the strong French lines. The brave little man was surrounded by dangers. As he marched from Aschaffenburg the French entered the place with twelve thousand men. Behind and before was the enemy, in most formidable numbers, shutting him up in a narrow valley. Grammont, the nephew of Noailles — eager to engage, in the temporary absence of his uncle, who had ridden off to bring up additional force — rushed forward from a formidable position covered by a morass, to charge with his cavalry. George dismounted, drew his sword, and put himself at the head of the right of his British and Hanoverians, exclaiming: "Now, boys, now for the honour of England; fire, and behave bravely, and the French will soon run." [1] The infantry thus led on did behave bravely, and did make the French soon run. The duke of Cumberland, who commanded the left, displayed the same courage as his father. The battle of Dettingen afforded no display for high military skill on the part of the British commanders. They had desperately to fight their way out of a difficulty; and they had troops

[1 "The battle of Dettingen," says Aubrey,° "was the last battle in which a king of England personally took part."]

upon whose bravery and steadiness they could confidently rely. The battle was not over till four in the afternoon, but the victory was complete on the part of the allies. The French could offer no resistance to the retreat to Hanau, which again gave the half-starved British, Hanoverians, and Austrians the command of abundant supplies. At Hanau they were joined by their reinforcements, and an invasion of France was even talked of. It was wise in King George not to be flushed with his triumph, and to resist the advice of Stair to attempt some perilous adventure. It was complained that the king did not listen to the counsels of his English officers, but had Hanoverian partialities. Stair, the duke of Marlborough, and others, resigned their commissions. The success of the allies in the campaign was completed with the expulsion of the French armies from Germany by the forces under Prince Charles of Lorraine. The king was received in England with an enthusiasm which he had never before excited. But the complaints of Lord Stair, and others, revived the old cry of Hanoverian influence. The Hanoverian White Horse, in cocked hat and jack-boots, riding the feeble British Lion, was the subject of a popular caricature.

In August, 1743, whilst the king was on the Continent, Henry Pelham, brother of the duke of Newcastle, had been appointed first lord of the treasury. Walpole had identified this office with the position of a prime minister; but Carteret, the secretary of state, who had accompanied George in his campaign, had really controlled the cabinet. Carteret was now the great object of attack from the opposition. He was the Hanoverian minister — the wicked minister. Succeeding to some of the power of Walpole, he had inherited no inconsiderable portion of the odium which attached to every servant of a king who, unfortunately, had other interests to promote than that of the country which had called his family to the throne. The violent tone of the parliamentary debates led foreigners to believe, as they always believe under such circumstances, that Great Britain was torn to pieces by internal dissensions, and that the time was ripe for dynastic changes, if not for invasion and conquest. It was this belief which suggested the abortive attempt of 1744, which we have briefly noticed. The instant that the country really appeared in danger, the most eloquent opponents of the administration — the most indignant declaimers against Hanoverian partialities — those who would have disbanded every foreign soldier, without any substitute for national defence — raised a voice in parliament for the defence of the nation and the throne, which, as in many similar instances, made foreigners wonder at the inconsistencies of representative assemblies. On the 20th of March, 1744, France declared war against England. There was an end of that anomalous state of things, in which two great states were fighting against each other, not as principals, but as auxiliaries of other governments. The English declaration of war was issued on the 31st of March.

The continental war of 1744 was chiefly marked by the sudden movement of the king of Prussia against the Austrians. He overran Bohemia; but evacuated it before the end of the year. The king of England, very much against his will, was restrained by the general voice of his council, with the exception of Carteret, now Earl Granville, from leaving England. The difference of opinion on these Hanoverian questions soon made it impossible that the ministry could hold together. Pelham had succeeded Walpole in his command of the house of commons. Granville had the king with him. It was clear which party would triumph. The king was obliged to part with his favourite — a man far more able than those who insisted on his dismissal, but whose very ability was more dangerous than their mediocrity. The duke

of Newcastle and his brother desired a coalition of parties. They wanted old jacobites, like Sir Hinde Cotton, to be associated with young patriots, like Chesterfield and Pitt. The greatest member of the opposition refused to take an office inferior to that of secretary of state. But Pitt did not oppose the new government. At the risk of that charge of inconsistency which feeble statesmen always dread, he supported a grant for the continuance of the army in Flanders — a measure which he had before opposed.

The earl of Chesterfield, before he entered upon the appointment he had accepted as lord-lieutenant of Ireland, went upon a mission to the Hague, to concert military operations with the Dutch government. The great object to be obtained was, that the duke of Cumberland should be appointed commander-in-chief of the confederate army. Before the campaign of 1745 was opened, the emperor Charles VII died at Munich. His son, the new elector of Bavaria, withdrew his claim to the Austrian succession, and separated his troops from the army of the French. Maria Theresa restored her conquests in Bavaria. In March, 1745, Lord Orford died. The evils which he had for many years averted by his pacific policy were coming thick upon his country.

The campaign of 1745 in Flanders was long memorable for such a display of the qualities of the British soldier as have often made the purely military nations of Europe look on with wonder. As often, in the long interval between the days of Marlborough and of Wellington, have they equally wondered at the incapacity of those commanders under whom these qualities were displayed.[k] On the 11th of May, 1745, a battle of more importance was fought between the French and allied armies of English and Dutch at Fontenoy. The duke of Cumberland, the king's younger son, was in command, and was opposed to the king of France and the dauphin, who followed the advice of the famous Marshal Saxe. Prodigies of valour can do no good unless they are directed to practical objects. The march of that column of Englishmen across a rough plain, in face of a great army, and commanded on both the flanks by infantry and artillery, filling up their ranks as the men fell, and keeping step as regularly as on parade — onward, onward — till the French princes were ordered to retire — till the marshal despaired of the battle — till all chance seemed gone of stopping that great avalanche of bayonet and sword that made so terrible an advance — this march is commemorated by French historians themselves as one of the greatest feats of arms on record. But the heroism was useless. Their Dutch auxiliaries took shamefully to flight at the very crisis of the engagement. A cannonade was opened on their front, and tore through the whole length of the column. They turned, but did not flee. With the same imperturbable steadiness they reversed their march, and the retreat of the whole army was conducted with such order that it lost all the obloquy of defeat. It was magnificent, but it was not war.

THE YOUNG PRETENDER IN SCOTLAND (1745–1746 A.D.)

Events thickened as the contest went on. The visit of George to Germany, and his threat of invading France, were returned by a visit from the pretender — no longer the stubborn James III, who had been so nearly crowned at Scone, but his gay and graceful son, the chevalier de St. George, well known to us in legend and ballad as the winner of every heart, and the "darling Charley" of a repentant nation. But the "young chevalier" is depicted in the soberer hues of history as a weak and selfish adventurer, who never comprehended the generosity of the high-souled supporters of his

cause, and who, in the words of one of his gallant adherents, when the day of trial came, "knew neither how to fight like a man nor to die like a gentleman." We can only remark that all the sad songs and beautiful laments which have gathered round this crazy expedition were never heard of till all chances of its success had disappeared. While it was going on, there was a little alarm at first, and afterwards a great deal of contempt; but it was left for the peaceful times of thirty years after the event to clothe with romance and poetry the attempt of a few savages and a few fanatics to overthrow a rapidly spreading civilisation and a religion of progress and improvement. Let us enjoy the jacobite ballads, and rejoice in the defeat of the jacobite cause.

The course of the rebellion was run within the year. Landing in July in the north of Scotland, with seven companions, of whom the majority were Irish, the prince was joined, though slowly and with a foreknowledge of their fate, by several Highland chiefs, who summoned their clans to aid. Their clans came to aid with the same alacrity with which they would have come to resist; for the laird's will was their only law. Clanronald, M'Donald, and, finally, Cameron of Lochiel, were great names to utter to Highland ears, and the march began. In August the royal standard was hoisted, and fifteen hundred of the Gaël gathered round it, and prepared for a rush on the fertile lowlands. There were very few troops to oppose them. Of the three thousand constituting the garrison of all Scotland, not above a half could be collected, under Sir John Cope — one of those wretched pedants from whom England has suffered so much — who would rather be defeated by rule than successful by original measures. The burden of the ballads, with reference to this hero of pigtail and pipe-clay, turns constantly on his want of watchfulness; and insulting inquiries are made whether he is asleep or awake. It makes very little difference whether a Sir John Cope's eyes are open or shut. Perth opened its gates on the 3rd of September. Edinburgh was entered on the 17th, and something like royalty began to hedge the prince when he dwelt in Holyrood, and held a levee in the capital. On the 21st was the battle of Pinkey, where the same impetuous rush of the wild men of the hills which had carried the victory of Killiecrankie, astonished the mechanical mind of Cope, who expected to be attacked in a regular and gentlemanly manner, and sent him, with horse, foot, and marines, in headlong flight before it.

Charles Edward had defeated the king's troops, and was now a potentate carrying on war. For a month he limited his exertions to assemblies and feasts in Edinburgh, watching the castle, which still held out against him, and then marched forward, and crossed the border on the 8th of November. Carlisle yielded, after a brief resistance, and the advance continued. Those five or six thousand Scotsmen, ill armed and not very decently apparelled, went forward from town to town in the populous Cumberland and industrious Yorkshire, wondering at all they saw, and expecting every moment to be met by troops. But they were neither met by troops nor joined by friends. They were neglected, and began to despair. They saw noble houses, and cultivated fields, and foreign gardens, and many other things they had never seen before, and were so impressed with awe that they only robbed larders and hen-roosts. Meantime, parties of ladies and gentlemen of the towns near the road hired post-chaises and drove across to see the Highlanders go by, as if they had been a caravan of wild animals. Soldiers were gathering from abroad; the relics of the glorious column of Fontenoy came over with the duke of Cumberland; the archbishop of York mounted his horse as a prince of the church; newspapers roused the people to defend their Protestant

freedom, and resist a nominee of the French king, who had promised him twelve thousand men. So when the poor mountaineers from Kinloch Moidart had got all the way up to Derby, and found that the panic had passed away, that old George was courageous as at Dettingen, and pooh-poohed the whole business as a farce, the leaders differed, quarrelled, and fought, and Charles Edward, finding no enemy to oppose him, no multitudes to assist him, lost confidence in his followers and himself, and gave orders for retreat (December 6th).

Battles of Falkirk and Culloden

He got back to Carlisle, and left a garrison to protect his rear. Cumberland came thundering in pursuit, and took the garrison prisoners, earning the detested name of the Butcher by his cruelty to the misguided men. Onward the prince proceeded through Dumfries, which he put to ransom; Glasgow, where he raised a forced contribution; and, finally, to Stirling, where he counted his forces, and found he had nine thousand men. General Cope had a fitting rival in General Hawley, who commanded the king's troops at Falkirk (January 18th, 1746). The same faults were committed with the same result. The Highland rush discomposed the martinet, and in twenty minutes half of each army considered itself defeated. Hawley persisted longest in this erroneous belief, and retired to Edinburgh, and Charles Edward believed himself every inch a king once more.

But the Butcher was on his track. By the time Cumberland got to Aberdeen, the prince was at Inverness, for all hope of England or Scotland was at an end. Enough if he could effect his escape, and get his followers to defend him to the last. This they resolved to do and, after a mad attempt to surprise the enemy at Nairn, waited, grim and terrible, on the dark moor that stretches near the town of Inverness.

On the 16th of April, 1746, at the battle of Culloden, weary expectation came to an end. Trained soldiers from the Flemish wars, well fed, well clothed, and well officered, were now opposed to the wasted, hungry battalions of the Gaël, who scarcely recognised their chiefs in their military characters, and were broken down with the fatigues they had undergone. Courage, of course, was there, and desperate effort and generous devotion to the cause they had adopted; but these were of no avail against unflinching bayonets, heavy charges of horse, and a battery of artillery well served. In an hour all was confusion and dismay. The Highlanders, once broken, never could form again. The prince fled with his chief officers, and the infuriated English knocked out the brains of the wounded as they lay on the field, or dragged prisoners into the open air, and shot them by the dozen at a time. The pitiless executions of that sanguinary son of George II brought more weakness to the Hanoverian cause than a defeat would have done. By the Scots it was looked on as brutal hard-heartedness towards their own countrymen, for after all Donald was a Scotsman too; and by the English as a cowardly revenge for the alarm he had suffered. Hated, therefore, by both nations as a revengeful tyrant, the duke of Cumberland, while in England, retired from public life.

Escape of Charles; Prosecution of his Adherents

Charles Edward got safely off at last after a series of surprising and delightful adventures, which, even without the colouring given them by party spirit,

revealed such truthfulness in the Celtic character, and such devotion and purity in the heroic maidens, like Flora Macdonald, who aided his escape, that they are read like a chapter of romance.[1]

For some time he and his followers resided in a singular retreat, called the Cage, on the side of Mount Benalder; it was concealed by a close thicket, and half-suspended in the air. At this place Charles received intelligence that two French vessels, sent out expressly for his deliverance, under the direction of Colonel Warren of Dillon's regiment and with that officer on board, had anchored in Lochnanuagh. Immediately setting off for that place, but travelling only by night, he embarked on the 20th of September, attended by Lochiel, Colonel Roy Stuart, and about one hundred other persons, who had gathered at the news. It was the very same spot where Charles had landed fourteen months before, but how changed since that time, both his fate and his feelings! With what different emotions must he have gazed upon those desolate mountains, when stepping from his ship in the ardour of hope and coming victory; and now, when he saw them fade away in the blue distance, and bade them an everlasting farewell! Rapidly did his vessel bear him from the Scottish shores; concealed by a fog, he sailed through the midst of the English fleet; and he safely landed at the little port of Roscoff, near Morlaix, on the 29th of September.

The Scottish prisoners were removed for trial to England, lest their own countrymen should show them partiality or pity. At one time there were no less than 385 crowded together at Carlisle; of these, however, the common men were permitted to cast lots, one in twenty to be tried and hanged, the rest to be transported. There was no difficulty in obtaining proofs against individuals who had so openly appeared in arms. Amongst the earliest sufferers were Colonel Townley and eight other officers or privates of the Manchester regiment, who were hanged on Kennington Common near London. Other executions took place at York, at Brampton, and at Penrith; in all there were nearly eighty. The barbarous ceremony of disembowelling, mangling, and casting the hearts into a fire was not omitted, nor did it fail — such is the vulgar appetite for the horrible! — to draw forth exulting shouts from the spectators. Differing as the sufferers did in age, in rank, and temper, they yet, with scarcely an exception, agreed in their behaviour on the scaffold; all dying with firmness and courage, asserting the justice of their cause, and praying for the exiled family. Amongst these numerous condemnations the one perhaps of all others most open to exception was that of Charles Radcliffe, brother of the earl of Derwentwater, beheaded in 1716. Charles Radcliffe had then avoided a like fate by breaking from prison; he had lately been captured on board a French vessel bound for Scotland, with supplies for the insurgents; and he was now, after a long confinement, put to death upon his former sentence, which had slumbered for thirty years.

The noblemen who appeared for trial before their peers in July, 1746, were the earls of Cromarty and Kilmarnock, and Lord Balmerino. The two earls pleaded guilty, expressing the deepest remorse for their conduct, while Balmerino endeavoured to avail himself of a flaw in the indictment, as not having been at Carlisle on the day it set forth; but this being overruled, he declared that he would give their lordships no further trouble. On being brought up to receive sentence, both Cromarty and Kilmarnock earnestly sued for mercy. "My own fate," said Cromarty, "is the least part of my sufferings. But, my lords, I have involved an affectionate wife with an unborn infant as parties of my guilt to share its penalties. I have involved my eldest son, whose youth and regard for his parents hurried him down the

stream of rebellion. I have involved also eight innocent children, who must feel their parent's punishment before they know his guilt. Let the silent eloquence of their grief and tears supply my want of persuasion!" Kilmarnock urged, in extenuation of his own offence, the excellent principles he had instilled into his heir, "having my eldest son in the duke's army fighting for the liberties of his country at Culloden, where his unhappy father was in arms to destroy them!" But no acknowledgment of error, no application for mercy could be wrung from the haughty soul of Balmerino. In compassion chiefly to Lady Cromarty, who was far advanced in pregnancy, a pardon was granted to her husband, but the two others were ordered for execution on Tower Hill on the 18th of August. Kilmarnock met his fate with sufficient steadiness combined with penitence, owning to the last the heinousness of his rebellion. His companion in misfortune, on the contrary, as a frank resolute soldier, persevered and gloried in his principles. When at the gate of the Tower and on their way to the scaffold, the officers had ended the words of form with the usual prayer "God save King George!" Kilmarnock devoutly sighed "Amen"; but Balmerino stood up and replied in a loud voice, "God save King James!" And as he laid his head on the block he said: "If I had a thousand lives, I would lay them all down here in the same cause!"

The last of the martyrs, as their own party chose to call them, was Lord Lovat. Not having appeared in arms, nor committed any overt act of treason, this grey-haired hypocrite could not be so readily convicted as the bolder and better men who had walked before him to the scaffold. But a king's evidence was obtained in John Murray of Broughton, lately Prince Charles' secretary, who now consented to purchase safety for himself by betraying the secrets and hazarding the lives of his former friends. It was he who revealed to the government the whole train and tissue of the jacobite conspiracy since 1740, although, as the law requires two witnesses in charges of treason, it was not possible to proceed further against the duke of Beaufort, Sir Watkin Wynn, or other English jacobites; nor indeed did the government show any wish for their impeachment. In the case of Lovat, however, his own letters to the chevalier were produced by Murray, other conclusive documents and some corroborating evidence from his clansmen were also brought forward, and his guilt was thus established in the clearest and most legal manner. His trial, which did not commence until March, 1747, continued during several days. Lovat's own behaviour was a strange compound of meanness, levity, and courage — sometimes writing to the duke of Cumberland for mercy, and pleading how he had carried his royal highness in his arms, when a child, about the parks of Kensington and Hampton Court; sometimes striving by chicanery to perplex or rebut the proofs against him; sometimes indulging in ridiculous jests. "I did not think it possible," says Horace Walpole, "to feel so little as I did at so melancholy a spectacle, but tyranny and villany wound up by buffoonery took off all edge of compassion." When after his sentence he was taken from the bar, he cried, "Farewell, my lords, we shall never all again meet in the same place!" Like Balmerino and Kilmarnock, he was beheaded on Tower Hill; and he died with great composure and intrepidity, attended by a Roman Catholic priest, and repeating on the scaffold the noble line of Horace, *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*. But in truth no man was less strongly imbued with that sentiment — except perhaps its writer!

A few weeks afterwards, there happily passed an Act of Indemnity, granting a pardon to all persons who had committed treason, but clogged

with about eighty exceptions. By other legislative measures passed, with little opposition, the Disarming Act, the abolition of heritable jurisdictions, and the prohibition of the Highland garb, it was sought to precipitate the fall of feudal power, and to subdue the spirit of the vanquished mountaineers.[b]

PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS; THE RISE OF PITT

The interval between the suppression of the Scottish Rebellion, in 1746, and the conclusion of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, is perhaps as little interesting in its details as any period of English history. Nor are there many exciting events to give spirit to a narrative of the remaining six years of that administration which was broken up by the death of Mr. Pelham in 1754. Opinion became torpid after the excitement of the rebellion had passed away. Jacobitism slunk to its hiding-places. Patriotism looked out for pensions and sinecures. Party contests had nearly subsided into personal struggles for place and power, which those who are curious as to such mysterious affairs may drowsily meditate upon in the sober narrative of Coxe,[g] or laugh over in the sarcastic anecdotes of Walpole. During the agony of the rebellion, immediately after the defeat at Falkirk — at a time when it might be supposed that English statesmen would have cast away their petty ambitions — there came what is termed a ministerial crisis. Lord Granville (Carteret), although out of office, had the confidence of the king; whilst the duke of Newcastle, and his brother, Mr. Pelham, his majesty's chief ministers, were not favourites with him. They resolved to try their strength. They demanded office for Mr. Pitt, rather from their fear of him than from their love.

The king refused to give a place to one who had so bitterly thwarted his Hanoverian partialities. The Pelhams and the whole body of their whig followers resigned. Granville became minister — for forty-eight hours; for he could command no parliamentary support. The Pelhams returned triumphantly to power, upon their own terms; giving Pitt an office, but one which would not necessarily bring him into personal intercourse with the king. After this victory the Pelhams had little to fear even from the dislike or the coldness of their sovereign. The cabinet had little to dread but jealousies and dissensions amongst its members. It continued its temporising course through eight years of a monopoly of the real authority of the state. Opposition was hushed. The great parliamentary orators, Pitt, Fox, Murray, were propitiated into silence by office, and bided their time for power. The bitter opponents of Walpole and Carteret were no longer "the boys." Pitt professed to have cast away some of the extreme opinions of his nonage. "Never," says a reviewer of the Pelham administration, "was the tempestuous sea of parliament lulled into a profounder calm."

The appointment under the Pelhams of William Pitt to an office, however secondary, is an event of historical importance. The king refused to nominate him secretary at war — a post in which his energy might have produced some more decided successes than were obtained previous to the peace of 1748 by the supine Pelhams. Pitt was first appointed vice-treasurer of Ireland, and within a few months was promoted to be paymaster-general. The character of Pitt, who, without wealth or high birth, had made himself the marked man of his time, was now developed in a way that must have been somewhat incomprehensible to the greedy aspirants for the emoluments of place. He received his salary; he disdained to pocket more than his salary. The paymaster-general used to retain a hundred thousand pounds as a bal-

ance in his own hands, which he invested in government securities, for his private benefit; the public thus paying interest upon their own money to their own salaried servant. Pitt sent every balance, as it accrued, to the Bank of England, to be available for its proper purposes. The indirect modes in which ministers of state grew rich, through other means than the legal receipts of their highly paid offices, received another illustration from the self-denial of this extraordinary paymaster. When a subsidy was advanced to a foreign power, it had been customary for the itching palm of office to demand half per cent. as its honorarium. Pitt astonished the king of Sardinia by sending him without deduction the sum which parliament had voted; and he raised his majesty's astonishment still higher when he refused a present as a compliment to his integrity. Pitt was a poor man; but he had higher aspirations than the *auri sacra fames* of a venal age. His pride, which betrayed him into many errors, saved him from the degradation of the meanest of passions. Amidst their general contempt for the government, the people came to know that there was one man who professed some regard for public virtue.

END OF THE AUSTRIAN WAR; THE PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE

When the British troops, and foreign troops in the pay of Great Britain, had been withdrawn from the Low Countries to put down rebellion and defend British shores, the successes of the French were rapid and decisive. All the Austrian Netherlands submitted to their arms. On the other hand, the French were driven out of Italy by the Austrians and Sardinians. The year 1746 offered no prospect of a speedy termination of the war. In 1747 the maritime power of the country was signally asserted. Admiral Anson, on the 3rd of May, captured, sunk, or destroyed the French fleet off Cape Finisterre. The fleet thus annihilated had for its principal object to attempt the recovery of Cape Breton, which had been taken from the French in 1745. Commodore Fox, on the 16th of June, took forty French ships, richly laden from the West Indies. Admiral Hawke, on the 14th of October, defeated a French fleet off Belle-Île. England had acquired full confidence in the might of her naval arm. Her Channel fleet had rendered invasion almost impossible during the troubles of 1745. She had bold and skilful admirals. She had hardy seamen, confident in their national superiority if they were well commanded. The land operations of 1747 were of a different character.

The political importance of Holland had for some years been frittered away by an imbecile government. The republic was losing its ancient place amongst the European nations. Its thriving cities appeared likely, in the apparent decay of the old warlike spirit, to become the prey of the same enemy that had been driven back by the energy of William of Orange. Upon the death of that prince, the office of hereditary stadholder had been merged in that of grand pensionary. Louis XV in 1747 sent an army of twenty thousand men to invade Brabant. The hearts of the Dutch people were roused as in 1672; and they sought the same means of deliverance as at that period. Prince William of Nassau was proclaimed stadholder; and to him were entrusted the means of national defence. This young man had succeeded, as captain-general and lord high admiral, to the powers held by William III; but the popular acclamation could not evoke in him those qualities which made his great predecessor the saviour of his country. He was the son-in-law of George II. The favourite son of George and the husband of his daughter were to command the allied forces of British and Dutch.

"Our two young heroes agree but little," wrote Mr. Pelham. "Our own is open, frank, resolute, and perhaps hasty; the other assuming, pedantic, ratiocinating, and tenacious." On the 2nd of July, at Lauffeld, near Maestricht, the "two young heroes," with an Austrian army commanded by Marshal Bathiany, were to encounter the French headed by Marshal Saxe. The duke of Cumberland, with his British, fought with desperation. "His royal highness' valour has shone extremely," says Walpole, "at the expense of his judgment. His prowess is so well established that it grows time for him to exert other qualities of a general." The prince of Nassau, with his Dutch, got out of the fight as soon as possible. The Austrian marshal never moved from his intrenched position. There was a terrible slaughter of the British and the French. Sir John Ligonier, who had commanded the English cavalry, was taken prisoner. Louis XV, who was present at the battle, hinted to this general, who first came to England as a French Protestant refugee, that it would be better to think of peace than to witness the destruction of so many brave men. Marshal Saxe talked confidentially with the prisoner upon the same subject. The war still went on unfavourably for the allies, Bergen-op-Zoom having surrendered to the French in September. Louis expressed sentiments of moderation; and finally Ligonier was sent by the French king to the duke of Cumberland, to intimate his desire that they should meet, and agree upon terms of peace. The English ministry did not believe that the duke was exactly fitted for a negotiator; and, much to his father's annoyance, sent the earl of Sandwich to watch over him. But it was many months before peace was accomplished. The "two young heroes" wanted more fighting. George II wanted to obtain some paltry advantage for his beloved Hanover which might be won by another campaign.

A congress was opened at Aix-la-Chapelle in March, 1748; even while the war of British, Dutch, and Austrians against the French was going on in Flanders. In April it became pretty clear that Cumberland, always ready to fight, was no match for De Saxe, who fought only when he saw his advantage in fighting. The French marshal had so conducted his operations that for Cumberland to hazard another battle before Maestricht would have been a rashness too great for an English ministry to sanction. The pacific members of the cabinet outvoted the warlike; and Mr. Pelham wrote to Lord Sandwich that, as it was impossible to check the progress of the French army, or to reconcile the discordant pretensions of the allies, the king resolved to accept the conditions of peace proposed by France, without having the concurrence of the other powers. The preliminaries were signed by the plenipotentiaries of England, Holland, and France, at the end of April.

The king, in his speech on opening the session of the new parliament in November, 1747, had announced that overtures of pacification had been made by France. He looked back to the origin of the war: "By the advice of my parliament I entered into the war against Spain, to vindicate and secure the trade and commerce of my subjects." The bells were ringing in October, 1739, upon the declaration of hostilities against Spain. They were ringing in April, 1748, upon the conclusion of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, by which not a single point was gained for which England had been fighting with Spain and France for eight years. The peace was such as a nation makes when it is weary of blood-shedding; when its government can no longer trust to the repetition of the parrot words, "just and necessary war." All conquests, in all parts of the world, that had been made by any of the powers engaged in the war, were to be restored. The English grumbled about the restitution of Cape Breton. They grumbled more, that the right of search claimed by

Spain off her American coasts should have been left precisely in its former position — a constant source of violence and animosity. One point was gained which George and his ministers not unnaturally held of importance. The pretender and his descendants were to be renounced. Charles Edward was to be expelled from France. The French government intimated its intention to behave compassionately to the young prince who had dared and endured so much for his family. They proposed to establish him at Fribourg, with an adequate pension, and the honours that attached to the empty title of prince of Wales. The young man, with characteristic obstinacy, refused to quit Paris. He was entreated; he was threatened; but he defied what he termed the orders of the house of Hanover. He was at last arrested as he was going to the opera; imprisoned for a few days at Vincennes; and then turned loose on the frontier of Savoy.

The termination of the war was publicly celebrated as if it had been the glorious result of sagacious counsels and military bravery. On the 27th of April, 1749, there was an unequalled display of fireworks in the Green Park. Handel composed a grand overture of warlike instruments. An Italian artist designed a temple, a hundred and fourteen feet high, with statues and pictures — heathen gods and cardinal virtues; Neptune drawn by sea-horses; Mars drawn by three lions. The king was recorded in Latin inscriptions as having given peace to Europe, secured the faith of treaties, restored and enlarged commerce. Britannia joined hands with France and Spain, in renewed concord and for mutual benefit. The people were pleased, and cared little for caricatures in which the fireworks were called "the grand whim for posterity to laugh at." But the shouts of the multitude were not echoed in parliament. Mr. Pelham, who carried political candour somewhat beyond the point of prudence, spoke of the necessity for this peace in a tone which indicated very much of that prostration of national spirit of which there were too many evidences at this particular period. In a speech on the 5th of February, 1750, in reply to a motion of Lord Egmont on the article of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle respecting Dunkirk, Mr. Pelham, as head of the administration, said that the wonder was that England could have obtained such good terms as she did; that another campaign would have made the French masters of the Dutch provinces; that if the Dutch had joined France "in alliance against this country, we should not long have preserved our superiority at sea, the loss of which would soon have put an end to our sitting here, to debate about the demolition of Dunkirk, or any other point relating to the honour or interest of Great Britain."

THE REFORM OF THE CALENDAR (1751 A.D.)

The parliament which had commenced its sittings in November, 1747, was continued through its full septennial period until April, 1754. This tenth parliament of Great Britain holds an honourable place in history for two measures of permanent utility — the reform of the calendar, and the Marriage Act. The reform of the calendar, in 1751, is a measure of which no one can be more sensible of the advantage than he who has to write the annals of his country. The change which Pope Gregory XIII had introduced in 1582 had gradually been adopted by all European states except England, Russia, and Sweden. Thus, in reading a French historian, we not only find an event bearing date ten or eleven days in advance of the date of an English narrative, but the year is made to begin from the 1st of January in the foreign annalist instead of the 25th of March, as in the English. To prevent mistakes arising



DR. JOHNSON IN THE ANTE-ROOM OF LORD CHESTERFIELD
(From the painting by E. M. Ward, R.A., in the Tate Gallery, London)

out of this confusion requires perpetual vigilance in the historical writer. To attempt to reconcile these discrepancies in all cases would be needless; and most annalists are generally content to take the dates as they find them. The energy of Lord Chesterfield — a man of great and various ability, who had filled high offices, but in 1751 had retired from ministerial business — carried this reform through, with the learned aid of Lord Macclesfield, who was afterwards president of the Royal Society. The commencement of the year on the 1st of January was not calculated to disturb any popular prejudice; for the 25th of February, 1751, on which day the bill was introduced into the house of lords, was ordinarily written 25th February, 1750–51. But the necessity for another change was thus indicated by Lord Macclesfield: "The same day which, in each month, is with us the first, is called the twelfth day of the month throughout almost all the other parts of Europe; and in like manner, through all the other days of the month, we are just eleven days behind them." To make the legal year correspond in all future time with the solar year, was the result of scientific calculations, the rationale of which is now generally understood. It was necessary also to make a change in the calendar as to the time of finding Easter. There were many minor regulations essential to be provided for in consequence of the great change. The payments of rents, annuities, and salaries for public service were not to be accelerated; and thus the 5th of July, the 10th of October, the 5th of January, and the 5th of April, long held their place as rent days; and the dividends upon stock are still paid at those periods.

It may be supposed that such a reform, however valuable, would not be made without some popular discontent. The timid Newcastle told Chesterfield that he hated new-fangled things — that he had better not meddle with matters so long established. The witty earl was wiser. He made a speech of which he has given a most ingenuous account in a letter to his son: "I consulted the ablest lawyers and the most skilful astronomers, and we cooked up a bill for that purpose. But then my difficulty began. I was to bring in this bill, which was necessarily composed of law-jargon and astronomical calculations, to both which I am an utter stranger. However, it was absolutely necessary to make the house of lords think that I knew something of the matter; and also make them believe that they knew something of it themselves, which they do not. For my own part, I could just as soon have talked Celtic or Slavonian to them, as astronomy, and they would have understood me full as well; so I resolved to do better than speak to the purpose, and to please instead of informing them." The peers were amused by Chesterfield; the thinking part of the nation were convinced by Macclesfield, who published his speech. Hogarth has immortalised the vulgar opposition to the reform of the calendar in his picture of *An Election Feast*, in which the popular prejudices are flattered by the whig candidate in his banner inscribed with "Give us our eleven days."

DEATH OF THE PRINCE OF WALES (1751 A.D.)

In 1751 an event occurred which, for some time, disturbed all the calculations of the scheming politicians of this intriguing age. Frederick, prince of Wales, died after a short illness on the 20th of March. Leicester house, his town abode, had long been the central point of opposition to the government. We have seen how far the unhappy estrangement of the prince from his parents was carried before the death of Queen Caroline. Years had passed over, and yet the animosities between the reigning king and the heir-apparent were never

subdued. In 1751 George II, although a hale man, was in his sixty-eighth year. The worshippers of the rising sun grew bolder in their devotion. Bubb Doddington, the treasurer of the navy, resigned his office in March, 1749, having received a message from the prince that the principal direction of his royal highness' affairs should be put in the skilful intriguer's hands. He saw the prince at Kew, and was told that "what he could not do for me in his present situation must be made up to me in futurity." The prince further said "that he thought a peerage, with the management of the house of lords, and the seals of secretary of state for the southern provinces, would be a proper station for me, if I approved of it." Such was the mode in which England was to be governed by favoritism, had she endured the misfortune of a King Frederick I.

THE JEW BILL; THE MARRIAGE ACT (1753 A.D.)

The opposition to the measure known as the Jew Bill, and the ultimate fate of this attempt to render some justice to an industrious and thriving portion of the community, is one of the many proofs of the difficulty which attends a government when it is more enlightened than the people it governs. A bill was introduced in the commons, in the session of 1753, "which enabled all Jews to prefer bills of naturalisation in parliament, without receiving the sacrament." It was not a sweeping bill for the naturalisation of the whole body of Jews at once. The clamour which arose against this measure was not more illiberal than the arguments by which it was opposed in parliament. "If the Jews should come," said the city member, Sir John Barnard, "to be possessed of a great share of the land of the kingdom, how are we sure that Christianity will continue to be the fashionable religion?" But the worthy merchant delivered a sentiment which would come more nearly home to his fellow citizens: to put Jews, or any other foreigners, upon an equal footing with natives, would be only to take the bread out of the mouths of their own people, without adding anything to the national commerce. To naturalise Jews, said another member, was to rob Christians of their birthright. To allow Jews, said another, to purchase and hold land estates, was to give the lie to all the prophecies of the New Testament: they are to remain without any fixed habitation until they acknowledge Christ to be the Messiah. The bill was passed in the commons by a majority of forty-one. In the lords it was also carried, and received the support of many bishops. The prelates who had thus the courage to advocate this truly Christian measure were libelled by pamphlets and hooted by mobs.

The Marriage Act of 1753 was almost as unpopular as the Act for Jewish Naturalisation. The bill introduced by the chancellor, Lord Hardwicke, required that a marriage should be preceded by the publication of banns in a parish church, and that the marriage should be there celebrated; that a licence might be granted for a marriage to take place also in a parish church, but with the consent of parent or guardian if granted to a minor, or minors; that special licences might, as previously, be granted by the archbishop of a diocese. The proposed measure passed the peers; but in the commons it was resisted with a violence which is amusing to look back upon. Mr. Fox, who had clandestinely married the daughter of the duke of Richmond, was amongst the most strenuous of its opponents. It was carried, however, by a large majority. Goldsmith,[p] who published his *History of England* in 1771, sums up, with much gravity, his belief in the injurious consequences to society which this measure had produced: "The poor, by being prevented from

making alliances with the rich, have left wealth to flow in its ancient channel and thus to accumulate, contrary to the interests of the state. It has been found to impede marriage, by clogging it with unnecessary ceremonies. Some have affirmed that lewdness and debauchery have become more frequent since the enactment of this law; and it is believed that the numbers of the people are upon the decline." Goldsmith had no foundation for his assertion that the law had been found to impede marriage. "The number of marriages before the act of 1753 is not known. Since the act came into operation the registers of marriage have been preserved in England, and show an increase from 50,972 in the year 1756, to 63,310 in 1764."

One thriving occupation was seriously damaged by the new Marriage Act; and we do not find that any compensation was voted to the sufferers. Mr. Robert Nugent, one of the parliamentary orators against the act, said, "How fond our people are of private marriages, and of saving a little money, we may be convinced of by the multitude of marriages at Keith's chapel, compared with the number at any parish church." The reverend Alexander Keith originally officiated in May Fair; but being excommunicated, and committed to the Fleet, he continued to carry on the old trade by the agency of curates. According to Mr. Nugent, "at Keith's chapel there have been six thousand married in a year." Keith published a pamphlet during the progress of the bill, in which he said that the pure design of the measure was to suppress his chapel — a very worthy design, however Mr. Nugent might approve of the celerity and cheapness of Keith's ceremonials. May Fair was the fashionable "marriage shop"; but the Fleet prison had the advantage of being open to the humblest seekers of conjugal happiness. Keith generously records of this rival establishment, "I have often heard a Fleet parson say that many have come to be married when they have had but half-a-crown in their pockets and sixpence to buy a pot of beer, and for which they have pawned some of their clothes." The motto which worthy Mr. Keith affixed to his pamphlet was "Happy is the wooing that is not long a-doing"; and he avers that of the many thousands he had married the generality had been acquainted not more than a week, some only a day, or half a day.

The Marriage Act of 1753 has been justly regarded as the great step in the improvement of the conjugal relations of the people of England, high and low. Marriage was to become a solemn contract, in every case; not to be rushed upon without deliberation; not to be ratified without witnesses and public record. Like every other improvement in manners, the social tendency had preceded the legislative action to some limited extent; and then the legal reform hastened on the social amelioration. To the great change in the family relations of this country, of which the Marriage Act was an exponent as well as a cause, has been attributed the wondrous growth of the population in the ensuing century.

NEWCASTLE, FOX, AND PITT

The prime minister, Mr. Pelham, died on the 6th of March, 1754. Horace Walpole,[c] who underrates the public services of this statesman, has this tribute to his moderation and disinterestedness: "Let it be remembered that, though he first taught or experienced universal servility in Englishmen, yet he lived without abusing his power, and died poor." The king clearly saw what a hubbub of conflicting ambitions would result from the necessity of a new cast of characters for the political drama. "I shall now have no more peace," exclaimed the old man. The duke of Newcastle achieved the great

object of his ambition, in succeeding his brother as the head of the treasury. If experience could give a politician claims to be the ruler of a great nation, and moreover of a nation very difficult to manage, Newcastle had claims above most men. He had been secretary of state in 1724 under Sir Robert Walpole. Carteret had kept him in the same office, though he despised him. His thirst for power was insatiable. He impaired his estate to maintain and extend his parliamentary influence; and thus, whoever was turned out, Newcastle always kept in. Jealous of every man of ability to whom it was necessary to intrust some share of authority, he was always in terror that his subalterns might be called to command, although ever professing his anxiety for their promotion. Always seeking the doubtful support of "troops of friends," he never offended any man by a plain "No," and was often "under the same engagements to at least ten competitors," as Lord Waldegrave affirms. But he was in many respects incompetent to manage any public business that required resolution and steadiness; and his ignorance was so manifested in his flighty and inconsistent talk that what looks like a joke in Smollett's novel has been received as a reliable fact. He had heard that thirty thousand French had marched to Cape Breton. Where did they get transports? was asked. "Transports," cried he, "I tell you they marched by land." "By land to the island of Cape Breton!" "What! is Cape Breton an island?" It was pointed out in the map; and the delighted minister, hugging his informant, ejaculated, "Egad! I'll go directly, and tell the king that Cape Breton is an island."

In the house of lords, the duke's performances are thus described by a just and impartial observer: "Hear him speak in parliament, his manner is ungraceful, his language barbarous, his reasoning inconclusive. At the same time, he labours through all the confusion of a debate without the least distrust of his own abilities; fights boldly in the dark; never gives up the cause; nor is he ever at a loss either for words or argument." He has had many successors in this line; but at that period the house of commons required to be managed by a different species of oratory. Three of the great masters of eloquence were in that house — Pitt, Fox, and Murray. Newcastle offered the seals of secretary of state, with the lead of the commons, to Mr. Fox. The offer was fully justified by the ability and the experience of this gentleman, who started in public life — "a needy political adventurer," as he has been called — "at a time when the standard of integrity amongst statesmen was low."

This adherent of Sir Robert Walpole would not shrink from any participation in the corruption which gave ascendency to the duke of Newcastle. Fox desired to be actively engaged in working the parliamentary system. As secretary of war, he had no seat in the cabinet; no responsibility beyond the routine duties of his office. The prospect of a place which would give him real power raised all the ambition of Fox, who, says Lord Hardwicke,[q] "within a few hours of Mr. Pelham's death, had made strong advances to the duke of Newcastle and myself." But there was a hitch in the completion of the arrangement proposed by Newcastle, which is singularly indicative of the political degradation of those times. Fox agreed to accept the secretaryship and the management of the house of commons. He very reluctantly gave up the disposal of the secret service money, but he stipulated that he was to know how the bribes were disposed of. The next day, Newcastle receded from this condition. How am I to understand, said Fox, how to talk to members of parliament, when some have received "gratifications," and others not? His brother, said Newcastle, had never disclosed these things, nor

[1754 A.D.]

would he. How, asked Fox, are the ministerial boroughs to be filled up? That is all settled, said the duke. Fox rejected the secretaryship; and Newcastle had to look out for a more pliant tool.

The prime minister and the lord chancellor appear now to have turned their thoughts to Mr. Pitt. There are apologetical letters to him from these great personages, obscurely intimating the difficulties which they had encountered in their abortive endeavours to add his strength to their party. Sir Thomas Robinson, a dull diplomatist, was appointed to the office which Fox had rejected. Pitt was indignant. The humiliation of his proud spirit may be read in this passage of a letter to Lord Hardwicke: "The weight of irremoveable royal displeasure is a load too great to move under; it must crush any man; it has sunk and broke me. I succumb; and wish for nothing but a decent and innocent retreat, wherein I may no longer, by continuing in the public stream of promotion, forever stick fast aground, and afford to the world the ridiculous spectacle of being passed by every boat that navigates the same river." Pitt found his consolations in a happy marriage with Lady Hester Grenville, a sister of Earl Temple. The calm of the domestic life of this eminent man presents a refreshing contrast to the agitations of his public career. Whenever we have glimpses of him in his country retreat at Hayes, we see him in the full enjoyment of as much tranquil pleasure as his infirm health would allow — exercising his taste in improving his little property; reading; educating his children; an exemplary husband and father in a dissipated age. Of those wonderful powers which gave him, without vanity, the right to claim the highest position amongst public men, his contemporaries were fully aware. We cannot judge, as they could, of that eloquence of which the admiration may appear to us overcharged, when we regard the fragmentary state in which it has come down to us. His faults were patent to all the world. They have been much paraded of late years — his haughtiness, his intractability, his self-assertion. But after a century and a half has passed, and all the petty men and paltry interests of the first William Pitt's time are hastening to oblivion, his grand figure stands out — a giant amongst pigmies. In the words of Frederick of Prussia, England had at length brought forth a man.

The Newcastle ministry, formed out of very fragile materials, had some months of respite from parliamentary opposition. The septennial term of parliament was nearly out when Mr. Pelham died. It was dissolved within a month of his decease. The new parliament met on the 14th of November. Pitt and Fox continued in their subordinate offices — Pitt as paymaster, Fox as secretary of war. But they each writhed under the arrangements by which Robinson had taken the management of the house of commons. "The duke might as well send his jack-boot to lead us," said Pitt to Fox. They could not decently obstruct public business, but they might attack persons. The feeble leader of the commons had an uneasy time between these two malcontents. "They have already mumbled poor Sir Thomas Robinson cruelly," writes Walpole on the 1st of December. But about this time a scene was acted which startled the house of commons out of its habitual slumber. An election petition is presented, which the younger Mr. Delaval ridicules; and the house is in fits of laughter about a complaint of bribery and corruption. Pitt is sitting in the gallery. He rushes down, and instantly rises to speak. "Do members laugh on such a subject as bribery? Do we try within the house to diminish our own dignity, when such attacks are made upon it from without?" "At his first two periods," says Fox, "he brought the house to a silence and attention that you might have heard a pin drop." He called upon the

speaker to extend a saving hand to raise the character of the house. "He called on all to assist, or else we should only sit to register the arbitrary edicts of one too powerful a subject." Newcastle was as much terrified by "this thunderbolt thrown in a sky so long serene," as the audience of Pitt were confounded. The minister contrived, by giving Fox a seat in the cabinet, to detach him from his concert with Pitt. Pitt felt the desertion; and told Fox that "they were upon different lines." It appears that the devotion of Fox to the will of the duke of Cumberland, "whose soldier Mr. Pitt was not," was an additional cause for this separation of their political action. Newcastle had silenced one of his formidable opponents. The other gave him no trouble for the rest of the session.

BORDER WARFARE IN AMERICA (1754 A.D.)

Events were maturing at this period which rendered it essentially important that England should have a firm and capable government. On the 25th of March, 1755, the king sent a message to both houses, to acquaint them that "the present situation of affairs makes it necessary to augment his forces by sea and land; and to take such other measures as may best tend to preserve the general peace of Europe, and to secure the just rights and possessions of his crown in America." The danger to America was from France, with whose colonists there had been perpetual disputes as to boundaries and alleged rights, from the period of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

The possession of Canada by France was a perpetual source of disquiet to the British colonists of New England, and of Virginia and Pennsylvania. The French Canadian settlers had penetrated to the Ohio, and had there built a fort which they named Duquesne. On the Ohio, the Virginians had also a fort called Block's Town. The settlement of Virginia, at this period, extended about two hundred miles from the seacoast, and spread over about one third of the state, according to its present limits. Its population was about two hundred thousand, of whom more than a fourth were slaves. The territory then unoccupied by the descendants of the colonists of the reign of James I was the hunting-ground of Indians; and the Virginians upon the Ohio were traders in skins. The French, also, were seeking a participation in that commerce which quickly perishes, as the extension of civilisation creates more profitable industries. The old families of Virginia were engaged in far more lucrative and less adventurous occupations than in exchanges with the Indians. They were cultivating tobacco upon every estate. Their tobacco fields were the Potosi of the first settlers of North America. Tobacco was their sole article of export. It brought them all the comforts and luxuries which England and Scotland could supply. It was the general measure of value, and the principal currency. Public officers, ministers of the church, had their salaries paid at so many annual pounds of tobacco. In 1758 the colony exported seventy thousand hogsheads of the precious weed, equivalent to seventy millions of pounds. The price was ten times higher than the present rate. Virginia was thriving. Her planters lived luxuriously on their estates, surrounded by their slaves, and affecting the aristocratic habits of grand old English families, from which many of them claimed to have sprung. Hospitable they were to profusion. In such a state of society was George Washington born; who, in 1754, then a young man of twenty-two, was fighting for the integrity of the colonial territory against the aggressions of the French. At the age of nineteen, he became an adjutant-general, having the rank of major, and taking the direction of one of the military districts into which the

province of Virginia was divided, for the purpose of resisting the encroachments of the French and the depredations of the Indians. These divisions were reduced to four, in 1752, and the young major had the command of the northern division. In the capacity of commissioner, in 1753, he went into the territory occupied by the French, to negotiate with their commander. He had no success in his diplomacy; but he brought back with him a plan of the fort which the French had constructed in the neighbourhood of Lake Erie. He had been employed, when at the age of sixteen, as a public surveyor, and in the wild district of the Alleghanies had acquired that practical mode of viewing large tracts of country which was of essential importance to him in his future great career. In 1754, under the command of an English officer, Colonel Fry, he was sent to occupy the British posts of the Ohio, in the presence of a French force. He defeated a detachment of the enemy, but was finally compelled to capitulate to superior numbers, who surrounded his intrenched fort. He was allowed to retreat with his men, with what are termed military honours. The feuds of the two nations were the subject of official discussions in Paris; but it was clear that this sort of half-warfare in America could not long endure.

In January, 1755, although no formal declarations of hostilities had taken place, General Braddock, with a body of English troops, was sent to the succour of the colonists in Virginia. His campaign was a most unfortunate one. Braddock was a commander of the old routine cast, who fancied that well-dressed and well-equipped soldiers, who could go through all the manœuvres of the Prussian drill, were sure to be victorious over any number of irregular troops. He marched against the French fort on the Ohio, taking Washington with him, although he despised the American militia and their officers. What the Highlanders were to Cope and Hawley, the Indians were to Braddock. In a valley between two woods, within ten miles of Fort Duquesne — utterly neglecting all precautions against surprise — the English general fell into an ambuscade of Indians. A few French only encountered him; but the unerring marksmen of the woods picked off his officers; and Braddock himself, fighting with desperate courage, was mortally wounded. Half his troops fled in confusion, abandoning their artillery. The other half were killed or wounded; and the terrible Indian scalping-knife left few to tell the tale of this fatal reverse.

NAVAL ENGAGEMENTS; GEORGE VISITS HANOVER

Whilst British and French were fighting in the waste regions of North America, their ships were engaged in the Atlantic. Admiral Boscawen, with eleven ships of the line, had been sent to watch a French expedition that had sailed from Brest. Off Newfoundland the squadrons met in a fog. Captain Howe, having received a signal to engage, took two of the French vessels. The others got into Louisbourg, the fortified harbour of Cape Breton. In the autumn of 1755, Sir Edward Hawke, upon a sudden resolve of the government, made some captures of French merchantmen in the Channel. Of the regency — for the king had gone to Hanover — some were inclined for immediate hostilities, and some for delaying them. The time had passed for any sudden and decisive blow; whilst the ministers were trembling at their own responsibility, afraid to declare war, and not taking sincere and active measures to preserve peace.

After the session had been terminated in April, 1755, the king, in opposition to a strong parliamentary feeling, had set out for Germany. He had left

the regency to take care of the great national interests of Britain, whilst he looked after the usual means of fencing round his own Hanover by subsidising auxiliary powers. He was now in dread of Prussia; and to counteract the growing strength of Frederick II, Russia was to receive a subsidy as well as the elector of Hesse, and smaller potentates. "A factory was opened at Herrenhausen, where every prince that could muster and clothe a regiment might traffic with it to advantage." With the elector of Hesse, the king, without the approval of his ministers at home, signed a contract for a large annual payment by England, with an additional stipulation for paying levy money for every Hessian soldier.

SINGLE-SPEECH HAMILTON; PITT'S INFLUENCE

The parliament met on the 13th of November. The king announced the increase of the naval and land forces, and mentioned the treaties he had concluded with Russia and Hesse. In the address of each house especial reference was made to Hanover. The address of the commons said, "We think ourselves bound in justice and gratitude to assist his majesty against insults and attacks that may be made upon any of his majesty's dominions, though not belonging to the crown of Great Britain." An amendment to omit such a pledge was moved in the lords by Earl Temple, Pitt's brother-in-law. A similar amendment was proposed in the commons. These were of course rejected; but they gave occasion to two remarkable orations. William Gerard Hamilton, a young member, made his maiden speech in favour of the original address — that one harangue, antithetical and familiar, argumentative and declamatory, which handed him down to after times as Single-speech Hamilton. Pitt made a speech on that famous battle night, of which no fragment remains to us but one which has been preserved by Walpole. The younger Pitt said he would prefer the recovery of a speech of Lord Bolingbroke to the restoration of the lost books of Livy or Tacitus. The contemporary accounts of his father's speeches would almost induce a similar wish, even if the recovery were confined to this effort of the 13th of November.

Walpole in a letter of the 15th of November to Conway, after rapturously noticing Hamilton's success, says, "You will ask what could be beyond this? Nothing, but what was beyond what ever was, and that was Pitt. He spoke at past one, for an hour and thirty-five minutes. There was more humour, wit, vivacity, finer language, more boldness, in short more astonishing perfections, than even you, who are used to him, can conceive." In a letter of the following day to Bentley, Walpole gives the fragments which, with similar detached passages of various other speeches, enable us to form some idea of the lustre which a rich imagination gave to Pitt's eloquence. "The most admired passage was a comparison he drew of the two parts of the new administration." By the new administration Walpole means the coalition between Fox and Newcastle. "It is," said Pitt, "as the conflux of the Rhone and the Saône, which I remember to have seen at Lyons; the latter a gentle, feeble, languid stream, languid but not deep; the other a boisterous and overbearing torrent. But they join at last, and long may they continue united, to the comfort of each other, and to the glory, honour, and happiness of this nation." The next morning Fox received the seals of secretary of state, as the reward for his support of the ministerial address. Pitt, on the 20th of November, was dismissed from his office of paymaster; and Legge and George Grenville were also superseded.

In a fortnight after his dismissal from office, Pitt, from his place in par-

liament, sent forth a voice whose echoes would be heard throughout the land. The nation was dreading a French invasion — sullenly trembling at the possible consequences of an assault upon the capital, and without confidence in the government to which the public defence was intrusted. Pitt seconded the motion of the secretary of war, for an army of thirty-four thousand men, being an increase of fifteen thousand. He had wanted even a larger increase in the previous year. The king's speech of the preceding session had lulled the nation into a fallacious dream of repose. "He wanted to call this country out of that enervate state, that twenty thousand men from France could shake it. The maxims of our government were degenerated, not our natives."

There can be little doubt that the nation required to be roused from its lethargy. Happily there was a man capable of rousing it. Pitt, in his speech of the 5th of December, had expressed his earnest wish to "see that breed restored, which under our old principles had carried our glory so high." The king, on the 23rd of March, announced the probability of an invasion, and informed the houses that he had made a requisition for a body of Hessian troops, in pursuance of the treaty recently concluded. Both houses acknowledged with gratitude his majesty's care for the national defence.

On the 29th of March, Mr. Fox moved, "that a humble address be presented to his majesty, that, for the more effectual defence of this island, and for the better security of the religion and liberties of his subjects, against the threatened attacks by a foreign enemy, he would be graciously pleased to order twelve battalions of his electoral troops, together with the usual detachment of artillery, to be forthwith brought into this kingdom." The address was voted by the large ministerial majority; but not without strong dissatisfaction. "That state alone," exclaimed Pitt, "is a sovereign state, which stands by its own strength, not by the help of another country." The Hanoverians and Hessians came, and were encamped in various parts of the kingdom.

THE LOSS OF MINORCA (1756 A.D.)

For half a century Great Britain had held possession of the island of Minorca, which General Stanhope and Admiral Leake had conquered during the palmy time of the War of the Succession. Port-Mahon, the best harbour of the Mediterranean, was thought a more important British possession even than Gibraltar. The English ministers had received intimation very early in the spring of 1756 that a formidable expedition was in preparation at Toulon, not provisioned for a long voyage. They shut their eyes to the exposed state of the island that lay within a few days' sail from the shores of Provence. The defence of Port-Mahon was intrusted to a small garrison, commanded by an aged and infirm general. The government was at last alarmed. They dispatched Admiral Byng (son of Lord Torrington, the Admiral Byng of Queen Anne's time), with ten ships, from Spithead, on the 7th of April. On the 10th of April, the French fleet, of twelve ships of the line, sailed from Toulon, with transports, having sixteen thousand troops on board. They were off the coast of Minorca on the 18th, and began to disembark at the port of Ciudadella. The only chance of defence against such an armament was in the strong castle of St. Philip. General Blakeney got together between two and three thousand troops, the officers of the English regiments being, for the most part, absent; and he prepared for resistance. The natural and artificial strength of the fortress prevented the French from proceeding in the siege without much cautious delay.

On the 19th of May, Admiral Byng's fleet, having been joined by two more men-of-war, arrived within view of St. Philip, whilst the batteries of the French were carrying on their fire against the fort, where the flag of England was still flying. Byng, who had touched at Gibraltar, had written home to explain that he could obtain no necessaries at that station; that the place was so neglected that he was unable to clean the foul ships with which he had sailed from England; and that if he had been sent earlier he might have been able to prevent the landing of the French in Minorca, whereas it was now very doubtful whether any good could arise from an attempt to reinforce the garrison. This was something like an anticipation of failure, with an indication of the neglect which made success difficult. On the 21st of May, De la Galissonnière, the French admiral, bore down upon the British fleet. Byng did not engage with that alacrity which the naval traditions of our country point out as the first duty of an admiral, even with a doubtful advantage.

Rear-Admiral West, on the contrary, with his portion of the squadron, had attacked with impetuosity, and had driven some of the French vessels out of their line of battle. Byng was scarcely engaged, except at the beginning of the action, when his own ship, being damaged in the rigging, became for a short time unmanageable. He hesitated about advancing, for fear of breaking his line. De la Galissonnière leisurely retired. Byng called a council of war; represented that he was inferior to the enemy in number of men and weight of metal, and proposed to return to Gibraltar. The council agreed to the proposal. The admiral sent home his dispatches; and on the 16th of June Sir Edward Hawke and Admiral Saunders were ordered to supersede Byng and his second in command. The unfortunate admiral was taken home under arrest; and was committed as a prisoner to an apartment in Greenwich Hospital. Admiral West was received with favour at St. James'.

After a defence as resolute as it was possible to make against an overwhelming force, St. Philip was surrendered, after an assault on the 27th of June headed by the duke de Richelieu. The garrison marched out with the honours of war, and were conveyed to Gibraltar. A tempest of popular fury had arisen, such as had rarely been witnessed in England. The news of Byng's return to Gibraltar, without having attempted to relieve the garrison in St. Philip, first came to London through the French admiral's dispatch to his government. "It is necessary," says Walpole, "to be well acquainted with the disposition of a free, proud, fickle, and violent people, before one can conceive the indignation occasioned by this intelligence." But when Byng's own dispatch came, in which he assumed the triumphant tone of a man who had done his duty, his effigy was burned in all the great towns. Every ballad singer had a ditty in which he was execrated. When he arrived at Portsmouth he was saved with difficulty from being torn to pieces by the mob. A chap-book related "a Rueful Story, by a Broken-hearted Sailor." A coarse print exhibited Byng hanging in chains. A medal was struck, having a figure of the admiral, with the inscription, "Was Minorca sold for French gold?" Addresses went up to the throne from London, and from almost every county and city, calling for inquiry and signal punishment. To the addresses of the city the king was made to pledge his royal word that he would save no delinquent from justice. Newcastle, "with a volubility of timorous folly, when a deputation from the city had made representations to him against the admiral blurted out, 'Oh! indeed he shall be tried immediately — he shall be hanged directly.'" The fate of the unhappy man was not determined until the spring of the following year.

HANOVER AND PRUSSIA

In closing the session of parliament on the 27th of May, the king announced that the injuries his subjects had sustained from the French having been followed by the invasion of Minorca, which had been guaranteed to the British crown by all the great powers of Europe, he had formally declared war against France. Important changes had taken place since, in the previous summer, the king had negotiated for a subsidy to Russia, to protect his Hanoverian possessions against the probable attacks of Prussia. George II and Frederick II were not exactly fitted for any cordial friendship. They had been fighting on opposite sides for eight years in the War of the Austrian Succession. George took the side of Maria Theresa, and — to use the words of Carlyle — "needed to begin by assuring his parliament and newspapers, profoundly dark on the matter, that Frederick was a robber and villain for taking the other side." Frederick cared little for what parliaments or newspapers might say of him. Perhaps to those who have followed his last historian in tracing the origin of the claims upon Silesia, he may be thought to have had justice upon his side — that sort of justice which encourages sovereigns to imperil the happiness of millions for the assertion of personal rights.

The War of the Succession came to an end, and Frederick got Silesia guaranteed to him. Beyond the public differences of George and Frederick, the Prussian king had indulged his unhappy talent of sarcasm; and his sharp sayings about his Britannic majesty were not easily to be forgiven. But the time was come when they became politically necessary to each other. A treaty was concluded at Westminster, on the 16th of January, 1756, by which the king of Great Britain and the king of Prussia, fearing that the peace of Europe might be disturbed in consequence of the disputes in America, entered upon a convention of neutrality, by which they were each bound not to suffer any foreign troops to enter Germany, and their several dominions were reciprocally guaranteed. The scheme of subsidising Russia was thus renounced. Some old money differences were at the same time adjusted. This treaty was not submitted to parliament till the close of 1756. In the mean time the terrible contest known as the Seven Years' War had commenced.

On the 4th of June, 1756, George, prince of Wales, completed his eighteenth year — the period determined by the Regency Act as that of his majority in case his grandfather had been dead. The king wished to give the prince a separate establishment, with an allowance of £40,000 a year, thus removing him from the control of the princess dowager. The young prince entreated the king not to separate him from his mother, although he was deeply grateful for the proposed royal bounty. They were both anxious that Lord Bute should be groom of the stole in the new household. Lord Waldegrave relates that he was present at a cabinet council, for the consideration of this appointment; when the chancellor, Lord Hardwicke, said he would not give credit to some very extraordinary reports; but that many sober and respectable persons would think it indecent. The court scandal, which Walpole dwells upon with peculiar gusto, continued some time after Prince George came to the throne, and was one of the misfortunes of the early part of his reign. Bute, in spite of the "extraordinary reports" — which are now held by most unprejudiced inquirers to have had their origin in party virulence and vulgar credulity — was appointed to the office in the household, very reluctantly on the part of the king. In this influential position, the favourite of the heir apparent, he had considerable participation in the politics of the time. One curious example of the mode in which Lord Bute kept the future before the

view of great parliamentary leaders may be seen in a passage of a letter to Mr. Pitt, during that first short time of his power, which we shall have presently to notice: "I am certain the firm support and countenance of him who is some day to reap the fruits of my friend's unwearied endeavours for the public safety would make him perfectly easy under the frowns of prejudiced, deluded, fluctuating men."

Mr. Fox had held the seals of secretary of state about ten months, during which period a heavy burden of obloquy had to be borne by the ministry. In October, 1756, he resigned his office. He probably was justified in abandoning his colleagues to the approaching censures of parliament in regard to measures of which he had been allowed no direction. The popular indignation about the loss of Minorca was taking a new direction. In September, "the whole city of Westminster was disturbed by the song of a hundred ballad-singers, the burden of which was, 'to the block with Newcastle, and the yard-arm with Byng.'" In October, "Poor Byng is the phrase in every mouth, and then comes the hackneyed simile of the scapegoat." The resignation of the secretary of state was a sudden blow to Newcastle, "who meant that Fox should have continued in a responsible office; with a double portion of dangers and abuse, but without any share of power." The prime minister was left without any support in the house of commons. Murray, the attorney-general, insisted upon being appointed lord chief justice, a vacancy having occurred by the death of Sir Dudley Ryder. Newcastle offered the great lawyer the choice of sinecures of fabulous amount — a pension — any terms, if he would remain in the house of commons. Murray was immoveable, and, to the enduring advantage of the nation, became chief justice and Lord Mansfeld. Pitt stood alone, without a rival — "no orator to oppose him, who had courage even to look him in the face."

PITT AS WAR MINISTER

Newcastle, in his extremity, induced the king to consent that an overture should be made to the awful commoner. Pitt refused to treat, saying that "a plain man, unpractised in the policy of the court, could never be the associate of so experienced a minister." The unhappy duke went about imploring this nobleman and that commoner to take the seals. "No man would stand in the gap," says Waldegrave. At last Newcastle himself resigned. "Perfidy, after thirty years, had an intermission," writes Walpole. Lord Hardwicke, the learned and able chancellor, who desired retirement, followed his old friend. A coalition was proposed between Fox and Pitt, which Pitt refused to agree to. At last, in November, the duke of Devonshire was appointed first commissioner of the treasury; Pitt, secretary of state; his brother-in-law, Temple, at the head of the admiralty; Legge, chancellor of the exchequer.

On the 2nd of December the parliament was opened with a speech from the throne, "which," says Lord Waldegrave, "by its style and substance, appeared to be the work of a new speech-maker." Never was a vital change of policy more boldly indicated. It declared that the succour and preservation of America "demand resolutions of vigour and dispatch." That, for a firm defence at home, "a national militia may in time become one good resource." "Relying with pleasure on the spirit and zeal of my people," said the king, "the body of my electoral troops, which I ordered hither at the desire of my parliament, I have directed to return to my dominions in Germany." Finally, his majesty said, "Unprosperous events of war in the

Mediterranean have drawn from my subjects signal proofs how dearly they tender my honour and that of my crown." To recommend a militia, which his majesty had always ridiculed; to trust to the British people for the defence of their country, instead of trusting to the Hessians and Hanoverians; to call uncourtly addresses and popular clamour signal proofs of affection — these were indeed evidences of a new speech-maker. "The king," says Waldegrave, "in common conversation made a frank declaration of his real sentiments." A spurious speech had been circulated in town and country. This production was burned by the common hangman, and the printer was ordered to be prosecuted. George, who sometimes displayed a quaint sarcastic humour, "hoped the man's punishment would be of the mildest sort, because he had read both speeches, and, as far as he understood either of them, he liked the spurious speech better than his own."

The electoral troops were sent home. A Militia Bill was now passed, although a similar bill had been rejected in the previous session. Under this act thirty-two thousand men were to be called out in England and Wales. The measure was received with popular approbation, until it began to interfere with individual ease and freedom. The Protestant dissenters in London and the provinces remonstrated against the possible insertion of a clause in the bill that the militia might be exercised on Sundays; but the notion, although it did not appear to excite any displeasure amongst the clergy of the established church, was very wisely given up. Reinforcements were sent to the earl of Loudoun, who now commanded in America. The regular army had been increased to forty-five thousand men; and Pitt, at this time, adopted the politic suggestion made by Duncan Forbes in 1738 that the Highlanders should be enlisted in the service of the state, instead of being prompted to disaffection by needy chiefs. Two Highland regiments were raised, the command of one being given to Simon Fraser, son of Lord Lovat; of the other to Archibald Montgomery, brother of Lord Eglington. Twenty years afterwards, in one of his great speeches, in which Chatham urged conciliation towards "our brethren in America," he looked back upon the success of this first measure of his bold statemanship: "I remember, after an unnatural rebellion had been extinguished in the northern parts of this island, that I employed these very rebels in the service and defence of their country. They were reclaimed by this means; they fought our battles; they cheerfully bled in defence of those liberties which they attempted to overthrow but a few years before."

As the war minister of George II, Mr. Pitt had to modify some of his former opinions with regard to continental alliances. He brought down a message from the king on the 17th of February, to ask from his faithful commons that they would assist his majesty in maintaining an army of observation to protect his electoral dominions, and to fulfil his engagements with his good ally the king of Prussia. This was the first day that Pitt had entered the house of commons since his accession to office. His appearance there had been delayed by continual illness. He followed this demonstration of his individual opinions, by moving a grant of £200,000 in compliance with the message. Fox twitted his rival with a saying of the previous year, that "German measures would be a mill-stone about the neck of the minister." Yet Pitt was not inconsistent in proposing this measure. He had told Lord Hardwicke, in September, 1755, that he thought that "regard ought to be had to Hanover, if it should be attacked on our account." Lord Mahon has very justly defended Pitt against the sneer of Fox. "The French were preparing to invade the electorate, not from any injury, real or pretended, which

the electorate had done them, but notoriously and avowedly as a side-blow against George II — as a retaliation for the measures which his majesty had adopted in British America." Hanover was about to be attacked on the British account. Walpole, with reference to the Prussian subsidy, bitterly remarks, "One cannot say which was most ridiculous — the richest prince in Europe [Frederick] begging alms for his own country, or the great foe of that country [George] becoming its mendicant almoner." Frederick of Prussia commissioned the British envoy to express his thanks to Mr. Pitt for his speech of the 18th of February; and to inform him that he regarded the resolutions of parliament as the strongest assurances that can be given of the favourable and friendly disposition of the British nation towards him. Pitt, in his reply, expressed his "sentiments of veneration and zeal for a prince, who stands the unshaken bulwark of Europe, against the most powerful and malignant confederacy that ever yet has threatened the independence of mankind."

THE FATE OF ADMIRAL BYNG

Amongst the difficult questions which the recently formed administration had to deal with was that of the fate of Admiral Byng.[k] His court-martial was held at Portsmouth, presided over by Admiral Smith, an illegitimate brother of Lord Lyttleton; it began in December, 1756, and continued through great part of January. Besides his defence before his judges, the admiral had published a statement in his vindication. Thus far he certainly succeeded in proving that many and flagitious arts had been employed to blacken him. It was shown how his own letters and reports to the admiralty had been garbled and perverted before they were allowed to appear in the gazettes, so as to give some colour to the charge of cowardice; thus the words "making the best of my way to Gibraltar" were substituted for the passage, "making my way to cover Gibraltar." Before the court-martial many witnesses were examined on both sides.

Towards the close of the proceedings an express was despatched to the admiralty in London to inquire, on the part of the officers of the court, whether they were at liberty to mitigate an article of war on which they had doubts. They were answered in the negative. Their doubts related to the twelfth of the articles, which had been new-modelled some years before, and which, to strike the greater terror into remiss or careless officers, left no alternative but death as the punishment on neglect of duty. Thus confined to the rigorous bounds of the law, the court-martial framed their sentence, fully acquitting the admiral either of treachery or of cowardice, but declaring that in their unanimous opinion he had not done his utmost, either to relieve St. Philip's Castle or to defeat the French fleet. They therefore pronounced that he fell under part of the twelfth article, and, as the law required, adjudged him to be shot to death. But with the same unanimity the court declared that, on weighing all the circumstances of the case, they most earnestly recommended him as a proper object of mercy to the crown.

The admiral's conduct during his imprisonment had, on some points, appeared ill-judged and froward, but was throughout manly and firm. When one of his friends was endeavouring to inform him, by degrees, of his sentence, and dropping a hint of ill-news, Byng started, and exclaimed, "What! they have not put a slur on me, have they?" — apprehending that they had condemned him for cowardice. On being assured that they had not, his countenance at once resumed its serenity, and he went with the utmost calmness and composure to hear the sentence of his death pronounced.

[1756 A.D.]

At this crisis the conduct of Pitt appears in no small degree deserving of honour and respect. He saw the tide of popular opinion running decidedly and strongly against Byng. And it was on popular opinion only that Pitt himself leaned for support. He could not trust to dexterous cabals, like Fox, nor to royal favour, as once did Granville, nor to patronage of boroughs, like Newcastle. Yet this public feeling, which alone had borne him to office, which alone could maintain him in office, he now, when he deemed justice at stake, deliberately confronted and withstood. He openly declared in the house of commons his wish that the king's prerogative might be exerted in mitigation of the sentence, adding that he thought more good would come from mercy than from rigour. To his majesty in private Pitt detailed whatever other relenting indications had, though timidly, appeared in the debate, and said that the house of commons wished to see the admiral pardoned. "Sir," replied the king, "you have taught me to look for the sense of my subjects in another place than in the house of commons."

The royal ear had been, however, prepossessed by other advisers, and remained deaf to all arguments for the mitigation of the sentence. His majesty appears to have entertained the opinion — in common with a large majority of his subjects at the time — that some rigorous example was required for the future discipline of the navy. One of Voltaire's tales has well portrayed this prevailing idea, when he makes his imaginary traveller land at Portsmouth, and witness the execution of an admiral who is shot, as he is told, on purpose to encourage the others! Voltaire, however, did not confine himself to satire on this subject; having received by accident from the duke de Richelieu a letter containing some laudatory expressions on Byng, he sent it over to the unfortunate admiral to be used in his defence — an act of much humanity, but of no result.

Nowhere did the admiral find more strenuous intercessors than among his former judges. Several of the court-martial were constantly urging the admiralty with entreaties that his life might be spared. One of them, Captain Augustus Keppel (famous in after years as admiral and lord), authorised Horace Walpole the younger, and he in his turn authorised Sir Francis Dashwood, to declare to the house of commons that Keppel and some of his brethren desired a bill to absolve them from their oath of secrecy, as they had something of weight to say in relation to their sentence. Keppel was himself a member of the house, but too bashful to speak in public. Being, however, generally called upon to rise and explain himself, after Sir Francis' communication, he again expressed his wish, and named four other members of the court as concurring in it. There was here, however, some misapprehension on his part or some treachery on theirs, since of these four, two afterwards disclaimed what Keppel had alleged in their name. "The house," says an eyewitness,[i] "was wondrously softened." Next day the king sent a message, through Pitt, announcing that he had respited the admiral's execution while these suggestions for disclosures were in progress. A bill to absolve the members of the court-martial from their oath of secrecy was accordingly brought in by Sir Francis Dashwood, supported by Pitt, and cavilled at by Fox. "Is it proper," asked he, "that a set of judges should go about for three weeks, hearing solicitations from the friends of the prisoner, and then come and complain of their own sentence?" The bill was carried rapidly and tumultuously by 153 against 23. But in the upper house it was treated with judicial accuracy and precision by two chiefs of the law — lords Hardwicke and Mansfield. They examined at their bar separately and on oath every member of the court-martial, requiring answers especially to these two ques-

tions: "Whether you know any matter that passed previous to the sentence upon Admiral Byng, which may show that sentence to have been unjust?" And, "Whether you know any matter that passed previous to the said sentence which may show that sentence to have been given through any undue practice or motive?" To the general surprise every member of the court-martial — even Keppel himself — answered both these questions in the negative. It thus plainly appeared that the bill owed its origin rather to kind feeling than to settled judgment, and that its whole foundation had now crumbled away; it was accordingly rejected by the lords, not without some expressions of contempt for the haste and heedlessness of the house of commons.

No further obstacles interposed, and the completion of the tragedy was fixed for the 14th of March. Byng's whole behaviour was most manly — equally unaffected and undaunted. A few days before one of his friends standing by him said, "Which of us is tallest?" He answered, "Why this ceremony? I know what it means; let the man come and measure me for my coffin."

More than once he declared his satisfaction that at least he was acquitted of cowardice, and his conviction that he had acted throughout to the utmost of his ability. These sentiments were also expressed in a written paper, which he delivered to the marshal of the admiralty a few moments before his execution. For some time past he had been confined on board the *Monarque* in Portsmouth harbour; he now desired to be shot on the quarter-deck, and not in the place assigned to common malefactors. At the appointed hour of noon he walked forth with a firm step, and placed himself in a chair, refusing to kneel or allow his face to be covered, that it might be seen whether he betrayed the least symptom of fear. Some officers around him, however, represented that his looks might confuse the soldiers, and distract their aim, on which he submitted, saying, "If it will frighten them, let it be done; they would not frighten me." His eyes were bound; the soldiers fired, and Byng fell.

On reviewing the whole of this painful transaction it appears just to acknowledge that, notwithstanding the party insinuations of that time, the officers of the court-martial were swayed only by pure and honourable motives. They judged right in pronouncing that Byng did not do as much as he might have done for the relief of Minorca; they judged right in acquitting him both of treachery and cowardice. But they seem to err when they proceed to apply to the case of Byng the severe penalties prescribed by the twelfth article of war. They confound the two ideas — neglect of duty and error of judgment. It was not from any heedless omission that the admiral had failed to pursue the French fleet, or to relieve the English garrison; it was from inferior talent and inferior energy of mind. To such deficiencies the twelfth article, with its penalty of death, was clearly not intended to apply. But further still, supposing the sentence passed, it was surely no light stain on the royal prerogative, or on those who wielded it, to set at nought the unanimous recommendation of the judges. To deny the claim of mercy in such a case could scarcely be palliated even by the strongest motives of state policy.

In truth, however, all sound state policy points in the opposite direction. Whenever a disproportionate severity is applied to an involuntary fault, the sure result, after a short interval, is to enlist public sympathy on the side of the sufferer, to change condemnation into pity, and to exalt any ordinary officer, who has acted to the best of his small abilities, into the fame of a hero and a martyr.

DISMISSAL AND RE-APPOINTMENT OF PITT (1757 A.D.)

Notwithstanding the readiness that Pitt had shown for the support of Hanover, he had by no means succeeded in surmounting the aversion of the king. Early in 1757 his majesty sent for Lord Waldegrave, as his personal friend, to hear his complaints. According to Waldegrave's own testimony (and there can be none higher), the king, who had a quick conception, and did not like to be kept long in suspense, expected that those who talked to him on business should come at once to the point. Now Pitt and Lord Temple, being orators even in familiar conversation, endeavoured to guide his majesty's passions, and to convince his judgment, according to the rules of rhetoric.

In the king's own statement to Lord Waldegrave, however, a wide distinction was made between Pitt and Temple. "The secretary," said his majesty, "makes me long speeches, which, possibly, may be very fine, but are greatly beyond my comprehension; and his letters are affected, formal, and pedantic. But as to Temple, he is so disagreeable a fellow that there is no bearing him. When he attempts to argue he is pert, and sometimes insolent; when he means to be civil he is exceedingly troublesome, and in the business of his office he is totally ignorant." Above all, his majesty resented a parallel with which the first lord of the admiralty had indulged him between Byng's behaviour at Minorca and the king's own conduct at Oudenarde in 1708, giving a preference to the former, and thus leaving his majesty to draw the inference, that if Byng deserved to be shot, his royal master must deserve to be hanged! — It may seem incredible that any minister, even Lord Temple, should be thus rash and presuming, yet the narrative of Lord Orford to that effect will be found substantially confirmed by Lord Waldegrave.

Another train of events brought matters to a crisis. The king had during the winter mustered his electoral army at Hanover for the defence of his dominions, and to the command of that army he appointed the duke of Cumberland. The time for action was now close at hand, and the duke's departure for his post became of pressing importance. But the duke had conceived a strong prejudice against Pitt as an anti-Hanoverian, and felt most reluctant to commence his operations with such a secretary of state to control them. He urged the king at all hazards to dismiss his ministers before his royal highness embarked, and this importunity of a favourite son prevailed over all the dictates of prudence.[b]

In April, 1757, Pitt was unceremoniously dismissed, Legge and the Grenvilles resigned of course, and Fox regained the ascendant. But petitions were poured in from all quarters, and the national feeling in favour of Pitt was so unequivocally manifested that Fox would not venture to resist it. Pitt and Legge therefore resumed their stations, Newcastle became once more the nominal chief, and Fox obtained the lucrative post of paymaster of the forces (June 29th). All opposition in parliament was now at an end, and Pitt had the entire conduct of the war, and thus commenced an administration one of the most brilliant in English annals.

It almost amazes one to read in the contemporary memoirs and letters, of the degree of despondency and dejection to which the public mind had been reduced by the late untoward events of the war. Lord Chesterfield thus describes the state of affairs at this time: "Whoever is in, or whoever is out, I am sure that we are undone both at home and abroad; at home by our increasing debt and expenses; abroad by our ill-luck and incapacity. The king of Prussia, the only ally we had in the world, is now I fear *hors de combat*

[he had just been defeated by the Austrians at Kolin]; Hanover I look upon to be by this time in the same state with Saxony, the fatal consequence of which is but too obvious. The French are masters to do what they please in America. We are no longer a nation; I never yet saw so dreadful a prospect." On the other hand it is cheering to behold the magic influence of genius and high-toned ambition and public spirit. At the voice of Pitt despondency fled and hope and zeal revived. Money was liberally contributed, for the confidence in the minister was unbounded. Expeditions were judiciously planned, and officers were selected for command from merit, and not from family or parliamentary interest, and success in consequence crowned their efforts.

This happy condition of things could not, however, be brought about all at once. It took some time to renovate and regulate the machine of war. Mr. Pitt was also too much attached to the absurd system of seeking to injure France by descents on her coasts, and his operations in this way proved utterly unsuccessful. A powerful expedition sent in September against Rochefort, under Sir Edward Hawke and Sir John Mordaunt, proved a total failure. The chief blame was laid on the general, but a court-martial acquitted him. In Germany, meantime, the duke of Cumberland, at the head of forty thousand Hessians, Hanoverians, and Brunswickers, being hemmed in by the French between the sea and the rivers Elbe and Weser, actually capitulated at Closter-Seven, and the electorate was thus given up to the French. In America the marquis de Montcalm, governor of Canada, had taken Fort William Henry, on the shore of Lake George, and thus obtained the command of the entire range of the lakes.

The following year (1758) the tide of war began to turn in favour of England. Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst took the island of Cape Breton in America. On the coast of Africa the French settlements at the Senegal and Goree were also reduced. Another of those expeditions to which Mr. Pitt was so much attached was sent to the north coast of France. It landed at Concale, whence it advanced to St. Malo, where it destroyed the shipping and naval stores; but as the enemy was collecting a large force, the troops were re-embarked, and the fleet moved on to Cherbourg. A hard gale which came on prevented their landing at that place, and the expedition returned to St. Helens. These expeditions, in which the cost was great and the damage done to the enemy trifling, were not unaptly styled "A scheme to break windows with guineas."

VICTORIES IN AMERICA, IN INDIA, AND ON THE SEA (1759 A.D.)

The year 1759 is one of the most glorious in the naval and military annals of England. Admiral Boscawen, who commanded in the Mediterranean, where he was blockading the port of Toulon, being obliged to retire to Gibraltar for water and repairs, the Toulon fleet, under M. de la Clue came out with the hope of being able to pass the straits. They succeeded in their object; but they were descried off the coast of Barbary; and Boscawen, though he did not hear of it till seven in the evening and most of his ships had their topmasts struck and sails unbent, by great exertions got to sea by ten that night. Next day (August 10th) he came up with them and took one ship, and the following day, off the bay of Lagos, he destroyed the admiral's ship, the *Ocean*, and three others.

In this year also was fought (August 1st) the great battle of Minden, in which the English infantry covered themselves with glory, while the blame of the victory's not being more complete was laid on the inactivity of Lord

George Sackville who commanded the cavalry of the right wing. By sentence of a court-martial in the following year this officer was dismissed the service, and his name was struck out of the list of privy-councillors.[e]

When the English minister cast his eyes on the condition of Canada, the prospect would have been disheartening to anyone but himself. In all the essentials of power the enemy had an incontestable superiority. A fortress at the Fall of Niagara was garrisoned by six hundred French. Lake Champlain was commanded by their small sloops of war, and Quebec itself was a position of great natural advantages, and strengthened with all the art of the engineer. The defenders were trained soldiers, assisted by militia and native Indians, and amounted to upwards of ten thousand men. But while the great blow was preparing under the suggestions of Pitt himself, the indomitable energy of the English character was shown in the achievements of the local commanders. Every place was ransacked for aid, and possession taken of every spot of vantage ground. Indians were engaged on the English side as numerously as on the French, and the two civilised nations of Europe had equal cause to be ashamed of the barbarity of their savage allies. While General Amherst launched vessels, built in the roughest way, upon Lake Champlain, and destroyed the French flotilla, Sir William Johnstone, a civilian with an innate genius for war, succeeded, after a severe engagement, in capturing the citadel of Niagara. All further outrage on the British colonies was rendered impossible by the destruction of the French superiority on those inland seas; and when the way was cleared by these successes, and only the great castle of Quebec dominated over the colony, Wolfe made his appearance on the Isle of Orleans a little below the city, and interrupted the communications of the garrison by occupying the St. Lawrence. Montcalm, the French commandant, was equal to the occasion, and kept constant watch on the proceedings of his enterprising assailant. Wolfe moved up the river, and failed in making a lodgment on the shore; but his attention had been attracted by a steep bank rising from the water's edge to the level platform above, which had evidently been considered so impracticable that it was left undefended by outpost or rampart. Orders were given to get the boats all ready to float down the stream, and embarking his whole force in a very dark night, the anchors were lifted, and the flotilla noiselessly glided down. A rush was made up the precipice when they landed, and, following closely with the main body of his forces, Wolfe found himself, at break of day on the 12th of September, in possession of the Heights of Abraham, in rear of the least defended portion of the town.

Montcalm, thus out-generalled, resolved to fight, and if courage and numbers could avail, he had every prospect of success. Wolfe, during that dark voyage to the landing place, had repeated in a whisper to his officers Gray's beautiful *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*, then recently published; and the choice of the poem was afterwards remembered as ominous of his approaching fate. He had dwelt particularly, we may suppose, on the line, "The paths of glory lead but to the grave"; for if death and defeat had been the result of his attempt, they would only have realised the forebodings contained in a letter he wrote to the minister describing the difficulties of his position. When the depression which had seized the public on this intelligence was relieved by the arrival of the next dispatch announcing the battle of Abraham, the capture of Quebec, and the submission of many of the French occupants of Canada, the joy was universal, and the hero's name was on every lip. Particulars were inquired into, and the triumph of the people rose higher than ever when they heard the last words of their favourite soldier. He had been

wounded in the breast, and was lying bleeding on the ground. An officer near him said, "They run, sir; they run!" Wolfe raised his head, and asked curiously, "Who run?" "The French." "Thank God! I die content," was the reply, and in a few minutes he died. His gallant rival, Montcalm, was also carried mortally wounded from the field. When he was told he had no chance of surviving, he said, "So much the better; I shall not see the fall of Quebec." But the fall of Quebec was but the prelude to greater triumphs. The whole English force was directed on the town of Montreal. It was surrounded on all sides; and the governor, with too much generosity to waste his comrades' lives, capitulated to Lord Amherst. France was without a citadel or a soldier in North America, and Canada became thenceforth a possession of the British crown. No pang of humiliation embittered the transference of the French to their new king. Their civil and religious rights were secured. They became fellow-citizens, and not a conquered colony. As if to mark that their connection is one of equality and not force, a tall column is erected in one of the public squares of Quebec with the simple words inscribed on it — "Wolfe. Montcalm."

Another young man had risen in India to be the avenger of the wrongs suffered by the English residents in Calcutta, whom the tyrannical ruler of that country had immured in the Black Hole till only a few survived. Clive's great battle of Plassy was almost contemporaneous with Pitt's appointment to office; and victories in Hindostan were responded to by triumphs in other parts of the world. Cherbourg was taken and destroyed. The French settlements on the African coast were seized. In the intervals of his own triumphs, the minister listened to the joy-bells ringing for the successes of his German ally. He pleased the king by breaking the humiliating convention which the duke of Cumberland had entered into at Closter-Seven, and taking the Hanoverian troops again into his pay. England and Prussia defied the whole world; and with a king so indomitable as Frederick, and a minister so high-spirited as Pitt, eventual defeat or lengthened despondency was impossible.[l]

Parliament was opened by commission on the 13th of November. Peace was talked of; but it was urged that such supplies should be given as would enable his majesty "to sustain and press, with effect, all our extensive operations against the enemy." In the course of the session fifteen millions and a half was voted for supplies — an enormous sum by comparison with the estimates of previous years of war. Pitt on the 20th moved that a public monument should be erected to the memory of General Wolfe. He moved also the thanks of the house to the generals and admirals, whose merit, he said, had equalled those who have beaten armadas — "May I anticipate?" cried he, "those who *will* beat armadas." At the hour at which Pitt used this remarkable expression, a naval battle was being fought, which made his anticipation look like some mysterious sympathy which outran the ordinary means of intelligence — the "shadows before" which a sanguine mind sees in "coming events." Admiral Hawke was driven by the equinoctial gales from his blockade of Brest. Conflans, the French admiral, came out with twenty-one ships of the line and four frigates. Admiral Duff was off Quiberon Bay with his squadron; and Conflans hoped to attack him before Hawke could come to the rescue; But Hawke did return; and then Conflans hurried to the mouth of the Vilaine — fancying himself secure amidst the rocks and shoals on that shore to which the Britons sailed to the aid of the Veneti. The danger of a sea-fight in such a perilous navigation had no terrors for Hawke. The pilot pointed out the danger. "Lay me alongside the French admiral," was Hawke's reply to the pilot's remonstrance. "You have done your duty,

but now obey my orders." The fight went on till night whilst a tempest was raging. Signal guns of vessels in distress were heard on every side. When the morning came, two British ships were found to be stranded, but their crews were saved. Four of the French fleet had been sunk, amongst which was the admiral's ship. Two had struck. The rest had fled up the Vilaine. This final victory put an end to all those apprehensions of a descent upon England, which prevailed before Pitt had infused his spirit into commanders by land and sea. The French admiral, Thurot, was to have co-operated with Conflans in an attempt at invasion. He landed in the north of Ireland; attacked Carrickfergus, which was bravely defended by seventy-two men; and then went again to sea, having plundered the town, and carried off the mayor and three other inhabitants as his prisoners.

It was the determination to believe nothing impossible to a strong will, and to think no loss irretrievable, which sustained Frederick of Prussia through the reverses of 1759 — the most disastrous of all his campaigns. The defeat by the Russians at Kunersdorf would have annihilated a less resolute man. But he rallied; and he fought through another year of chequered fortune, during which his own territories suffered the extremities of misery, to win the two victories of Legnitz and of Torgau.



A Corner of St. Paul's

DEATH OF GEORGE II (1760 A.D.)

The year 1760 was not a year of excitement to the English people. The war went on; but even the defence of the conquests of 1759 required no great exertions. Quebec was besieged; but the besiegers were compelled to retire, when an English fleet appeared in the St. Lawrence. There was little domestic agitation, except a ministerial difference with the court, which somewhat detracts from the dignity of Pitt, in his exhibition of contempt for that influence which prevented his brother-in-law, Earl Temple, from obtaining the Garter. Parliament had little more to do than vote supplies. "Success," said Pitt, "had produced unanimity, not unanimity success." A sudden event came, destined in a short time to change the whole aspect of affairs — to involve England once again in political contests more to be dreaded than the ordinary course of party warfare — more to be dreaded, because other leaders appeared than those of parliament, and the representatives of the people were not on the popular side. The reign of George II came suddenly to a close on the 25th of October. The king had risen at his usual hour of six: had taken his cup of chocolate; and had been left alone by his attendants. A noise as of a heavy fall was heard; then a groan. The old man lay on the ground, and never spoke more. The right ventricle of his heart had burst.[k]

LECKY'S ESTIMATE OF GEORGE II

Without being in any sense of the word a great, or in any high sense of the word a good man, this sovereign deserves, I think, at least in his public capacity, more respect than he has received, and England owes much to his government. He was, it is true, narrow, ignorant, ill-tempered, avaricious, and somewhat vain, exceedingly faulty in his domestic relations, and entirely destitute of all taste for literature, science, or art; but he was also an eminently honest, truthful, and honourable man; and during a period of thirty-three years, and often under circumstances of strong temptation, he discharged with remarkable fidelity the duties of a constitutional monarch. He was unfaithful to his marriage-bed, but he had a sincere respect and admiration for his wife; and, to the great advantage of the country, he allowed himself to be governed mainly by her superior intellect. He was extremely fond of war, and showed distinguished personal courage at Oudenarde and at Dettingen; but he cordially recognised the ability of the most pacific minister of the age, and he supported Walpole with honourable constancy through all the vicissitudes of his career. He loved money greatly, but he lived strictly within the revenues that were assigned to him, and was the most economical English sovereign since Elizabeth. He was a despotic sovereign in Germany, as well as a constitutional sovereign in England; but the habits he had formed in the first capacity never induced him to trench in the smallest degree upon the liberties of England, and on several occasions he sacrificed frankly his strongest preferences and antipathies.

It was thus that he allowed Walpole to restrain him from the war which he desired; that he received Newcastle as minister; that he discarded Carteret, who, of all politicians, was most pleasing to him; that he consented, though only after a long struggle, to give his confidence to Pitt, who had grossly insulted him. He yielded, ungracefully and ungraciously indeed, and usually with an explosion of violent language, but yet honestly and frankly; and no minister to whom he had ever given his confidence had cause to complain of him. "The late good old king," said Chatham, in the succeeding reign, "had something of humanity, and amongst many other royal virtues he possessed justice, truth, and sincerity in an eminent degree, so that he had something about him by which it was possible to know whether he liked you or disliked you." He was a respectable military administrator and an industrious man of business, and some of the sayings recorded of him exhibit considerable shrewdness and point. Courtly divines and poets were accustomed to eulogise him in language which would be exaggerated if applied to the genius of Napoleon or to the virtues of Marcus Aurelius. An impartial historian will acknowledge that the reign of George II was in its early part one of the most prosperous and tranquil, and in its latter part one of the most glorious periods of English history; and that the moderation with which the sovereign exercised his prerogative, and the fidelity with which he sacrificed his own wishes in the support of his ministers, contributed in no small measure to the result.[m]



CHAPTER XV

THIRTY YEARS OF GEORGE THE THIRD

[1760–1791 A.D.]

George III — whose reign, including the years of regency, proved to be the longest and the most eventful in the English annals — was, at the time of his accession, twenty-two years of age. His figure was tall and strongly built; his countenance open and engaging. A heartfelt and unaffected Christian piety formed the foundation of his character. In the private and domestic virtues few men, and certainly no monarch, ever excelled him. But his manner in conversation did great injustice to his endowments. His rapid utterance and frequent reiteration of trivial phrases — his unceasing "What! What!" and "Hey! Hey!" — gave him an aspect of shallowness to mere superficial observers, and obscured (literary subjects apart) the clear good sense, the sterling judgment within. Thus also his own style in writing was not always strictly grammatical, but always earnest, plain, and to the point. To the exalted duties of his station he devoted himself with conscientious and constant attention. At all times, and under all vicissitudes — whether in victory or in disaster — whether counselled by ministers of his own choice, or in the hands of a party he abhorred — he was most truly and emphatically an honest man. — STANHOPE.[b]

THE young prince of Wales—henceforth King George III—was riding with Lord Bute in the neighbourhood of Kew, when a groom first brought him the hasty tidings of his grandfather's decease. Ere long the groom was followed by Pitt as secretary of state. His majesty, after returning to Kew, proceeded to Carlton house, the residence of the princess dowager, to meet the privy council and, according to ancient form, read to them a short address, which he had directed Bute to prepare. Next morning he was proclaimed in London with the usual solemnities. On these and the ensuing days the demeanour of the young monarch was generally and justly extolled. He seemed neither elated, nor yet abashed and perplexed, by his sudden accession; all he said or did was calm and equable, full of graciousness and goodness. The address to his council was well and feelingly delivered, and he dismissed the guards on himself to wait on his grandfather's body. "He has behaved throughout,"

says Horace Walpole, a critic of no courtly temper, "with the greatest propriety, dignity, and decency."

From the first moment of the new reign the ascendancy of Bute had been foreseen and foretold. Only a few days afterwards a hand-bill was affixed to the royal exchange, with these words: "No petticoat government—no Scotch favourite—no Lord George Sackville!" Of the second of these surmises confirmation was not, indeed, slow in coming. On the next morning but one after his accession the king directed that his brother, Edward duke of York, and his groom of the stole, Lord Bute, should be sworn of the privy council; and Bute appears henceforward to have been consulted on all the principal affairs. The quick-eyed tribe of courtiers at once perceived that this was the channel through which the royal favours would most probably flow, and to which their own applications would most wisely be addressed.

But while the king thus indulged his predilection towards the friend of his early years, he received all his grandfather's ministers with cordial kindness, and pressed them to continue in his service. Pitt declared his willingness to remain on the same footing as before. Newcastle, now sixty-six years of age, made at first a show of resignation, with a view, no doubt, of enhancing his importance, but as he took care to consult only such followers and expectants as had an interest in his stay, he did not fail to receive earnest entreaties in support of his real inclinations, and magnanimously consented to resume the treasury.

On the 31st of October the king highly gratified the more serious portion of his people by a proclamation "for the encouragement of piety and virtue, and for preventing and punishing of vice, profaneness, and immorality." Such proclamations are worth little more than the paper they are written on when not consonant to the personal conduct of the sovereign, but in this case the document was happily upheld by half a century of undeviating royal example. It was also observed, with satisfaction, that the archbishop of Canterbury, proud of so promising a pupil, and having no longer a Lady Yarmouth to encounter, had become frequent in attendance at the court.

The parliament, which had been prorogued for a few days on account of the demise of the Crown, was on the 18th of November opened by the king. Never, it was remarked, had there been greater crowds at such a ceremony, nor louder acclamations. The royal speech had been drawn up by Lord Hardwicke, and revised by Pitt; but when complete his majesty is said to have added with his own hand a paragraph as follows: "Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton; and the peculiar happiness of my life will ever consist in promoting the welfare of a people whose loyalty and warm attachment to me I consider as the greatest and most permanent security of my throne." Such cordial language met with no less cordial responses from both houses. "What a lustre," exclaim the lords, "does it cast upon the name of Briton, when you, sir, are pleased to esteem it among your glories!" "We acknowledge," say the commons, "with the liveliest sentiments of duty, gratitude, and exultation of mind, these most affecting and animating words."

In other passages his majesty's speech professed a thorough concurrence in the counsels which during the last few years had guided his grandfather's reign. It praised the "magnanimity and perseverance, almost beyond example," of his good brother the king of Prussia; to British victories it adverted in becoming terms of exultation: it declared that his majesty would have been happier still could he have found his kingdoms at peace; "but since," it added, "the ambition, injurious encroachments, and dangerous designs of my

enemies rendered the war both just and necessary, I am determined to prosecute this war with vigour." In conclusion, the king expressed his delight at the present happy extinction of divisions, and recommended to his parliament "unanimity." Never was any recommendation more fully complied with; scarce one public difference of opinion appeared. Another annual subsidy of £670,000 to the king of Prussia was proposed by Pitt, and granted by the house of commons. Supplies to the unprecedented amount of nearly £20,000,000 were cheerfully voted. The civil list for the new reign, on the king's surrendering the branches of his hereditary revenue, was fixed at £800,000 a year. Nothing was heard in either house but dutiful addresses and loyal congratulations.



GEORGE III
(1738–1820)

But, however fair and specious seemed the unanimity which greeted the new reign, it was no more than apparent. Beneath that smooth surface jealousy, rancour, and ambition were already beginning to stir and heave. A small knot of grasping families among the peers—which wished to be thought exclusively the friends of the Hanover succession, and which had hitherto looked upon court officers, honours, and emoluments as almost an heirloom belonging to themselves — viewed with envious eyes the admission of new claimants, not as involving any principle of politics, but only as contracting their own chances of appointment. Such malcontents found a congenial mouthpiece in the duke of Newcastle.

On the other hand, the cabals of Bute were to the full as numerous and as crooked as Newcastle's. It was his object to hold himself forth as the sole expounder of the king's wishes and opinions — as the single and mysterious high priest of the royal oracle. On the 21st of March the parliament was dissolved by a proclamation; and the *Gazette* of the same day announced several changes in the ministry. On the 25th of March the *Gazette* made known to the world that his majesty had been pleased to appoint the earl of Bute one of his secretaries of state — Holderness being the minister removed. Neither Pitt nor Holderness himself had received any notice of the contemplated change as to the seals until that change was matured, and on the very point of execution. To soften Pitt, his kinsman, James Grenville,

was promoted from a lordship of the treasury to the lucrative post of cofferer of the household. Such a concession was not likely to have much weight with such a statesman as Pitt. It must, however, be owned that on this occasion he showed none of that haughty impracticability with which he has been often and not unjustly charged. He patiently endured the want of confidence, indicated by the removal or the appointment of colleagues without his previous knowledge. But he was determined to allow no infringement of his province — to direct with full powers both the war and the negotiations — and to resign his office sooner than sacrifice his judgment.

THE KING'S MARRIAGE AND CORONATION (1761 A.D.)

On the 8th of July an extraordinary privy council was held; all the members in or near town having been summoned, without distinction of office or of party, to meet, as was declared, "on the most urgent and important business." The object, it was concluded on all sides (so carefully had the secret been kept), was to ratify or reject the treaty with France. It proved—to declare a queen. His majesty announced to the council his intended marriage with Charlotte, second sister of the duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, a house of ancient lineage and of tried Protestant principles. Of the princess herself, who was scarcely seventeen, and not remarkable for beauty, little as yet was or could be known. The character of this princess in after life — as queen consort of England for fifty-seven years—confirmed the soundness of the judgment which had raised her to that rank. An ever present, yet unostentatious piety; to the king an affectionate reverence; to her children an unremitting care, prudence, economy, good sense, and good temper—were amongst her excellent qualities. Pure and above all reproach in her own domestic life, she knew how to enforce at her court the virtues, or, at the very least the semblance of the virtues, which she practised. To no other woman, probably, had the cause of good morals in England ever owed so deep an obligation.

The form of announcement to the privy council having been duly gone through at St. James', Earl Harcourt was despatched to Strelitz on another form — a public demand of the princess in marriage. The duchesses of Ancaster and Hamilton and the countess of Effingham were likewise sent over to attend upon the person of their future sovereign. A royal yacht, the *Carolina*, was appointed to convey her, its name being first with much solemnity, and in the presence of all the lords of the admiralty, altered to the *Charlotte*; and the fleet that was to serve as escort was commanded by Anson himself. The contract of marriage having been signed in state, the princess proceeded on her journey amidst great public rejoicings in the towns of Mecklenburg and Hanover, until Cuxhaven, where her highness embarked for England. At length on the 6th of September, and at Harwich, she set foot on English ground. On the 8th she arrived at St. James'. The king met her in the garden, and when she would have fallen at his feet prevented and embraced her. That same afternoon they were married in the chapel royal by the Archbishop of Canterbury. On the ensuing day their majesties held a crowded drawing-room and gave a splendid ball. Horace Walpole, who was present, thus describes her "She is not tall, nor a beauty; pale, and very thin; but looks sensible, and is genteel." And in another letter he adds: "She has done nothing but with good-humour and cheerfulness. She talks a great deal; is easy, civil, and not disconcerted. Her French is tolerable."

The coronation of both their majesties followed on the 22nd of September. Never had there been greater eagerness among all classes of the people to

behold the gorgeous pageant. Thus the platform from St. Margaret's round-house to the church door, which at George II's coronation had been let for £40, produced at this no less than £2,400. Thus, also, any disguise, however humble, was readily assumed as a passport of admission. A gentleman present writes as follows to his friend in the country: "I should tell you that a rank of foot-soldiers was placed on each side within the platform; and it was not a little surprising to see the officers familiarly conversing, and walking arm-in-arm with many of them, till we were let into the secret — that they were gentlemen who had put on the dresses of common soldiers." It has been said—a rumour which we are not able either to confirm or to deny—that, mingled among the spectators, in another disguise, stood the ill-fated pretender to that day's honours — Charles Edward Stuart. The solemn rite in Westminster abbey, and the stately banquet in Westminster hall — when a Dymoke, clad in full armour, and mounted on the same white horse which George II had ridden at Dettingen, asserted, as champion, the king's right against all gainsayers, and flung down his iron gauntlet in defiance — were equally admired for their magnificence.[b]

THE RETIREMENT OF PITT (1761 A.D.)

Meantime the war was still prosecuted. An expedition under Commodore Keppel and General Hodgson succeeded in taking the isle of Belleisle on the coast of Brittany (June 7th). The island of Dominica in the West Indies was also reduced.

France had hitherto been a great sufferer by the war; for she made no progress in Germany, she had lost her colonies, and her commerce had nearly been destroyed. She was therefore anxious for a peace with England, and a treaty for that purpose was entered on; but as she required that England should abandon the king of Prussia and make certain concessions to Spain, Mr. Pitt spurned at the proposals. A treaty, named the Family Compact, had been secretly arranged between the courts of Versailles and Madrid, where Charles III (late king of Naples, and the ablest monarch that Spain has possessed since the days of Philip II) now reigned. It was signed at this time; and Pitt, who, it is said, had procured secret information of its contents, which were hostile to England, proposed in the council to recall the British ambassador from Madrid and to send a fleet to intercept the Spanish galleons; but the majority of the council rejected the measure, affecting to regard it as contrary to good policy and to justice and honour. Finding he could not prevail on them, the haughty minister exclaimed, "I was called to the administration by the voice of the people; to them I have always considered myself accountable for my conduct; and therefore I cannot remain in a situation which makes me responsible for measures I am no longer allowed to guide." Lord Granville, the president of the council, made a dignified and sensible reply.[c]

Pitt, adhering to his first opinion, and having delivered his reasons in writing, on the 5th of October resigned his office. In this course he was followed by Lord Temple. When on the same day he waited on his sovereign to give up the seals, he found the demeanour of the young king most kind and gracious. His majesty expressed his concern at the loss of so able a servant, and offered him any reward in the power of the crown to bestow, but declared that his own judgment was adverse to the sudden declaration of war, adding that if even his cabinet had been unanimous for it he should have felt the greatest difficulty in consenting. Pitt, who appears to have anticipated a

different reception, was deeply touched by the king's cordiality of manner and expression. "I confess, sir," said he, "I had but too much reason to expect your majesty's displeasure. I did not come prepared for this exceeding goodness. Pardon me, sir; it overpowers, it oppresses me." And he burst into tears.

Such then was the close of Pitt's justly renowned administration. Even amidst the full blaze of its glory there arose some murmurs at its vast expense — the only objection of any weight, it seems, that has ever been urged against it. Yet, as a shrewd observer writes at the time, "It has cost us a great deal, it is true, but then we have had success and honour for our money. Before Mr. Pitt came in we spent vast sums only to purchase disgrace and infamy."

THE ASCENDENCY OF BUTE

The retirement of Pitt from the administration left a complete and undisputed ascendency to Bute. It was now his lordship's object to strengthen himself by large and powerful connections. The privy seal was kept in reserve for the duke of Bedford, while the seals of secretary were bestowed upon the earl of Egremont, who had been intended for plenipotentiary at the congress of Augsburg, but who was chiefly remarkable as the son of Sir William Wyndham.

But the most pressing object with Lord Bute was to avert or soften the resentment which the removal of the great commoner might probably excite in the nation. Under these circumstances, on the very day after Pitt's resignation, Bute addressed a letter to him by the king's commands, declaring that his majesty was desirous, nay, "impatient," to confer on him some mark of his royal favour. His majesty, continued Bute, requests some insight into Mr. Pitt's own views and wishes, and meanwhile proposes to him either the government of Canada, combined with residence in England, and a salary of £5,000 a year, or the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster, with as much of emolument and nearly as little of business. The reply of Pitt — after a profusion of obsequious thanks — states himself "too proud to receive any mark of the king's countenance and favour, but, above all, doubly happy could I see those dearer to me than myself comprehended in that monument of royal approbation and goodness with which his majesty shall condescend to distinguish me." In compliance with the hint thus given a peerage was conferred on Lady Hester, by the title of Baroness Chatham, with remainder to her issue male, and a pension of £3,000 a year was granted to Pitt for three lives: namely, his own, Lady Chatham's, and their eldest son's.

The bestowal of the title and the pension on the retiring minister fully attained the object which Lord Bute had in view. He was enabled in the same *Gazette* to insert, first the resignation, next the honours and rewards, and, lastly, a despatch from the earl of Bristol, stating at large the favourable and pacific assurances of the Spanish court. "These," says Burke, "were the barriers that were opposed against that torrent of popular rage which it was apprehended would proceed from this resignation. And the truth is, they answered their end perfectly; this torrent for some time was beaten back, almost diverted into an opposite course."

On the 3d of November the new parliament met. The king's speech on opening the session was nearly in the same strain as those former speeches which Pitt had drawn; like them it promised a vigorous prosecution of the war; like them it praised the "magnanimity and ability" of the king of Prus-

sia. How far Lord Bute was in earnest when framing these expressions will presently be seen. Meanwhile the turn of the debates afforded Pitt several opportunities to explain or vindicate his recent course of policy. He spoke with unwonted temper and moderation, defending his own conduct without arraigning that of his former colleagues. If, as some detractors allege, his harangues at this time were inflammatory, they were so from the force of his topics, and not from the violence of his language.

Notwithstanding the eloquence and the popularity of Pitt, it appears that he had at this time but few parliamentary followers. On a motion to produce the papers respecting the Spanish negotiation so scanty were his numbers that he could not venture a division.

WAR WITH SPAIN (1762–1763 A.D.)

During this time the progress of the Spanish negotiations had been precisely such as Pitt had foreseen and foretold. On the 21st of September Lord Bristol announced to the secretary of state that the *flota* had safely anchored in the bay of Cadiz; and on the 2nd of November he adds: "Two ships have lately arrived at Cadiz with very extraordinary rich cargoes from the West Indies, so that all the wealth that was expected from Spanish America is now safe in Old Spain." In that very same despatch of the 2nd of November the ambassador has to report a "surprising change in General Wall's discourse," and "haughty language now held by this court, so different from all the former professions." It now became evident, even to Lord Bristol's apprehension, that the Spaniards had been pacific only while awaiting and expecting their resources for war. The claims of Spain upon England were urged anew in the most peremptory terms, while the request of the court of London for some information or explanation respecting the rumoured Family Compact was met with a positive refusal. Further notes or further interviews served only to widen the breach. Before the close of the year the earl of Bristol received orders to leave Madrid, and the count de Fuentes orders to leave London. All hope of conciliation had vanished, and a declaration of war against Spain was issued on the 4th of January, 1762.[b]

A new change in the British cabinet took place in the following month of May; the duke of Newcastle resigned, and Lord Bute now occupied the post of which he was so covetous, but for which he was utterly unfit, and became the prime minister. The duke of Newcastle, whose fidgety temper, vanity, jealousy, meanness of spirit, and disregard of promises were the general topics of ridicule,[1] had, by his great wealth, his command of votes in the commons, a certain degree of talent of his own, and the far superior abilities of his late brother, maintained himself in office with little interruption since the year 1724. He now retired with some dignity; for though he had greatly injured his private property by his zeal for the house of Brunswick, as it was termed, he refused a pension when offered, saying, that "if he could be no longer permitted to serve his country, he was at least determined not to be a burden to it."

The courts of France and Spain called on the king of Portugal to break through all the ties of gratitude, honour, and interest, and join in the confederacy against England. On his refusal, they both declared war against him, and their troops invaded his kingdom at three several points. The king called

[1 "Newcastle," says Gardiner,[h] "was ignorant and incompetent, and made himself ridiculous by his fussy attempts to appear energetic. He always, it was said, lost half an hour in the morning and spent the rest of the day in running after it."]

on England for aid, which was promptly afforded. English troops were sent to Portugal, where the supreme command was given to the count de la Lippe-Buckeburg, a German prince of high military character, and the invaders were speedily obliged to recross the frontiers.

An expedition of considerable magnitude, under Lord Albemarle and Admiral Pocock, sailed from Portsmouth on the 5th of March. Its object was to give a heavy blow to the Spanish commerce; and its destination was Havana, in the isle of Cuba, which it reached on the 5th of June. Many difficulties, from climate and from the number of the garrison, the strength of their defenses, and the gallantry of their resistance, impeded the operations of the besiegers; but the abilities of the commanders, seconded by the indomitable spirit and courage of their men, overcame them all, and the town at length surrendered (August 14th). The loss to Spain was fourteen sail of the line and four frigates taken or destroyed in the harbour, and treasure and merchandise to the amount of £3,000,000. This was perhaps the greatest and richest conquest ever made by the British arms. It was not, however, the only loss sustained by Spain. An expedition from Madras in India, under Admiral Cornish and Sir William Draper, took Manila, the capital of the Philippine islands. All the public property was given up to the English, and a ransom of £800,000 was agreed to be paid for the private property. Two ships of the British squadron then intercepted and took the *Santissima Trinidad*, a ship from Acapulco with a cargo worth £600,000. To add to the misfortunes of Spain, the *Santa Hermione*, from Peru, with treasure on board to the amount of £1,000,000, was captured off Cape St. Vincent. The losses of France this year were the islands of Martinique, Grenada, St. Lucia, Tobago, and St. Vincent, in the West Indies.

These brilliant successes almost turned the head of the nation: visions of glory and wealth floated before the public eye: and the mercantile interest clamoured loudly for continuing a war by which they were great gainers. The ministry, however, were not so dazzled; they saw that all the objects of the war were gained, the pride of the house of Bourbon was humbled, the king of Prussia was secured: at the same time the expense to England had been and would be enormous. The overtures of France for peace were therefore readily listened to; and both parties being in earnest, the preliminaries were readily settled at Fontainebleau (November 3rd). In spite of the declamation of Mr. Pitt and his party, they were approved of by large majorities in both houses of parliament, and a treaty was finally signed at Paris (February 10th, 1763).

By this treaty England was to retain all Canada with Cape Breton and the other islands in the gulf of St. Lawrence, and Louisiana eastward of the Mississippi: in the West Indies, Dominica, St. Vincent's, and Tobago: in Africa, Senegal. She was to receive back Minorca in exchange for Belleisle, and was secured divers advantages in India. Spain ceded to her the two Floridas, gave up all claim to fish on the banks of Newfoundland, and allowed the English to cut logwood on the coast of Honduras. England restored all her other conquests.

England has never concluded a more honourable peace than this, and Lord Bute was justified in declaring that "he wished no other epitaph to be inscribed on his tomb than that he was the adviser of it." Mr. Pitt, who, great as he undoubtedly was, had too violent a lust for war, condemned it: the selfish king of Prussia exclaimed against it, as if England were bound to waste her blood and treasure for his aggrandisement: but history pronounces the Peace of Fontainebleau an honourable termination of a war which had added seventy-five millions to the national debt of Great Britain.

BUTE IS SUCCEEDED BY GRENVILLE (1763 A.D.)

Soon after the conclusion of the peace, Lord Bute retired from office. He was never popular; his manners were cold and repulsive; his partiality for his countrymen, the Scots, was extreme; and the outcry against the peace was general. The passing of a bill for an excise on cider raised the clamour to its height. He therefore resigned a post for which he felt himself unsuited, alleging his preference for domestic life and literary retirement.[c]

This sudden step, it is said, took the king by surprise nearly as much as the people. After the first pause for wonder, men began to inquire Lord Bute's motive, and according to their own prejudices or partialities assigned the most various — from a philosophic love of retirement down to a craven fear. According to some friends he had always declared that as soon as he had signed the peace, and carried through the budget, he should consider his objects as attained and his official life as ended. Others thought that his nerves had been shaken by the libels and clamours against him.

On calmly reviewing the whole of this transaction there seems no reason to doubt that, according to Lord Bute's own statement of his motives, his coolness with his colleagues and his sense of duty to his sovereign might weigh with him no less than the violence of his opponents. It is certain, however, that he did not then, nor for some time afterwards, lose his back-stairs influence, nor lay aside his ambitious hopes. It is probable that he expected to allay the popular displeasure by a temporary retirement, and meanwhile, in merchants' phrase, to carry on the same firm with other clerks.

With Lord Bute retired both Dashwood and Fox. For the former an ancient barony, to which he was one of the co-heirs, was called out of abeyance, and thus he became Lord le Despencer. Fox was likewise raised to the upper house as Lord Holland — the same title which had been already bestowed upon his wife. But although Lord Holland, during two more years, continued a placeman, it may be said of him that he had ceased to be a politician. Henceforth, until his death in 1774, he took little or no further part in public affairs. In his retirement his principal pleasure was the construction of a fantastic villa at Kingsgate, on the coast of Thanet.

The successor to Lord Bute proved to be George Grenville, who on the very day that the favourite resigned kissed hands on his appointment as both first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. No one doubted that this choice had been made under the influence of Lord Bute, and was designed for the preservation of that influence. At the same time it was intimated to the foreign ministers that the king had now entrusted the principal direction of his affairs to three persons, namely, to Mr. Grenville and the secretaries of state, lords Egremont and Halifax. Thus it happened that the chiefs of the new administration received from the public the name of the Triumvirate.[b]

THE AFFAIR OF WILKES AND THE *North Briton* NO XLV

When the Grenville administration was formed, a tremendous fire was opened on it from the press. The most destructive battery was a periodical named the *North Briton*, conducted by John Wilkes, esquire, member for Aylesbury, a man of considerable talent, but profligate in character and ruined in fortune. He was, like almost every demagogue, strongly aristocratic in feeling; but being refused a lucrative post, he took up the trade of patriotism, and commenced a series of attacks on the persons and measures of the minis-

ters. Of these they took no notice, till in the forty-fifth number of his paper he assailed the speech from the throne (April 19, 1763), accusing the king of having uttered direct falsehoods. A general warrant was issued from the office of the secretary of state to seize the authors, printers, and publishers of the *North Briton*, and their papers, and bring them before the secretary. Wilkes was accordingly taken and committed to the Tower. On his application to the court of common pleas for a writ of *habeas corpus*, it was granted, and Chief-Justice Pratt having decided that his privilege of parliament (which can only be forfeited by treason, felony, or breach of the peace) had been violated, he was discharged.

The attorney-general then commenced proceedings against him for a libel, and Wilkes, now the idol of the mob, took every mode of courting prosecution. The ministers, instead of leaving the courts of law to deal with him, unwisely brought the matter before the house of commons, by whom number forty-five of the *North Briton* was voted to be a false, scandalous, and seditious libel against the king and both houses, and was ordered to be burned by the common hangman. At the same time, as Wilkes had printed at a press in his own house a poem called an *Essay on Woman*, in which impiety contended with obscenity, and had affixed to the notes on it the name of Bishop Warburton, it was voted in the house of lords to address his majesty to order a prosecution against Mr. Wilkes for breach of privilege and for blasphemy. It was very injudiciously arranged that the mover should be Lord Sandwich, a man whose own private character was anything but immaculate.

The question of privilege was then taken up in the house of commons; and in spite of the eloquence of Mr. Pitt, and in the face of the decision of the court of common pleas, it was decided by a large majority that privilege of parliament does not extend to the case of writers and publishers of seditious libels. With this decision the house of lords concurred after a long debate.

A riot took place when the attempt was made to burn the *North Briton;* and when several of the persons who had been arrested brought actions against the messengers, juries gave them damages. Wilkes himself brought actions, against the two secretaries of state, and against Mr. Wood, the under-secretary, and he obtained a verdict against the latter for £1,000 and costs. On this occasion Chief-Justice Pratt pronounced the general warrant to be illegal, and a similar decision by Lord Mansfield, the chief justice of the king's bench, set the question at rest.

Wilkes was expelled the house; he was tried and convicted for publishing number forty-five and the *Essay on Woman;* and as he did not appear in court to receive sentence, he was outlawed, and fled to France.[c]

THE STAMP ACT (1765 A.D.)

We shall see, in a few years, John Wilkes, and all the chorus of his political drama, passing away, "like an insubstantial pageant faded." Another scene was to be opened, which, devoid of interest as it might at first appear, was to be developed in a series of long-continued action which involved not only the interests of England but eventually the destinies of the Anglo-Saxon family, and incidentally of all the human race. The triumphant administration of Mr. Pitt had given a firmness and compactness to the British Empire in North America, which appeared to promise a long continuance of prosperity to the mother country and her colonies. These colonies were founded upon principles of freedom and toleration, by a race nurtured in those principles, and, in some cases, seeking for a happier field for their establishment than they could

find under a temporary suspension of the old English right to be well governed. The colonial assemblies or parliaments of the thirteen provinces of North America, elected by the people, trained men of industry and ability to the consideration of questions of public policy and local administration. The trade between Great Britain and her colonies had been always based upon principles wholly opposite to those of commercial freedom. The Englishman was forbidden to smoke any other than Virginia-grown tobacco, and the Virginian could wear no other coat than one of English-made cloth. It was an age of regulation and balance in small matters as well as in great — in commerce as in war. No particular injury was contemplated towards the colonists in the trade regulations; although the monopoly of the English merchants was regarded as the supreme advantage of colonial possessions. The state regarded these colonists as a happy family of good children, to be kept in order by that paternal authority which knew best what was for their advantage. At last the parent took up the fancy of compelling the children to pay something in acknowledgment of the heavy cost of past protection, and as a contribution towards the expense of that protection in future. A Stamp Act to raise £60,000 produced a war that cost £100,000,000.

On the 10th of March, 1764, Mr. Grenville moved in the commons a series of resolutions for imposing small duties on certain articles of American commerce; to "be paid into the receipt of his majesty's exchequer, and there reserved, to be from time to time disposed of by parliament, towards defraying the necessary expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the British colonies and plantations in America." Following this resolution for the appropriation of the produce of duties upon the foreign trade of the American colonies, came the 14th of the series, in these words: "That towards further defraying the said expenses, it may be proper to charge certain stamp duties in the said colonies and plantations." Walpole says, "This famous bill, little understood here at that time, was less attended to. The colonies, in truth, were highly alarmed, and had sent over representations so strong against being taxed here, that it was not thought decent or safe to present their memorial to parliament." The colonists could not see, in Grenville's proposition for a paltry tax, any other than the beginning of an attempt to tax them largely without their own consent. They denied the right of the house of commons to tax them unless they had representatives in that house. Grenville had rashly termed his resolution for a stamp act as "an experiment towards further aid." Where was the system, thus begun, to end? The Stamp Act was passed, without a debate or division in the house of lords; and it received the royal assent on the 22nd of March, 1765. The act was to come into operation on the 1st of November. When the enactment first became known in America, there was a deep expression of grief, but scarcely any manifestation of resentment. But in the state assemblies, a determination not to submit without remonstrance was quickly manifested. Virginia, the most attached to the monarchy of all the provinces — the most opposed to democratic principles — was the first to demand a repeal of the statute by which the colonists were taxed without their own consent. The resolutions of the assembly of Virginia went forth as an example to the other provinces, many of which passed similar resolutions.

Yet the desire almost universally prevailed amongst the colonists to regard themselves as bound in allegiance to the British crown. The alienation was a gradual result of a mistaken view of the policy that ought to prevail, between a colony that had grown to a real capacity for independence and the parent state. It was a result, also, of that system of parliamentary corruption and of court influence which at that time entered so largely into the government

of England. Walpole[d] says that the Stamp Act "removed the burden of a tax to distant shoulders", that Grenville contemplated his measure "in the light of easing and improving an over-burdened country." Burke in his memorable speech on American taxation on the 19th of April, 1774, exhibited this fact more distinctly. The Americans, Burke says, "thought themselves proceeded against as delinquents, or at best as people under suspicion of delinquency." They were irritated enough before the Stamp Act came. They adopted such counter measures as appeared efficient to a people that had not yet begun to feel their own strength, and understand their own resources. They agreed amongst themselves to wear no English manufactured cloth; and to encourage the breed of sheep that they might manufacture cloth from their own wool. They protested against the English monopoly; and they devised, feebly enough, such measures as they thought might overcome it. At last what Burke calls "the scheme of a regular plantation parliamentary revenue" was established — "a revenue not substituted in the place of, but superadded to, a monopoly, which monoply was enforced at the same time with additional strictness, and the execution put into military hands." It was one of the misfortunes of Mr. Grenville's scheme that his Stamp Act was popular in England. "Great was the applause of this measure here. In England we cried out for new taxes on America, whilst they cried out that they were nearly crushed with those which the war and their own grants had brought upon them." Such was the commencement of a struggle which ended in the independence of the American colonies.

THE REGENCY BILL (1765 A.D.)

During the progress of the bill for the taxation of the American colonies, the king was attacked by a serious indisposition. On the nature of that illness the greatest secrecy was maintained. The family of George III at that time consisted of George, prince of Wales, born on the 12th of August, 1762; and of Frederick, duke of York, born on the 16th of August, 1763. The differences of opinion between the king and his ministers upon the Regency Bill are of minor importance in a view of public affairs at this distance of time, and require no elaborate detail. The king wished that the power of nominating a regent should be vested in himself. The ministry thought it desirable that a regency during the minority of the successor to the throne should be distinctly named. The king, indignant at the conduct of his ministers, sent for his uncle the duke of Cumberland; and commissioned him to negotiate with Mr. Pitt for a return to power. It was an embarrassing time in which to contemplate a change of ministry. America was getting into a flame of anger at the Stamp Act. London was terrified by riots of Spitalfields weavers, upon the rejection of a bill which would have prohibited the importation of foreign silks. What Burke calls "the vertigo of the Regency Bill" produced changes which an untoward aspect of national affairs might have failed to effect.

The rumours that the king contemplated a change of ministers produced an opinion in one then unconnected with official life, but who looked upon political affairs, and public men, from a higher elevation than most observers of the shifting scenes of that time. Edmund Burke announced to a friend, with reference to Pitt, that "this crisis will show whether pride or patriotism be predominant in his character." The duke of Cumberland went to Hayes, and there learned the "plan of politics" which Pitt chose "to dictate"—that general warrants should be repudiated; that dismissed officers should be restored; that Protestant alliances should be formed, to balance the Family

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Compact of the Bourbons. There was some difference of opinion about appointments, but these might have been removed. Earl Temple was sent for; and although he was intended for the office of first lord of the treasury, he persuaded his brother-in-law to give up the negotiation. He was seeking a ministerial alliance with his brother, George Grenville, to whom he had become reconciled, and he conceived the plan of inducing Pitt to join them; in which union he fancied he saw a power that would enable them to stand alone without the support of ducal whigs or courtly tories. The king was obliged to call back his ministers, Grenville and Bedford. They dictated terms to the king, who bowed to the ministers to retire, and said "if he had not broken out into the most profuse sweat he should have been suffocated with indignation." Pitt was again applied to; and he again declined to take office without Lord Temple, who persevered in his resolution, at an audience which both had of the king.

ROCKINGHAM ASSUMES THE MINISTRY (1765 A.D.)

The whig families were again resorted to. The duke of Newcastle again obtained a post of honour in receiving the privy seal; the duke of Grafton became one of the secretaries of state, with General Conway as the other secretary; and the marquis of Rockingham was named first lord of the treasury. Untried colts and worn-out hacks were harnessed together, to drag the state coach through the sloughs in which it was travelling. They pulled honestly side by side for a brief journey; and then came to a dead stop. This ministry had the lasting credit of bringing one man of extraordinary genius into public life, though in a subordinate situation. The eloquent gratitude of Edmund Burke to the marquis of Rockingham has made us think favourably of the head of this ministry, for "sound principles, enlargement of mind, clear and sagacious sense, and unshaken fortitude." Such qualities were needed at such a crisis.

The Rockingham administration came into office on the 10th of July. Parliament had been prorogued previous to their appointment; and a few months passed on without any disturbing events. At last came intelligence which demanded grave and anxious consideration. In the autumn of 1765, various letters were received by Mr. Secretary Conway, from official persons in America, relating the particulars of riots at Boston and in the colony of Rhode Island. At Boston, the effigy of the gentleman who had accepted the office of stamp-distributor was hung upon a tree, which was subsequently called Liberty Tree; his house was sacked, and he was compelled to promise to resign his office. These riots went on for a fortnight, with much wanton destruction of property. A letter from New York of the 25th of September, to Conway, says "the general scheme concerted throughout seems to have been, first, by menace or force, to oblige the stamp-officers to resign their employments, in which they have generally succeeded; and next, to destroy the stamped papers upon their arrival — that, having no stamps, necessity might be an excuse for the dispatch of business without them." But more important than the outrages of mobs were the solemn proceedings of a congress at New York, comprising delegates from nine assemblies. They continued their sittings for three weeks; and then passed fourteen resolutions, in which they maintained the right of every British subject to be taxed only by his own consent, or that of his legal representatives; and that their only legal representatives were those annually chosen to serve as members of the assembly of each province.

The administration was in a position of extreme difficulty. The strong opposition of the colonial assemblies was a reason for ministers re-considering the measures of their predecessors; but a submission to the violent resistance to the authority of the imperial legislature would be to manifest an unworthy fear, which might have the effect of encouraging other resistance to the law. But there were consequences arising out of the discontent and resentment of the colonists which were productive of immediate evils at home, and threatened greater dangers for the future. A petition of the merchants of London trading to North America set forth, that this commerce, so necessary for the support of multitudes, was under such difficulties that its utter ruin was apprehended; and that several millions sterling, due to the merchants of Great Britain, were withheld by the colonists, on the plea that the taxes and restrictions laid upon them had rendered them unable to meet their engagements. Scarcely seeing a way out of the difficulties that surrounded them, the ministers, on the meeting of parliament on the 14th of January, after the Christmas recess, laid the papers before the two houses which "give any light into the origin, the progress, or the tendency, of the disturbances which have of late prevailed in some of the northern colonies." Such were the terms of the king's speech. His majesty said, that he had issued orders for the exertion of all the powers of government for the suppression of riots and tumults; and added, "Whatever remains to be done on this occasion I commit to your wisdom."

THE REPEAL OF THE STAMP ACT (1766 A.D.)

A debate ensued in the commons, which was reported by two members, and printed in Paris — the houses still strictly forbidding the publication of their proceedings. On that night Burke made his first speech in parliament; and Pitt, whose voice had not been heard for a year, delivered one of those orations which, however imperfectly recorded, give us a notion of that supremacy that, broken as he was in health, wrapped in flannels, and giving effect to his action with a crutch, he still, above all men, exercised over his contemporaries. In a letter which he wrote from Bath on the 9th, he said, "If I can crawl, or be carried, I will deliver my mind and heart upon the state of America." What he then spoke was remembered and repeated as the great contest went on; and by none more diligently than by the colonists. He went with them to the full extent of denying the right of the British legislature to impose taxes without representation. He touched upon great principles that extended beyond this question of taxing the American colonies: "There is an idea in some that the colonies are virtually represented in this house. I would fain know by whom an American is represented here? Is he represented by any knight of the shire, in any county in this kingdom? Would to God that respectable representation was augmented to a greater number! Or will you tell him that he is represented by any representative of a borough — a borough, which, perhaps, its own representative never saw? This is what is called 'the rotten part of the constitution.' It cannot continue the century; if it does not drop, it must be amputated. The idea of a virtual representation of America in this house is the most contemptible idea that ever entered into the head of a man; it does not deserve a serious refutation. The commons of America, represented in their several assemblies, have ever been in possession of the exercise of this, their constitutional right, of giving and granting their own money. They would have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it."

Grenville replied to Pitt, and defended his Stamp Act: "When I pro-

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posed to tax America, I asked the house, if any gentleman would object to the right. I repeatedly asked it, and no man would attempt to deny it. Protection and obedience are reciprocal. Great Britain protects America; America is bound to yield obedience. If not, tell me when the Americans were emancipated? When they want the protection of this kingdom, they are always very ready to ask it. That protection has always been afforded them in the most full and ample manner. The nation has run itself into an immense debt to give them their protection: and now they are called upon to contribute a small share towards the public expense, an expense arising from themselves, they renounce your authority, insult your officers, and break out, I might almost say, into open rebellion. The seditious spirit of the colonies owes its birth to the factions in this house."

Pitt was permitted again to speak, the house being clamorous to hear him. There are passages in his second speech which show how much the house gained in this departure from its ordinary rules. We may give the concluding summary of the orator's opinions: "A great deal has been said without doors, of the power of the strength, of America. It is a topic that ought to be cautiously meddled with. In a good cause, on a sound bottom, the force of this country can crush America to atoms. In such a cause, your success would be hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall like a strong man. She would embrace the pillars of the state, and pull down the constitution along with her. Is this your boasted peace? Not to sheathe the sword in its scabbard, but to sheathe it in the bowels of your countrymen? The Americans have not acted in all things with prudence and temper. They have been wronged. They have been driven to madness by injustice. Will you punish them for the madness you have occasioned? Rather let prudence and temper come first from this side. I will undertake for America that she will follow the example. There are two lines in a ballad of Prior's, of a man's behaviour to his wife, so applicable to you and your colonies that I cannot help repeating them·

> Be to her faults a little blind:
> Be to her virtues very kind.

Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the house what is really my opinion. It is that the Stamp Act be repealed absolutely, totally, and immediately. That the reason for the repeal be assigned, because it was founded on an erroneous principle. At the same time let the sovereign authority of this country over the colonies be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and be made to extend to every point of legislation whatsoever. That we may bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exercise every power whatsoever, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent."

The petitions against the American Stamp Act, and the papers laid before parliament, occupied in the commons the attention of a committee of the whole house for three weeks. Several persons were also examined, amongst whom was Benjamin Franklin. After this examination of papers and witnesses, the repeal of the Stamp Act was recommended by the committee of the whole house, and a declaratory resolution was adopted: "That the king's majesty by and with the consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled, had, hath, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the colonies and people of America, subjects of the crown of Great Britain, in all cases whatsoever." The distinction which Pitt had maintained, that parliament was not competent to pass a law for taxing the colonies, was set at nought by this resolution. But it was contended that

though the right existed, it was impolitic to exercise it, and therefore the Stamp Act ought to be repealed. Pitt adhered to his opinion, but did not attempt to divide the house. A Declaratory Bill was passed, embodying the principle of the power of parliament to bind the colonies "in all cases whatsoever."

Whilst this bill was passing into law, a strong opposition was getting up against the bill for the repeal of the Stamp Act, which was about to be proposed by the government. The house of commons came to a decisive vote on the 21st of February, on the resolution that leave should be given to bring in a bill for the repeal of the Stamp Act. The resolution was moved by Conway. He drew a strong picture of the mischiefs that had already ensued. The trade of England was not only stopped, but in danger of being lost. The conflict would ruin both countries. "If we did not repeal the act, he had no doubt but France and Spain would declare war, and protect the Americans." Grenville exposed the futility of maintaining a right in the Declaratory Bill which the government would not dare to assert. Pitt demanded the repeal as due to the liberty of unrepresented subjects. The scene after the termination of the debate on that February morning has been described by Burke[c] in glowing words; but words not too lofty for the great occasion: "I remember, sir, with a melancholy pleasure, the situation of the honourable gentleman who made the motion for the repeal; in that crisis, when the whole trading interest of this empire, crammed into your lobbies, with a trembling and anxious expectation, waited, almost to a winter's return of light, their fate from your resolutions. When, at length, you had determined in their favour, and your doors, thrown open, showed them the figure of their deliverer in the well-earned triumph of his important victory, from the whole of that grave multitude there arose an involuntary burst of gratitude and transport. They jumped upon him like children on a long absent father. They clung about him as captives about their redeemer. All England, all America, joined to his applause. Nor did he seem insensible to the best of all earthly rewards, the love and admiration of his fellow citizens. Hope elevated and joy brightened his crest." Such was the enthusiasm towards Conway, the mover of the resolution. Walpole[d] has described the difference in the reception of Pitt and Grenville. When Pitt appeared, the crowd pulled off their hats, huzzaed, and many followed his chair home with shouts and benedictions. Grenville was hissed; and in a rage, seized the nearest man to him by the collar. "Providentially the fellow had more humour than spleen — 'Well, if I may not hiss,' said he, 'at least I may laugh,' and laughed in his face. The jest caught; had the fellow been surly and resisted, a tragedy had probably ensued." The bill for the repeal finally passed the commons by a large majority; and the lords, by a majority of more than thirty.

PITT CREATED EARL OF CHATHAM (1766 A.D.)

Pitt has been greatly blamed for not allying himself with the Rockingham administration. He was invited by them with an earnestness that approached to obsequiousness. He turned a deaf ear to their overtures. They fell, from their inability to stand against the unwilling support of the sovereign, and the intrigues of those who arrogated to themselves the exclusive title of the king's friends. This ministry did popular things. They gave in to the clamour of the weavers, by passing an act for restraining the importation of foreign silks. They repealed the cider tax. They passed resolutions declaring the illegality of general warrants, and condemning the seizure of private papers, to discover

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the authors of libels. Their concessions in some degree indicated their weakness. Several of their minor supporters deserted them. The duke of Grafton left them, resigning his office of secretary of state, on the ground that they wanted "authority, dignity, and extension"; that he knew but one man who could give them strength and solidity; and that were that person to give his assistance, "he should with pleasure take up the spade and the pickaxe, and dig in the trenches."

A disagreement ensued in the cabinet; the king was told that the ministry could not go on as they were; and his majesty, in July, resolved to send for Mr. Pitt, and so told his servants. The king wrote him a letter, expressing his desire to have his thoughts "how an able and dignified ministry may be formed." Pitt answered the king — "penetrated with the deepest sense of your majesty's boundless goodness to me, and with a heart overflowing with duty and zeal for the honour and happiness of the most gracious and benign sovereign." Lord Temple was sent for by the king; and his majesty wrote to Mr. Pitt, who was ill, that he had opened a desire to see his lordship in the treasury; but that "he seems to incline to quarters very heterogeneous to my and your ideas, and almost a total exclusion of the present men." Temple was ambitious. He was indignant at the idea of being "stuck into a ministry as a great cypher at the head of the treasury, surrounded with other cyphers all named by Mr. Pitt." The ministry was at length formed. The duke of Grafton became head of the treasury; General Conway and Lord Shelburne, secretaries of state; Lord Camden, lord chancellor; Charles Townshend, chancellor of the exchequer. Mr. Pitt, to the great surprise of the world, on taking the office of lord privy seal went to the house of peers as earl of Chatham.

The transformation of Pitt into Chatham is held to have destroyed his popularity. "That fatal title blasted all the affection which his country had borne to him, and which he had deserved so well. The people, though he had done no act to occasion reproach, thought he had sold them for a title." The city of London declined to present an address on the appointment to office of the man they had idolised. The objectors seem to have forgotten the bodily infirmities which necessarily prevented him taking the post in the house of commons which a prime minister was expected to take; and they scarcely gave him credit for the power which remained to him of influencing his colleagues by the vigour of his plans, when he could not command a popular assembly by the splendour of his eloquence. He had large projects of statesmanship. He was anxious to cement an alliance with the Protestant states of Europe, to counterbalance the Family Compact of France and Spain, which was leading those powers again to meditate attacks upon England. He sent an ambassador to confer with the czarina of Russia and Frederick of Prussia; but Frederick was indignant at the treatment he had received at the peace, and could place no reliance on a policy so subject to the consequences of ministerial change. There is a strong testimony to the rare powers of Lord Chatham's mind, at an early period of his administration. Charles Townshend for the first time attended the cabinet as chancellor of the exchequer, when the great statesman developed his views of the position of Europe. "Mr. Townshend," says the duke of Grafton in his memoirs, "was particularly astonished; and owned to me, as I was carrying him home in my carriage, that Lord Chatham had just shown us what inferior animals we were, and that much as we had seen of him before, he did not conceive till that night his superiority to be so very transcendent." The minister contemplated important changes in the government of Ireland. "To enable himself to contend with the powerful connections there, he proposed to establish himself upon the basis of a just

popularity, by shortening the duration of parliament, and granting other measures which the Irish appeared to have most at heart." Lord Chatham also had in view organic changes in the constitution of the East India Company — their astonishing dominion having now become an anomaly in the absence of government control, and their vast revenues the means of administering to private rapacity and injustice.

The administration entered upon its duties at a period of domestic trouble. The season was one of extreme wetness. The harvest failed; and riots attended the rising price of corn. But the price had not quite reached the point at which exportation was forbidden. By an order in council an embargo was laid on exportation. The parliament had not been called together, as it might have been, to sanction the measure, which came into operation on the 24th of September. Parliament met, according to the date of its prorogation, on the 11th of November. The first appearance of Chatham in the house of lords was to defend the order in council on the ground of public necessity. Camden and others in both houses maintained its legality. Fierce debates ensued, in which this exercise of the prerogative was compared to former unconstitutional attempts to set up a dispensing power. It was thought essential to mark that such an exercise of the prerogative was not constitutional. An act of indemnity was therefore passed to exonerate those who had advised and acted upon the order in council. A parliamentary inquiry into the affairs of the East India Company was now forced on by Chatham, in opposition to the wishes of several of his colleagues. He refused to impart to them the nature and extent of his plans. Several of the Rockingham party resolved to secede from him. He had to form new combinations of public men, and to quiet the apprehensions of those who were accused of being despotically governed by him.

CHATHAM'S ILLNESS

During the Christmas recess Chatham went to Bath, where he became seriously ill. Parliament assembled, and the prime minister was not in his place. His cabinet fell into disorder. The fatal effects of the absence of the chief, and his unwillingness to entrust responsibility to his colleagues, were signally manifested, when the chancellor of the exchequer commended the Stamp Act, and again proposed to tax the colonies. Burke has described in his speech upon American taxation this strange disorganisation of Lord Chatham's minstry. "When his face was hid but for a moment, his whole system was on a wide sea, without chart or compass."

That portion of the life of Chatham when he was nominally the head of the administration, but wholly incapable of directing the national affairs, and altogether shrinking from that direction, is as difficult to understand as it is melancholy to contemplate. The true solution of this mystery is that the intellect of Chatham was temporarily enfeebled, almost destroyed; that he did not resign office, although incapable of performing its duties, because the ordinary perceptions of his mind were clouded to an extent that left him no power of judgment; and that when he did resign, in October, 1768, on account of "the deplorable state of his health," his mind had to some extent resumed its vigour, though his bodily infirmities were as great as ever.

The ministry struggled on with considerable difficulty through the session of 1768. There had been many changes in its composition. Charles Townshend had died of fever. His brilliant talents were neutralised by his levity; and it was clear that if his ambition had placed him at the head of the govern-

ment, he would have done some rash things — perhaps precipitated a war with America earlier than the nobleman, Lord North, who succeeded Townshend as the chancellor of exchequer. The parliament, now approaching the end of its septennial term, was dissolved on the 11th of March, 1768.

The new parliament was opened on the 10th of May, 1768. In this most important session the non-publication of debates was enforced with almost unequalled strictness. The rigid enforcement of the standing order for the exclusion of strangers went on from 1768 to 1774 — the whole term of the duration of this parliament, thus known as the Unreported Parliament.

ANOTHER WILKES CONTEST (1768 A.D.)

At the opening of parliament the ministry comprised Lord Camden, lord chancellor; the duke of Grafton, first lord of the treasury; Lord Shelburne, secretary of state; Lord North, chancellor of the exchequer. Lord Chatham still held the privy seal, but continued unable to discharge any official duties. It was the duke of Grafton's ministry. The new parliament commenced in a tempest of popular violence, such as had been unwitnessed in England for many years. John Wilkes, the outlaw, suddenly returned from France, at the time when the writs had been issued for a general election, and he declared himself a candidate for the city of London.[e] He was of course the favourite of the rabble; but prone as that constituency generally is to favour demagogues, he was rejected. The ministers, instead of trying to disarm him by clemency, or of crushing him at once by putting his sentence into execution, rested content with his letters to the law-officers of the treasury pledging his honour to appear in the court of king's bench. He forthwith stood for Middlesex; and the electors there being chiefly of the lowest class, he was chosen by a large majority. When he surrendered himself, he was committed to the king's bench prison; meantime the city was kept in a constant state of terror by the riots of his partisans. It was his boast that he could "halloo the rabble like so many bull-dogs" to any purpose he pleased, by the use of the words "liberty," "arbitrary power," and similar magic terms.

The court of king's bench reversed Wilkes' sentence of outlawry on account of some irregularity in it, but the two verdicts against him were confirmed, and he was condemned to pay two fines of £500, and be imprisoned for two years. Subscriptions were forthwith raised among his admirers to pay his debts; he received abundance of presents; and his face, which was remarkable for its ugliness, became the ornament of numerous signboards. The demagogue soon after, having got hold of a letter from Lord Weymouth, the secretary, to the Surrey magistrates, approving of their conduct in putting down a riot in St. George's fields, in which some lives were lost, published it with a preface, calling that affair in the true demagogic style "a horrid massacre, and the consequence of a hellish project deliberately planned"; and as at the bar of the house he claimed the thanks of his country for having set "that bloody scroll" in a proper light, he was expelled the house, and a new writ was ordered for Middlesex.

Every artifice for inflaming the populace was put in requisition, and Wilkes was re-elected; but the house declared him incapable of sitting during that parliament. He was returned again, and again his election was declared to be void. He stood once more, and Colonel Luttrell who opposed him was pronounced to be duly elected, though Wilkes had an immense majority of the votes. The needy patriot had already been relieved by a subscription; and the citizens of London, honouring the mere names of liberty and patriotism in

one who disgraced them both, with that absence of real political wisdom characteristic of such bodies, elected him to the dignity of alderman. A political club, named the "Society for supporting the Bill of Rights," of which he was a principal member, was formed in 1770, but it was soon discovered that a great part of the funds had been diverted to the payment of the patriot's debts and to the purchase of an annuity for him. The democratic party, however, still adhered to him; he was lord mayor in due course, and finally obtained the great object of his ambition, the lucrative post of city chamberlain.

A rival of Wilkes in the trade of patriotism, but a less fortunate adventurer, was the reverend John Horne. This man had entered the church, it would appear, merely as a profession, and without even a belief in its doctrines; but finding it not to answer his expectations, he abandoned it. A man who has been a teacher of religion, and who from scruples of conscience has retired from the sacred profession, should, in our opinion, select some pursuit, medicine for instance, which would harmonise in some measure with that which he had abandoned, if it were only to evince his having acted from pure motives. But Horne had none of this delicacy of feeling; he was ambitious of turbulent distinction; he aimed at being a lawyer and a member of parliament. He ran a career of vice and sedition; was familiar with the walls of prisons, and died a dependent on the bounty of his friends.

THE LETTERS OF JUNIUS

It was also at this time that that most powerful but most unscrupulous of political satirists who subscribed "Junius" to his letters attacked the king and his ministers in the most envenomed style. His letters now form a portion of our literature, and are models in their class of compositions. His secret was never divulged, and ingenuity has long been exercised in the attempt to discover the real author. Lord George Germaine and Sir Philip Francis[1] are those in whose cases the strongest apparent proofs have been given. Lord Chatham, Edmund Burke, and other persons have been on various grounds suspected of the authorship.[c]

The one paramount desire of Junius was to destroy the administration of the duke of Grafton. He had no large conception of a general policy that should unite a great party in the conduct of affairs if that administration were destroyed. The two questions which absorbed the thoughts and divided the opinions of all public men were the contest between parliamentary privilege and Wilkes, and the more perplexing quarrel between the mother country and the North American colonies. It was known that the king held the most decided opinions on both these questions — that he would have pursued Wilkes to the utmost reach of power, whatever might be the unpopularity; and that he would assert the right of taxation over the colonies, whatever might be the danger of rebellion and war. The ministry of the duke of Grafton was committed, in a great degree, to an agreement with the will of the sovereign, less perhaps from conviction than from an imperfect view of the consequences of persisting in a doubtful career. At this juncture Lord Chatham, having ceased to be at the head of affairs, was free to pursue his own declared sentiments on the subject of American taxation, and to form

[1 But who was Junius? Who lurked beneath that name, or rather, according to the motto he assumed, that "shadow of a name"? This question, which has already employed so many pens and filled so many volumes, cannot be so fully dealt with in these pages. But I will not affect to speak with doubt when no doubt exists in my mind. From the proofs adduced by others, and on a clear conviction of my own, which I am bound thus frankly to express, I affirm that the author of Junius was no other than Sir Philip Francis.—STANHOPE.[d]

an independent judgment on the case of Wilkes. He had become reconciled to his brother-in-law, Lord Temple, and was looked upon as having joined the Grenville party. But though he agreed with George Grenville on the unconstitutional proceedings of the house of commons in the matter of the Middlesex election, he was totally opposed to him on the subject of America. The Rockingham party, of whose policy Burke was now the great parliamentary expositor, held fast to the popular principles in the dispute with the freeholders of Middlesex, but repudiated any such assertion of authority over the colonies as George Grenville had maintained. Junius not only supported but prompted Wilkes in every act that could damage the ministry. But he also spoke in the most contemptuous terms of any individual or any party that deemed the colonists anything but rebels, to be trodden down as troublesome vermin. Ostensibly he was an adherent of George Grenville. Had he any real principles? He was not a politician, in the higher sense of the word. He had some selfish ambition to gratify; he had some private grievances to revenge. He might be a writing puppet, moved by some one of higher mark — a Francis, or a Dyer, prompted by a Temple. He might be a man of noble birth, mining like a mole; whose vanity was gratified by the notoriety which he commanded — pleased with acquiring another self-consciousness than that which belonged to his proper person. Whoever he was, he had essentially a paltry mind.

THE REAPPEARANCE OF CHATHAM (1769 A.D.)

On the 9th of May, 1769, the parliament was prorogued. It was the day after the final decision on the Middlesex election. In the speech from the throne the members were exhorted, "with more than ordinary earnestness," to exert their utmost efforts for the maintenance of the public peace. The excitement throughout the country was considerable, but it rarely took the form of tumult. It was manifest, however, that the supposed victory of the government would not give the nation that quiet which sanguine courtiers anticipated. Lord Chatham came forth from his long retirement, and attended the king's levee on the 7th of July — "he himself, *in propria persona*, and not in a strait waistcoat," as Walpole writes. From the manuscript memoirs of the duke of Grafton we find that Chatham, when called by the king into his closet, objected to the course which had been pursued in the case of Wilkes, and stated "that he doubted whether his health would ever again allow him to attend parliament, but if it did, and if he should give his dissent to any measure, that his majesty would be indulgent enough to believe that it would not arise from any personal consideration."

On the 9th of January, 1770, the parliament was opened by the king. With a singular want of perception of the ridiculous, the first words of the royal speech were these: "My lords and gentlemen: It is with much concern that I find myself obliged to open the session of parliament with acquainting you that the distemper among the horned cattle has lately broke out in this kingdom." The petitions which had been presented from corporations and counties received no notice in this speech. Junius, with some justice, said to the duke of Grafton, "While the whole kingdom was agitated with anxious expectation upon one great point, you meanly evaded the question; and instead of the firmness and decision of a king, gave us nothing but the misery of a ruined grazier." But a voice more terrible than that of Junius was to rouse the government from its seeming unconcern. In the house of lords, Chatham moved an amendment to the address, pledging the peers that

they would take into their most serious consideration the causes of the discontents which so generally prevailed, and particularly the late proceedings in the house of commons touching the incapacity of John Wilkes, esquire, to be elected a member of the present parliament. The scene in the upper house on this occasion must have been as exciting as any in the history of England. The speech by which Chatham introduced the amendment, as well as the speech of Lord Mansfield, and Lord Chatham's reply, were first published in 1792, from a report of Mr. Francis, afterwards Sir Philip Francis, upon whom rests the prevailing opinion that he was Junius. We may judge by the following passage of the tendency of Chatham's speech: "The liberty of the subject is invaded, not only in the provinces, but here at home! The English people are loud in their complaints; they demand redress; and depend upon it, my lords, that, one way or another, they will have redress. They will never return to a state of tranquillity till they are redressed. Nor ought they. For in my judgment, my lords, and I speak it boldly, it were better for them to perish in a glorious contention for their rights, than to purchase a slavish tranquillity at the expense of a single iota of the constitution." Lord Mansfield spoke, contending that the proposed amendment was an attack upon the privileges of the other house of parliament. This produced a reply from Lord Chatham.



WILLIAM MURRAY, EARL OF MANSFIELD
(1705–1793)

After Chatham's speech, the lord chancellor, Camden, rose from the woolsack, and thus threw off all restraint: "I accepted the great seal without conditions; I meant not, therefore, to be trammelled by his majesty — I beg pardon, by his ministers — but I have suffered myself to be so too long. For some time I have beheld with silent indignation the arbitrary measures of the minister. I have often drooped and hung down my head in council, and disapproved by my looks those steps which I knew my avowed opposition could not prevent. I will do so no longer, but openly and boldly speak my sentiments; I now proclaim to the world that I entirely coincide in the opinion expressed by my noble friend — whose presence again reanimates us — respecting this unconstitutional vote of the house of commons. If, in giving my opinion as a judge, I were to pay any respect to that vote, I should look upon myself as a traitor to my trust, and an enemy to my country. By

[1770 A.D.]

their violent and tyrannical conduct, ministers have alienated the minds of the people from his majesty's government — I had almost said from his majesty's person — insomuch, that if some measures are not devised to appease the clamours so universally prevalent, I know not, my lords, whether the people, in despair, may not become their own avengers, and take the redress of grievances into their own hands."

In the house of commons, the marquis of Granby voted for the amendment which had been proposed in opposition to the government. The lord chancellor, and the commander-in-chief, were thus in open hostility with the other members of the cabinet. Such an anomalous state could not long endure. Chatham, Temple, and their friends, were waiting the issue with extreme solicitude. Granby had been earnestly entreated to retain his command of the army in spite of his vote. "The king, it seems, and the duke of Grafton are upon their knees to Lord Granby not to resign," writes Temple to Chatham. Chatham grieves that twenty-four hours' respite has been granted to a minister's entreaties. He was at last set at rest by Granby's resignation. But he regrets that the chancellor had dragged the great seal for an hour at the heels of a desperate minister. His high office had been offered to Mr. Charles Yorke, the son of Lord-chancellor Hardwicke. It was a prize he had long coveted; but to accept it would be to desert his party. He declined. Three days after he went to the levee at St. James'; and, at the earnest entreaties of the king, he kissed the royal hand as chancellor. Camden was dismissed. Yorke, borne down by agitation of mind, died, as was supposed by his own hand, on the 20th of January. On the 22nd there came on another great debate in the house of lords on the state of the nation, in which Chatham announced his cordial union with the party of Rockingham.

The continued debate on the state of the nation was deferred till the 2nd of February. On the 28th of January, the duke of Grafton resigned. The king was not unprepared for this event. On the 23rd of January he thus wrote to Lord North: "Lord Weymouth and Lord Gower will wait upon you this morning to press you in the strongest manner to accept the office of first lord commissioner of the treasury. My mind is more and more strengthened in the rightness of the measure, which would prevent every other desertion. You must easily see that if you do not accept, I have no peer at present that I would consent to place in the duke of Grafton's employment." "The rightness of the measure" was to be tested by twelve years of national calamity.

COLONIAL AFFAIRS

The domestic agitations during the period of the duke of Grafton's ministry required to be given in an unbroken narrative. We now take up the more truly important relation of those events in the North American colonies, and of the mode in which they were dealt with by the imperial government. These facts form the prologue to the tragedy of the American Revolution.

In 1768 a third secretary of state was appointed. The office of secretary of state for Scotland had been abolished; but now a new place was created for the earl of Hillsborough — the secretaryship of the colonies. It was a position of authority which demanded a rare union of firmness and moderation. But the secretary was a member of a cabinet divided in judgment on the great question of American taxation; and Lord Hillsborough was of the

party of the duke of Bedford, who held opinions on that subject, not exactly in consonance with that championship of our free constitution which has been claimed for him. Hillsborough had to deal with colonial subjects of the British crown, whose indignation at the Stamp Act had been revived by Charles Townshend's fatal measure for granting duties in America on glass, red and white lead, painters' colours, paper, and tea.

The king, on opening the parliament on the 8th of November, 1768, spoke in severe terms of the proceedings in North America. The spirit of faction had broken out afresh; one of the colonies had proceeded to acts of violence and of resistance to the execution of the law; the capital town of that colony was in a state of disobedience to all law and government — had adopted measures subversive of the constitution, and attended with circumstances that might manifest a disposition to throw off their dependence on Great Britain. Not a word was uttered of the cause of this disobedience. Turbulent and seditious persons were to be defeated. On the 15th of December, in the house of lords, the duke of Bedford moved an address to the king, recommending that the chief authors and instigators of the late disorders in Massachusetts should be brought to condign punishment; and beseeching his majesty that he would direct the governor of that colony "to take the most effectual methods for procuring the fullest information that can be obtained touching all treasons or misprision of treason, committed within this government since the 30th day of December last, and to transmit the same, together with the names of the persons who were most active in the commission of such offences, to one of your majesty's principal secretaries of state, in order that your majesty may issue a special commission for inquiring of, hearing and determining, the said offences within this realm, pursuant to the provisions of the statute of the 35th year of the reign of King Henry VIII, in case your majesty shall, upon receiving the said information, see sufficient ground for such a proceeding." This most arbitrary proposal was carried without a division. In the house of commons, at the opening of the session, Mr. Stanley, the seconder of the address, said that the people of the insolent town of Boston "must be treated as aliens."

We have now reached the period of Lord North's administration. On the 5th of March, 1770, on the house of commons proceeding to take into consideration the petition of the merchants of London trading to North America, the first lord of the treasury, in a temperate speech, moved the repeal of such portions of the act of 1767, as laid duties upon glass and other articles, omitting any mention of tea. "I cannot propose," he said, "any further repeal than what it was my intention to promise them. The Americans, by their subsequent behaviour, have not deserved any particular indulgence from this country." Upon this principle, many a mistaken policy has been persisted in, out of pure defiance of the excesses which that policy has provoked. "We will not be driven to repeal by any threats held out to us," said the minister. He anticipated no larger revenue than £12,000 a year from the tea duties, but he would not give up the right to tax America which was asserted in the preamble of the act imposing the duties. The proposition of Lord North was carried by a majority of sixty-two.

When the American colonists came to know that the British parliament had repealed all the duties laid by the act of 1767, except that on tea, the spirit which had prompted the non-importation agreements was somewhat allayed. The citizens of New York determined by a large majority to resume importations from England; and many orders were despatched in July for every kind of merchandise but tea. Other provinces were indignant with

the New Yorkers. Massachusetts maintained a position of sullen defiance. Although, for two or three years, there was in America an apparent calm — a deceptive absence of violence which looked like peace — the time was rapidly approaching when the exhortation of Mr. Wedderburn, in 1770, before he became Lord North's solicitor-general, would be looked upon as a prophecy: "How, sir, will it hereafter sound in the annals of the present reign, that all America — the fruit of so many years' settlement, nurtured by this country at the price of so much blood and treasure — was lost to the crown of Great Britain in the reign of George III?" Whilst there is a lull in this trans-Atlantic tempest, let us revert to our domestic affairs — petty in their details, but very significant in their tendencies.

ARRESTS FOR PUBLISHING PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

In the session of parliament of 1771, there was a contest between the house of commons and the corporation of London, which was eventually productive of the highest public benefit. Although both houses held strenuously to the principle that it was the highest offence to publish their debates, the speeches of particular members were frequently printed. On the 8th of February, 1771, Colonel Onslow complained to the house of commons that two newspapers had printed a motion he had made, and a speech against it; and moreover had called him Little Cocking George. Upon his motion, the papers were delivered in and read; and the printer of the *Gazetteer*, R. Thompson, and the printer of the *Middlesex Chronicle*, J. Wheble, were ordered to attend the house. The printers could not be found to serve the orders upon them, and then the house addressed the king that he would issue his royal proclamation for their apprehension. On the 12th of March, Colonel Onslow said he was determined to bring this matter to an issue. "To-day I shall only bring before the house three brace, for printing the debates." This wholesale proceeding was resisted by motions for adjournment and amendments, which protracted the debates till five o'clock in the morning, during which the house divided twenty-three times. Four of the printers obeyed the orders of the house, made their submission, and were discharged. But the affair now took a more serious turn. The sergeant-at-arms had been ordered to take J. Miller, of the *London Evening Post*, into custody. Wheble and Thompson had been previously arrested collusively, by some friends or servants; and being taken before Alderman Wilkes and Alderman Oliver, were discharged. Miller was apprehended by the officer of the house of commons at his house in the city; but the officer was immediately himself taken into custody by a city constable. The parties went before the lord mayor, Crosby; who was attended by Wilkes and Oliver. The lord mayor decided that the arrest of a citizen without the authority of one of the city magistrates, was a violation of its charters; and ordered Miller to be released, and the officer of the commons to give bail to answer a charge of assault.

On the 18th of March, the deputy-sergeant-at-arms was desired by the speaker to give an account of the transactions in the city. It was then moved that Brass Crosby, esquire, lord mayor, and a member of parliament, should attend in his place the next day. The lord mayor, although he was ill, came amidst the huzzas of a crowd that echoed through the house. He was permitted to sit whilst defending his conduct; and then he desired to go home, having been in his bed-chamber sixteen or seventeen days. The lord mayor was allowed to retire. Charles Fox said "there are two other criminals, Alderman Oliver and Alderman Wilkes," for which expression

"criminals" he was gently reproved by Wedderburn, who had become solicitor-general. Alderman Oliver was then ordered to attend in his place. Wilkes had written a letter to declare that he was the lawful member for Middlesex, and would only appear in the house as a member. Mr. Calcraft writes to Lord Chatham, "The ministers avow Wilkes too dangerous to meddle with. He is to do what he pleases; we are to submit. So his majesty orders; he will have 'nothing more to do with that devil Wilkes.'" On the 25th of March the lord mayor and Alderman Oliver were in their places. In the course of the debate upon a proposal to commit them to the Tower, members came in, and reported that they had been insulted on their way to the house. The magistrates of Westminster were called, and were ordered to disperse the mob. The debate proceeded. The lord mayor, being again permitted to withdraw, said he should submit himself to whatever the house should do. The populace took the horses from his coach, and drew him in triumph to the Mansion house. After a sitting of nine hours, a motion for adjournment was rejected. When the speaker asked Alderman Oliver what he had to say in his defence, he replied, "I know the punishment I am to receive is determined upon. I have nothing to say, neither in my own defence nor in defence of the city of London. Do what you please. I defy you."

Before the motion for committing Alderman Oliver to the Tower was carried, Colonel Barré left the house, followed by Dunning, and about a dozen other members. He wrote to Chatham, "I spoke to this question about five minutes only, but I believe with great violence." To the Tower was Oliver conducted quietly at seven o'clock on the morning of the 27th. On that day the lord mayor again came to the house to attend in his place A tremendous riot ensued. Mr. Calcraft described the scene to Lord Chatham: "The concourse of people who attended the lord mayor is incredible. They seized Lord North, broke his chariot, had got him amongst them, and but for Sir William Meredith's interfering would probably have demolished him. This, with the insults to other members, caused an adjournment of business for some hours." The justices came to the bar to declare they could not read the Riot Act.

The lord mayor and Alderman Oliver remained prisoners in the Tower, till the parliament was prorogued on the 8th of May. A prorogation suspends the power under which the privilege of committal is exercised. The house wisely resolved not to renew the perilous dispute with the city in the ensuing session. With equal wisdom the printers of the debates were no more threatened or arrested. On the 1st of May, Chatham told the peers some wholesome truths, on the subject of the publication of parliamentary proceedings. The dissatisfaction of the people "had made them uncommonly attentive to the proceedings of parliament. Hence the publication of the parliamentary debates. And where was the injury, if the members acted upon honest principles? For a public assembly to be afraid of having their deliberations published is monstrous, and speaks for itself." It was some years before these principles were completely recognised, in the conviction that a full and impartial report of the debates in parliament is one of the best securities for freedom, for a respect for the laws, and for raising up a national tribunal of public opinion in the place of the passions of demagogues and the violence of mobs. The triumph of the "miscreants" of 1771 led the way to the complete establishment of that wonderful system of reporting, which has rendered the newspaper press of this country the clearest mirror of the aggregate thought of a reflecting people.

THE ROYAL MARRIAGE ACT (1772 A.D.)

On the 20th of February, 1772, the following royal message was brought down to both houses of parliament: "George R. his majesty being desirous, from paternal affection for his own family, and anxious concern for the future welfare of his people, and the honour and dignity of his crown, that the right of approving all marriages in the royal family (which ever has belonged to the kings of this realm as a matter of public concern) may be made effectual, recommends to both houses of parliament to take into their serious consideration whether it may not be wise and expedient to supply the defect of the laws now in being; and, by some new provision, more effectually to guard the descendants of his late majesty King George II (other than the issue of princesses who have married or may hereafter marry into foreign families) from marrying without the approbation of his majesty, his heirs, or successors, first had and obtained."

The Royal Marriage Bill was presented next day to the house of lords. It made provision that no prince or princess descended from George II — with the exception of the issue of princesses married abroad — should be capable of contracting matrimony without the previous consent of the king, his heirs, or successors. But it also provided that if any such descendant of George II, being above the age of twenty-five, should persist in a resolution to marry, the king's consent being refused, he or she might give notice to the privy council, and might at any time within twelve months after such notice contract marriage, unless both houses of parliament, before the expiration of twelve months, should expressly declare their disapprobation of such intended marriage. After continued and vehement debates in both houses, the bill became law; and it still continues in force. Its provisions appear to be imperfectly understood. It is called by Massey[1] "an encroachment upon the law of nature — an impious and cruel measure." There is a constitutional appeal against an unjust exercise of the prerogative. Such an appeal has never been made; but it would most probably not be made in vain, if any case should arise which would justify parliament in not supporting the sovereign in the assertion of an arbitrary power.

EAST INDIAN TEA IN BOSTON HARBOUR

In 1773, the parliament turned from its long course of anti-popular contests, to look seriously at a matter of paramount national importance. The pecuniary affairs of the East India Company had fallen into great disorder. On the 2nd of March a petition was presented from the company to the house of commons, praying for the assistance of a loan of a million and a half sterling. In the previous session a select committee of the house had been appointed to inquire into the affairs of the company. The necessity for such an inquiry was strongly urged, upon financial and moral grounds. The net revenues of Bengal had decreased: the natives were distressed and discontented; the company's servants were arbitrary and oppressive. General Burgoyne, the mover of the resolution for a committee, made an eloquent appeal to the feelings of the house: "The fate of a great portion of the globe; the fate of great states, in which your own is involved; the distresses of fifteen millions of people; the rights of humanity; are involved in this question."

[The details of this affair are given in our history of India (volume xxii) and need not be repeated here. But there was one feature of the parliamentary adjustment that has peculiar significance from our present standpoint.]

The directors of the East India Company had in their warehouses seventeen million pounds of tea, for which they wanted a market. Permission was given by act of parliament to export teas belonging to the company to any of the British plantations in America, with a drawback of the duty payable in England. The colonial tax of three pence in the pound was to be paid in the American ports. Ships were freighted, and consignees appointed to sell their cargoes. Fatal boon, whose consequences no one saw.

It was Sunday, the 28th of November, 1773, when there sailed into Boston harbour the English merchant ship *Dartmouth*, laden with chests of tea belonging to the East India Company. The act of parliament which allowed the treasury to license vessels to export the teas of the company to the American colonies, free of duty, was the signal for popular gatherings in Boston. Town meetings were held, when strong resolutions were adopted. In this state of things the first tea-ship arrived. A committee met twice on that Sunday, and obtained a promise from Rotch, the commander of the ship, not to enter his ship till the following Tuesday.

Thirteen days after the arrival of the *Dartmouth*, the owner was summoned before the Boston committee, and told that his vessel and his tea must be taken back to London. It was out of his power to do so, he said. He certainly had not the power; for the passages out of the harbour were guarded by two king's ships to prevent any vessel going to sea without a licence. On the 16th, the revenue officers would have a legal authority to take possession of the *Dartmouth*. For three days previous there had been meetings of the Boston committee; but their journal had only this entry — "No business transacted matter of record."

On the 16th of December there was a meeting in Boston of seven thousand persons, who resolved that the tea should not be landed. The master of the *Dartmouth* was ordered to apply to the governor for a pass for his vessel to proceed on her return voyage to London. The governor was at his country house. Many of the leaders had adjourned to a church, to wait his answer. The night had come on when Rotch returned and announced that the governor had refused him a pass because his ship had not cleared. There was no more hesitation. Forty or fifty men, disguised as Mohawks, raised the war-whoop at the porch of the church; went on to the wharf where the three ships lay alongside; took possession of them; and deliberately emptied three hundred and forty chests of tea into the waters of the bay. It was the work of three hours. Not a sound was heard but that of breaking open the chests. The people of Boston went to their rest as if no extraordinary event had occurred.

On the 27th of January, 1774, the news of this decisive act reached the English government. On the 29th there was a great meeting of the lords of the council to consider a petition from Massachusetts for the dismissal of Hutchinson, the governor, and Oliver, the lieutenant-governor. Doctor Franklin appeared before the council as agent for Massachusetts. Franklin was treated with little respect; and Wedderburn, the solicitor-general, assailed him with a torrent of invective, at which the lords cheered and laughed. Franklin bore the assaults with perfect equanimity; but from that hour he ceased to be a mediator between Great Britain and the colonists. The council reported that the petition from Massachusetts was "groundless, vexatious, and scandalous." Two days after, Franklin was dismissed from his office of deputy postmaster general. He said to Priestley, who was present at the council, that he considered the thing for which he had been so insulted as one of the best actions of his life.

THE BOSTON PORT BILL (1774 A.D.)

The parliament had met on the 13th of January. It was the 7th of March when Lord North delivered the king's message relating to "the violent and outrageous proceedings at the town and port of Boston, in the province of Massachusetts Bay, with a view to obstructing the commerce of this kingdom, and upon grounds and pretences immediately subversive of the constitution thereof." On the 14th of March, Lord North brought in a bill for removing the custom house from Boston, and declaring it unlawful, after the 1st of June, to lade or unlade, ship or unship, any goods from any landing-place within the harbour of Boston. There was little opposition to this measure, which was passed in a fortnight, and when sent to the lords was as quickly adopted.

The Boston Port Bill, backed up by military force, was to be followed by other measures of coercion. On the 28th of March, Lord North brought in a bill for regulating the government of Massachusetts Bay. "I propose," he said, "in this bill to take the executive power from the hands of the democratic part of government." The proposition went, in many important particulars, to annul the charter granted to the province by William III. The council was to be appointed by the crown; the magistrates were to be nominated by the governor. This bill also passed, after ineffectual debate. A third bill enacted that during the next three years the governor of Massachusetts might, if it was thought that an impartial trial of any person could not be secured in that colony, send him for trial in another colony; or to Great Britain, if it were thought that no fair trial could be obtained in the colonies. The object of the bill was distinctly stated by Lord North — "Unless such a bill should pass into a law the executive power will be unwilling to act, thinking they will not have a fair trial without it."

THE CONFLICT IMMINENT

Whatever may be now the prevailing sentiment upon the colonial quarrel, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the controversy was one that involved great principles, and called forth the highest energies of great intellects. On either side of the Atlantic was manifested the grandeur of the Anglo-Saxon mind. Chatham, in 1775, paid a deserved tribute to the qualities displayed in the first American congress: "When your lordships look at the papers transmitted us from America — when you consider their decency, firmness, and wisdom, you cannot but respect their cause, and wish to make it your own. For myself I must declare and avow that in all my reading and observation — (I have read Thucydides, and have studied and admired the master-states of the world) — that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the general congress at Philadelphia. I trust it is obvious to your lordships that all attempts to impose servitude upon such men, to establish despotism over such a mighty continental nation, must be vain, must be fatal."

Gibbon[9] has described the striking scene he witnessed in the British house of commons: "I assisted at the debates of a free assembly; I listened to the attack and defence of eloquence and reason; I had a near prospect of the character, views, and passions of the first men of the age. The cause of government was ably vindicated by Lord North, a statesman of spotless integrity, a consummate master of debate, who could wield, with equal dexterity, the arms of reason and of ridicule. He was seated on the treasury-bench between

his attorney and solicitor-general, the two pillars of the law and state, *magis pares quam similes;* and the minister might indulge in a short slumber, whilst he was upholden on either hand by the majestic sense of Thurlow, and the skilful eloquence of Wedderburn. From the adverse side of the house an ardent and powerful opposition was supported by the lively declamation of Barré, the legal acuteness of Dunning, the profuse and philosophical fancy of Burke, and the argumentative vehemence of Fox, who, in the conduct of a party, approved himself equal to the conduct of an empire. By such men every operation of peace and war, every principle of justice and policy, every question of authority and freedom, was attacked and defended; and the subject of the momentous contest was the union or separation of Great Britain and America. The eight sessions that I sat in parliament were a school of civil prudence, the first and most essential virtue of an historian."

The differences of opinion in America ought to have retarded the terrible issue that was approaching. The fears of the timid, the hopes of the loyal, were opposed to the advocates of resistance, and might have prevailed to avert the notion of independence. In an unhappy hour, blood was shed; and conciliation then became a word that was uttered to deaf ears in England as in America. We must in this chapter rapidly trace the course of events till we reach that crisis.

The ministry after passing their coercive bills had determined to send out General Gage to supersede Hutchinson as governor of Massachusetts, and to be commander-in-chief in the colonies. He would have to act upon a system distinctly opposed to the old chartered system of free local government. He undervalued, as we have seen, the resistance which was to be brought against him, and relied too absolutely upon "four regiments." His appointment was not disagreeable to the New Englanders. He had lived amongst them, and had honourably executed the military authority with which he had been previously entrusted. In an unhappy hour he arrived at Boston, on the 13th of May, 1774. A vessel which came there before him brought a copy of the Boston Port Bill. When Gage came into the harbour, the people were holding a meeting to discuss that act of the British legislature which deprived them of their old position in the commerce of the world — which doomed their merchants and all dependent upon them to absolute ruin. There was but one feeling. The meeting entered into resolutions, to which they invited the co-operation of the other colonies, for the purpose of suspending all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, and the West Indies, until the act was repealed. Copies of the act were everywhere circulated, printed with a black border. But there was no violence. The new governor was received with decorum, but without the accustomed honours. General Gage gave the assembly notice that on the 1st of June, according to the provisions of the act, their place of meeting would be removed to the town of Salem. When the spirit of opposition to his dictates was rising, the governor suddenly adjourned the assembly. He was asked to appoint the 1st of June as a day of general prayer and fasting. He refused. In Virginia the house of burgesses appointed the 1st of June as a day of humiliation, to avert the calamity of their loss of rights, or the miseries of civil war. They were immediately dissolved. The assembly of Virginia did not separate without recommending a General Congress. The idea universally spread. Meanwhile, General Gage had an encampment of six regiments on a common near Boston, and had begun to fortify the isthmus which connects the town with the adjacent country. The 1st of June came. There was no tumult. Business was at an end; Boston had become a city of the dead.

The first congress, consisting of fifty-five members, met at Philadelphia on the 4th of September. The place of their meeting was Carpenter's hall. Peyton Randolph was chosen as their president. Their proceedings were conducted with closed doors. The more earnest party gradually obtained the ascendency over the more timid. They drew up a declaration of rights. They passed resolutions to suspend all imports from Great Britain or Ireland after the 1st of December, and to discontinue all exports after the 10th of September in the ensuing year, unless the grievances of America should be redressed. They published addresses to the people of Great Britain and of Canada, and they decided upon a petition to the king. These were the papers that called forth the eulogium of Chatham. The congress dissolved themselves on the 26th of October; and resolved that another congress should be convened on the 10th of May, 1775.

After the 1st of June the irremediable conflict between the governor and representatives of the people soon put an end to the legal course of government. General Gage was so wholly deserted by the council that the meeting of the assembly, which was proposed to take place at Salem in October, could not be regularly convened. Writs for the election of members had been issued, but were afterwards annulled by proclamation. The elections took place. The persons chosen assembled, and styled themselves a local congress. A committee of safety was appointed. They enrolled militia, called Minute-men, whose engagement was that they should appear in arms at a minute's notice. They appointed commanders. They provided ammunition. The knowledge of the two acts of parliament which had followed that for shutting up the port of Boston not only provoked this undisguised resolve to resist to the death amongst the people of Massachusetts, but called up the same growing determination throughout the vast continent of America.

The new parliament met on the 29th of November, 1774. There was an end of the agitations about Wilkes; for, having been elected for Middlesex, he took his seat without opposition. The king's speech asserted his determination "to withstand every attempt to weaken or impair the supreme authority of this legislature over all the dominions of my crown." Corresponding addresses were voted in both houses with a large majority. In January, Lord Chatham brought forward a motion to withdraw the troops from Boston. "I wish, my lords," he said, "not to lose a day in this urgent, pressing crisis. An hour now lost in allaying ferments in America may produce years of calamity. For my own part, I will not desert for a moment the conduct of this weighty business, from first to last. Unless nailed to my bed by the extremity of sickness, I will give it unremitted attention. I will knock at the door of this sleeping and confounded ministry, and will rouse them to a sense of their important danger." Chatham knocked in vain to awaken these sleepers. His voice, whose noble utterance cannot now be read without stirring the heart, was called by George III "a trumpet of sedition." Again, on the 1st of February, that voice was heard, when Chatham presented "a provisional bill for settling the troubles in America." On the first occasion he had only eighteen peers to vote with him against sixty-eight; on the second occasion he had thirty-two against sixty-one. Chatham's oratory was in vain. The ministry that night declared they would send out more troops, instead of recalling any. Chatham's conciliatory bill made some impression upon Lord North, who proposed a very weak measure, as a resolution of the house of commons that if any of the American provinces, by their legislature, should make some provision for the defence and government of that province, which should be approved by the king and parliament, then it might be proper to

forbear imposing any tax. This was to attempt to put out a conflagration with a bucket of water.

If the highest efforts of argument could have been availing, the speech of Edmund Burke, on the 22nd of March, would have arrested the headlong course of the government. At this moment a bill was passing both houses which Burke called "the great penal bill by which we had passed sentence on the trade and sustenance of America." It was a bill to prohibit certain colonies from fishing on the banks of Newfoundland. Burke proposed a series of conciliatory resolutions, of a less sweeping nature than those of Chatham, and therefore more likely to be acceptable to men of temperate opinions. They were rejected on a division of two hundred and seventy against seventy-eight.

The contrarieties of public opinion in Great Britain and Ireland upon the American question were exhibited in petitions from various corporate bodies. Many manufacturing towns petitioned against the coercion acts, as destructive of the commerce of the country. Other petitions called for an enforcement of the legislative supremacy of Great Britain as the only means of preserving a trade with the colonies. There were war petitions and peace petitions. Those who signed the war petitions were held to be mere party men known as tories. Those who signed the peace petitions were discontented whigs, or something worse. The Quakers, whilst they exhorted to peace, maintained the loyalty of all religious denominations in America to the king's person, family, and government. The citizens of London, with Wilkes at their head as lord mayor, presented an address and remonstrance to the king on the throne, in which they denounced the measures of the government as deliberately intended to establish arbitrary power all over America. The king answered, that it was with the utmost astonishment that he found any of his subjects capable of encouraging the rebellious disposition which existed in some of his colonies in America. From such different points of view did men regard this great argument.

The close of 1774 was, in Massachusetts, the silence before the storm. The people were arming. The provincial congress had formed an arsenal at Concord, an inland town. The British troops made no movements during the winter to interfere with these hostile demonstrations. In his speech of the 27th of January, Chatham alluded to the position of the royal forces: "Their situation is truly unworthy; penned up; pining in inglorious inactivity. I find a report creeping abroad that ministers censure General Gage's inactivity. It is a prudent and necessary inaction. This tameness, however contemptible, cannot be censured; for the first drop of blood shed in civil and unnatural war might be *immedicabile vulnus*." That incurable wound was, too soon, to be inflicted.[e]

OUTBREAK OF THE AMERICAN WAR

The full treatment of the war that ensued belongs to American history, and will be given in a later volume. Here we shall epitomise the greater features of the contest in briefest compass, dealing at greater length with certain phases of domestic policy.[a]

On the 19th of April, 1775, General Gage, who commanded at Boston, learning that the provincials had collected a quantity of stores at the town of Concord, sent a detachment of his troops to seize them. At a place named Lexington, on the way, they found the militia drawn up to oppose them; they drove them off, and proceeded to Concord, where they accomplished their

object; but on their way back they were greatly galled by the fire of the Americans from houses and from behind walls and hedges. They had sixty-five men killed and one hundred and eighty wounded; the provincials fifty killed and thirty-eight wounded. Soon after the militia assembled to the number of twenty thousand at Cambridge, and blockaded Boston. On the night of the 16th of June they threw up some intrenchments on an eminence near that town; the British advanced next day to drive them from it, and, though they suffered severely from the well-directed fire of the provincials, they succeeded in their object.



GRENADIER, 1775

The congress meantime had re-assembled (May 10th). They again drew up a petition and addresses, expressing the strongest desire for accommodation, at the same time adopting all possible measures for continuing the contest. The man on whom they fixed their choice for commander-in-chief of their forces was George Washington. He accepted that post of honour and danger; and, on joining the army at Cambridge, he found himself at the head of fifteen thousand men, ill-appointed and undisciplined. Fortunately for him, Gage, who had a superior force, was unenterprising; and his successor, General Howe, also remained inactive. By fitting out armed cruisers, the Americans succeeded in intercepting much of the stores and supplies destined for the troops in Boston.

In the spring of this year the provincials had conceived the daring design of invading Canada. They reduced the forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and while one force, under General Montgomery, advanced and took Montreal; another, under Colonel Arnold, made its way through the wilderness to Quebec, where it was joined by the former (December 1st), and the city was besieged. An assault was attempted (31st), in which Montgomery was killed and Arnold severely wounded, but he still kept up a blockade. He was reinforced in the spring, but was eventually driven out of the province by General Carleton. On this occasion, Captain Forster, who had taken a great number of prisoners, released them, Arnold engaging that an equal number of the royal troops should be returned; but the congress broke this cartel, on the pretence, which was notoriously false, that Forster had treated his prisoners barbarously.

The opening of the year 1776 found Washington still engaged in the blockade of Boston; but the difficulties which he had to encounter were numerous. His force was mere militia, bound to serve only for the term of a year; so that a new army was to be raised at the end of that period, and the knowledge and discipline acquired in the campaign became useless: he was ill-supplied with the munitions of war, while he could not venture to make

his real condition known, and even found it prudent to exaggerate his strength; and hence successes were expected from him which he could not accomplish: add to this, the thwarting and paralysing influence of a popular form of government and the jealousies of the different states. Fortunately for him, he had an ally in the incapacity of the British general, who remained on the defensive, with a disciplined and well-appointed army.

In the spring Washington resolved to make a bold attempt on Boston. On the night of the 4th of March a body of the provincials threw up works on Dorchester heights, which commanded the harbour, in which no ships could now remain; and the attempt to dislodge the enemy offered so many difficulties, that General Howe agreed to evacuate the town. The British troops proceeded by sea to Halifax, in Nova Scotia, whence they sailed (June 10th) for New York, and landed on Staten Island. Having here received large reinforcements of British and Hessian troops, General Howe passed over to Long Island and routed the provincials, with a loss of two thousand slain and one thousand taken, among whom were their generals Lord Stirling, Sullivan, and Udell; but, instead of attacking at once their lines at Brooklyn, he resolved to proceed by regular approaches, and Washington thus had time to convey his troops over the river. New York, however, surrendered, and remained in possession of the English during the war. Washington was finally driven over the river Delaware, and the province of New Jersey was reduced. On the night of Christmas Day, however, this able commander secretly crossed the river, and surprised and captured a party of Hessians at Trenton; and he finally recovered a great part of New Jersey.

On the 4th of July, 1776, the congress of the United States of America, as they now styled themselves, put forth their Declaration of Independence. It detailed every real and imaginary grievance, laying the blame of everything on the king himself, whom they scrupled not to designate as a tyrant. The object of those who devised it was evidently to cut off all hope of reconciliation with the mother-country, and to afford a pretext for France and other powers to aid them; for they felt that single-handed they could not resist the power of Great Britain: in fact, they had already entered into secret relations with the court of France, which had agreed to assist them in an underhand manner.

In the campaign of 1777, the British general, after an ineffectual attempt at bringing Washington to action, embarked his troops for the invasion of Pennsylvania. They landed at the head of Chesapeake Bay, and (September 11th) routed the American army on the banks of a river named the Brandywine. After an ineffectual attempt to save Philadelphia, Washington retired, and (27th) the British troops entered that city.

While Sir William Howe was thus successful in the central states, General Burgoyne was advancing from Canada to the Hudson with an army of about ten thousand British and Canadians. The Americans retired before him; but the impediments offered by the nature of the country were tremendous, and all the supplies had to be brought through Canada. Accessions of strength came every day to the enemy, who were successful in two or three affairs. At length Burgoyne reached Saratoga, not far from Albany, whence he advanced to a place named Still Water. He repelled two attacks of the indefatigable Arnold; but judging it necessary to fall back to Saratoga, he there found himself surrounded by an American army, under General Gates, three times as numerous as his own, exposed to a constant fire of cannon and rifles, and with no means of procuring provisions. In a council of war a capitulation was resolved on. The most honourable terms were obtained, the troops being

granted a free passage to England, on condition of not serving again in America during the war. Desertion and other losses had reduced the British force to about five thousand eight hundred men, who laid down their arms (October 14th), and were marched to Boston.

Washington took up his winter quarters at a place named Valley Forge, and nothing could exceed the sufferings of the gallant men who served under him, unless it be their patient endurance. In miserable huts, without blankets or shoes, beneath the frost and snow of an American winter, often without food, they still endured, under the inspiring influence of their incomparable commander, and proved themselves worthy of eventual success.

FRANCE AND SPAIN AID THE COLONISTS

The intelligence of Burgoyne's surrender decided the court of France, and a treaty was signed, in which the independence of America was acknowledged. A loan was granted, and a fleet prepared to aid them. The English ambassador was recalled from Paris.

The command of the troops in America was now transferred to Sir Henry Clinton; and, in the prospect of a French war, it was resolved to evacuate Philadelphia and concentrate the forces. The army crossed the Delaware unopposed, but Washington impeded their march to New York in every possible manner. At a place named Monmouth an attack was made on the baggage, which brought on a partial action, in which the loss was between three and four hundred on each side. At the place of embarkation the British offered battle, which was declined, and they reached New York in safety (July 5th). A French fleet, under Count d'Estaing, with troops on board, having arrived, a combined attack was made by them and ten thousand Americans under General Sullivan on a British force at Newport, in Rhode Island; but Lord Howe, the English admiral at New York, though inferior in strength, having appeared off Newport, d'Estaing came out to engage him. An indecisive action was fought, after which d'Estaing, in spite of the remonstrances of his allies, went to Boston to refit; and Sullivan was soon driven out of Rhode Island.

The British troops were chiefly employed in petty expeditions, in which they did the provincials much injury by destroying their shipping and property in general. A corps of three thousand five hundred men, under Colonel Campbell, reduced the province of Georgia. In the West Indies, the island of Dominica was taken by the French; but St. Lucia surrendered to the English after d'Estaing had been repulsed, both by sea and land, by inferior forces, in his attempts to relieve it.

The following year (1779) Spain followed the example of France in declaring war against England, and a combined fleet of more than sixty sail of the line, with frigates, etc., appeared off Plymouth. Sir Charles Hardy, who commanded the Channel fleet, had only thirty-eight ships of the line, but he offered them battle, which they declined; and they quitted the Channel without having done more than give the ministry and nation a fright. Though d'Estaing acted mostly on the defensive in the West Indies, the islands of St. Vincent and Grenada fell into the hands of the French.

Washington directed his efforts chiefly to prevent the British from navigating the Hudson, for which purpose he fortified West Point, a strong position on that river, giving the command of it to General Arnold, and two other points, named Stony Point and Verplank. These last were taken and retaken

by the British during this year. An expedition from New York did great mischief in Connecticut, burning towns and shipping, and carrying off stores and ammunition. Another expedition did the same in Virginia. The chief seat of the war, however, was the southern provinces. At Savannah, in Georgia, General Prevost was besieged by d'Estaing, who had two-and-twenty ships of war, and was aided by an American army under General Lincoln. Colonel Maitland, who, with eight hundred men, had routed this officer and five thousand men in John's Island, arriving at Savannah, preparations were made for a vigorous defence. A proposal to d'Estaing to allow the women and children to leave the town was barbarously refused. An attempt, however, to storm the British lines having failed, with great loss, the assailants raised the siege and separated, and d'Estaing returned to France.



British Uniform, 1776

The year 1780 opened inauspiciously for England. Gibraltar was besieged by a combined Spanish and French force, and Minorca was equally hard pressed by the same nations. At the impulse of the empress of Russia, most of the European powers entered into an armed neutrality, on the principle that "free ships make free goods, with the exception of arms and munitions of war," in opposition to the right of search claimed by belligerent powers. But the sea is the element on which British glory has always risen in triumph, and England now had a hero equal to the emergency. Sir George Rodney had been selected for command by the king himself. He was to proceed for the West Indies, and, on his way, to convoy a squadron of transports for the relief of Gibraltar. As it was expected that he would leave the transports to proceed alone in a certain latitude, the Spanish admiral, Don Juan de Langara, was sent with eleven men-of-war to intercept them; but off Cape St. Vincent he was encountered by Rodney (January 16th). The action commenced at four in the afternoon, in a violent gale of wind, and was continued through a stormy night, and the whole Spanish fleet was taken or destroyed. Rodney relieved both Gibraltar and Minorca, and then sailed for the West Indies, where, soon after his arrival, he engaged off St. Lucia the count de Guichen. Rodney had twenty-one, the count twenty-three ships. By able manœuvres the English admiral had secured the prospect of a complete victory, but his captains (as formerly with Benbow), from jealousy, cowardice, or ignorance, disobeyed his signals, and the French fleet escaped. He brought one of the captains, Bateman, to a court-martial, and he was dismissed the service. Rodney tried ineffectually to bring the fleet again to action, but De Guichen sailed to Europe with the merchant-fleet, and Rodney then proceeded to the coast of America.

[1780 A.D.]

Though the independence of the revolted provinces had now been acknowledged by France and Spain, and these powers had, as it were, armed in their cause, never were the prospects of the colonists so gloomy. Even the firm mind of Washington began to despair.

Relieved of all apprehension from Washington, Sir Henry Clinton resolved to attempt the reduction of South Carolina in person. He sailed from New York and laid siege to Charleston, into which General Lincoln had thrown himself with seven thousand provincials. When he had completed his works and was preparing to batter the town, a capitulation was proposed and accepted. The whole province was speedily reduced, and Sir Henry Clinton then returned to New York, leaving Lord Cornwallis in Carolina with four thousand men. The American government sent thither General Gates, who assembled at Camden an army of six thousand men: Lord Cornwallis advanced to attack him with not more than two thousand, and (August 17th) gave him a complete defeat, killing eight hundred, and taking two thousand men, with all the baggage, stores, and artillery; his own loss in killed and wounded being only three hundred and fifty men.



NAVAL UNIFORM ABOUT 1782

In July a French fleet, having six thousand troops on board, under the count de Rochambeau, arrived at Rhode Island. It was proposed, when De Guichen, who was expected, should arrive, that a general attack by sea and land should be made on New York; but the activity of Rodney, as we have seen, disconcerted this plan.

While Washington was absent at a conference with Count Rochambeau, Arnold, who had been in secret correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton for betraying West Point, desired that some trusty agent might be sent to him. Major André, adjutant-general of the British army, volunteered his services, and he landed in the night from the *Vulture* sloop of war. At daybreak, when his conference with Arnold was concluded, he found it impossible to return to the sloop, and being furnished by Arnold with a pass under the name of Anderson, he attempted to reach New York by land. He was however met and stopped by three militia-men. He wrote without delay a letter to Arnold under his assumed name, and that general escaped on board the *Vulture* just before Washington's order to arrest him arrived.

André, who no longer concealed his name or quality, was brought before a court-martial, and tried as a spy. He denied that he was such, as he had come on shore under a passport or flag of truce from Arnold. The court however found him guilty, and sentenced him to be hanged. Every exertion was made to save him by Sir Henry Clinton, but in vain; Washington was inexorable; even the urgent request of the prisoner to be shot was refused, and he was hanged (October 2nd) amid the sympathy of the officers and soldiers of the American army.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

As the contest was now drawing to its close, we will here pause and take a view of the state of affairs at home, for the last few years.

On the subject of the war with the colonies, feelings and opinions were divided. The great body of the nation was beyond doubt on the side of the ministry, and desirous of reducing the refractory colonists by force; and the king himself, with his characteristic obstinacy of character, was firmly set against concession. On the other hand, the whig party, partly from prudence and a regard for justice, still more perhaps out of opposition to the court and ministry, were in favour of conciliation. The dissenters were, of course, on the side of the colonists. Doctor Price published a work at this time on the *Nature of Civil Liberty, the Principles of Government*, etc., in which, as is usual in such writings, the blemishes of the British constitution were studiously displayed and exaggerated, while free reins were given to imagination in discussing the spirit and nature of the American revolution. There was however a judicious set of men, such as Dean Tucker, who saw clearly that prudence and interest equally counselled an acknowledgement of the independence of the colonies; but their number of course was small, and their arguments were slighted.

Lord Chatham had from the very commencement of the troubles been the advocate of conciliation. He was for yielding to all the reasonable demands of the colonists; he reprobated the employment of foreign troops against them, and he poured forth a torrent of his most impassioned eloquence on the subject of the employment of the Indians in the war by Burgoyne. But nothing was further from the mind of this great man than the dismemberment of the empire.[c]

The letters of the king sufficiently manifest the strong aversion which he had taken to the statesman who, in this crisis of his country's fate, was looked up to as the only Englishman who was likely to conciliate America while he alarmed France. The king declared on the 15th of March, that he did not object to Lord North applying to Lord Chatham to support his administration; but adding "that no advantage to my country, nor personal danger to myself, can make me address myself to Lord Chatham or to any other branch of opposition. Honestly, I would rather lose the crown I now wear than bear the ignominy of possessing it under their shackles." The national feeling with regard to Chatham was expressed in a letter by Thomas Coutts, the eminent banker. He said that "Every rank looks up to him with the only gleam of hope that remains." In a few weeks a higher power than courts or senates decided that Chatham should be at rest — indifferent to the hatred of a king, or the veneration of a people.

CHATHAM'S LAST SPEECH AND DEATH (1778 A.D.)

The duke of Richmond had given notice in the house of lords of a motion which he intended to make on the 7th of April, "for an address to the king upon the state of the nation." On the 5th the duke sent to Lord Chatham the draft of his proposed address; which Chatham returned the next day, expressing his concern "to find himself under so wide a difference with the duke of Richmond, as between the sovereignty and allegiance of America." Chatham was slowly recovering from a fit of the gout; but he determined to go to town from Hayes, and take his place in parliament. Lord Camden, in a letter to the duke of Grafton, describing the closing scene of the great

earl's public life, says, "he was not in a condition to go abroad; and he was earnestly requested not to make the attempt." Camden saw him in the prince's chamber before he went into the house; and remarked "the feeble state of his body, and the distempered agitation of his mind." An eye-witness has recorded his appearance: "Lord Chatham came into the house of lords, leaning upon two friends, lapped up in flannel, pale and emaciated. Within his large wig, little more was to be seen than his aquiline nose and his penetrating eye. He looked like a dying man; yet never was seen a figure of more dignity." The two friends were his son, William Pitt, and Lord Mahon, his son-in-law. The duke of Richmond had proposed his motion for an address. Viscount Weymouth had opposed the motion.

The earl of Chatham, continues the narrative of the eye-witness, "rose from his seat with slowness and difficulty, leaning on his crutches, and supported under each arm by his two friends. He took one hand from his crutch, and raised it, casting his eyes towards heaven, and said, 'I thank God that I have been enabled to come here this day, to perform my duty, and to speak on a subject which has so deeply impressed my mind. I am old and infirm — have one foot, more than one foot, in the grave — I am risen from my bed to stand up in the cause of my country, perhaps never again to speak in this house.'" Lord Camden describes the words of Chatham as "shreds of unconnected eloquence, and flashes of the same fire which he, Prometheus-like, had stolen from heaven; and were then returning to the place from whence they were taken." That withering sarcasm which occasionally found its place in his impassioned harangues was not absent in this last effort. Speaking of the probability of invasion, he said, "Of a Spanish invasion, of a French invasion, of a Dutch invasion, many noble lords may have read in history; and some lords may perhaps remember a Scotch invasion." He looked at Lord Mansfield.[e]

"My lords," said he in conclusion, "I rejoice that the grave has not closed on me, that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and noble monarchy. Pressed down as I am by a load of infirmities, I am little able to serve my country in this most perilous conjuncture; but while I have sense and memory, I will never consent to deprive the royal offspring of the house of Brunswick, the heirs of the princess Sophia, of their fairest inheritance, or to tarnish the lustre of the nation by an ignominious surrender of its rights and possessions. Shall this great kingdom, that has survived whole and entire Danish depredations, Scottish inroads, the Norman Conquest, and the threatened invasion of the Spanish armada, now fall prostrate before the house of Bourbon? Shall a people, seventeen years ago the terror of the world, now stoop so low as to tell its ancient and inveterate enemy, Take all we have, only give us peace? It is impossible! I wage war with no man, or set of men; I wish for none of their employments; nor would I co-operate with those who persist in unretracted error; or who, instead of acting on a firm decisive line of conduct, halt between two opinions where there is no middle path. In God's name, if it be absolutely necessary to declare for peace or war, and if peace cannot be preserved with honour, why is not war commenced without hesitation? I am not, I confess, well informed of the resources of this kingdom, but I trust it has still sufficient to maintain its just rights, though I know them not. Any state, however, is better than despair; let us at least make one effort, and if we must fall, let us fall like men."

The duke of Richmond replied. As he proceeded in his argument, Lord Chatham, by the motion of his hand, indicated that he took notice of, and

would reply to some offensive expressions, but when he attempted to rise again to speak, he fell back in a convulsive fit. He was caught by those near him and carried into an adjoining apartment, whence he was conveyed to his villa of Hayes in Kent, where on the eleventh of the following May he breathed his last, in the seventieth year of his age. He was honoured with a public funeral, and his remains repose in Westminster Abbey.

The name of William Pitt, the great commoner, the man who by the sole force of talent raised himself to the highest point of eminence, stands in our annals invested with never-fading glory. His contemporaries speak with wonder of the powers of his eloquence, his commanding figure, his noble countenance, his eagle-eye, his graceful action, his lofty declamation, his withering invective, his keen irony and sarcasm. The purity of his private life gave lustre to his public virtues. In an age of corruption, calumny never ventured to breathe a suspicion on his name. The only charge that could be made against him was, that for the sake of embarrassing Walpole, he had advocated opinions which he renounced when himself in power. His ambition was boundless, his love of war was perhaps too great, and never did a minister more lavishly employ the resources of the country. Fortune, however, stood his friend; the successes of Wolfe in the west and of Clive in the east (with the last of which, however, he had no concern), shed glory on his administration; and the impulse which his genius had given to the nation, achieved resplendent triumphs even after his retirement from office.



WILLIAM PITT, FIRST EARL OF CHATHAM
(1708–1778)

The chief defect in the character of this eminent man was a haughty and overbearing spirit, too often the concomitant of great political talents. As the vizir of an eastern monarch, Pitt would have been in his proper element, as all would then have yielded to his will, and there would have been no popular assembly to convince or to conciliate.[c]

ASSOCIATION FOR THE REDRESS OF GRIEVANCES (1780 A.D.)

The internal affairs of the country in the year 1780 are, in many respects, as interesting and instructive as those of any year in our annals. England was, unquestionably, distinctly threatened with some great political convulsion. The obstinate persistence in the war with America had brought upon the country its natural consequences — excessive taxation, and interruption to the usual course of profitable industry. Twenty years only had

[1780 A.D.]

elapsed since the nation looked back upon a period of unexampled prosperity, and of signal triumph; of victory abroad and of tranquillity at home. The nation had then confidence in the directors of its affairs; regarded the parliament as the true representative of public opinion; and viewed the sovereign power, according to the principles of the Revolution, as the especial guardian of the freedom and happiness of the people. A young prince had come to the crown, with every apparent disposition to rule righteously and constitutionally; and yet, from the first year of his accession, a system of favouritism had surrounded the throne with a host of placemen, who were chosen to assert an invidious distinction between the interests of the king and the measures of the responsible servants of the state. During these twenty years a great change had come over the popular convictions. The parliament had become opposed to the people; and the executive power had grown out of harmony with the theory of the constitution, through the tendency to govern by the corruption of the parliament. The preponderating influence of a great aristocratic party had indeed been weakened, and in many essentials destroyed; but with that weakness had come a proportionate weakness of the democratic element of the constitution. The time had arrived when the minority in parliament, whether peers or commoners, saw that, to renew their strength as a governing power, they must identify themselves more distinctly with the people. The abuses consequent upon the excessive number of sinecure offices, and of large pensions, unsanctioned by parliamentary authority, called for economical reform. The scandalous proportion of members of the house of commons returned for rotten boroughs demanded reform in parliament. A vast amount of public opinion was brought to bear upon these two points, in the form of associations for the redress of grievances.

On the 8th of February, Sir George Savile, the respected member for Yorkshire, presented to the house of commons the petition of a great meeting of the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of his county, which was signed by eight thousand persons. The Yorkshire petition set forth, as the consequences of a most expensive and unfortunate war, a large addition to the national debt, heavy accumulation of taxes, a rapid decline of the trade, manufactures, and land-rents of the kingdom. It then came to the chief grievance: "Alarmed at the diminished resources and growing burdens of this country, and convinced that rigid frugality is now indispensably necessary in every department of the state, your petitioners observe with grief, that notwithstanding the calamitous and impoverished condition of the nation, much public money has been improvidently squandered, and that many individuals enjoy sinecure places, efficient places with exorbitant emoluments, and pensions unmerited by public service, to a large and still increasing amount; whence the crown has acquired a great and unconstitutional influence, which, if not checked, may soon prove fatal to the liberties of this country."

The great meeting in Yorkshire gave an example to the rest of England. Twenty-three counties adopted similar petitions, and appointed their corresponding committees. Motions for economical reform had been brought forward in the house of lords before the recess; and Burke had given notice of the measure which he intended to propose. On the 11th of February he accomplished this intention, in the delivery of a speech which is amongst the masterpieces of English composition — unsurpassed in lucidness of detail, force of reasoning, historical research, and gleams of wit and poetry, by any example of parliamentary rhetoric. Out of seven fundamental rules which

he lays down, three, especially, will apply to all time; and, it may be feared, will never cease to require a vigilant application.

"That all jurisdictions which furnish more matter of expense, more temptation to oppression, or more means and instruments of corrupt influence, than advantage to justice or political administration, ought to be abolished.

"That all offices which bring more charge than proportional advantage to the state; that all offices which may be engrafted on others, uniting and simplifying their duties, ought, in the first case, to be taken away; and in the second, to be consolidated.

"That it is right to reduce every establishment, and every part of an establishment (as nearly as possible), to certainty, the life of all order and good management."

Burke, in his truly statesmanlike speech upon economical reform, argued that a temperate reform is permanent, because it has a principle of growth. Burke's proposals were so temperate, and so incapable of being refuted by argument, that Lord North offered no opposition to the reception of the first bill which was founded upon them. Other members were ready to go further than Burke. Sir George Savile, on the 15th of February, moved for an account of all places for life or lives, whether held by patent or otherwise, and also for an account of all subsisting pensions, granted by the crown, during pleasure or otherwise. The motion was opposed by Lord Nugent, upon the ground that many reduced gentry enjoyed his majesty's private bounty, and would not like their names to be made public — "many lady Bridgets, lady Marys, and lady Jennys." Lord North proposed an amendment, limiting the account to pensions payable at the exchequer. The whole amount payable under the name of pensions, he said, did not exceed £50,000. To publish a list would "prepare a feast for party-writers, and furnish materials for magazines and newspapers." Happy is the government that does not shrink from the eye of magazines and newspapers! Lord North carried his amendment only by a majority of two in a full house. The session was a series of parliamentary conflicts, some conducted with personal acrimony which involved the ridiculous arbitrement of duelling. A bill was carried in the house of commons against contractors sitting in parliament, which was rejected in the house of lords. Burke's own bill encountered every obstruction in its progress through committee; and the session was concluded without any practical result of the great statesman's incontrovertible exposition of abuses which agitated the minds of a whole people.

On the 18th of May the most important clauses in Burke's bill were lost in committee. The king has triumphed. "You cannot doubt," he writes to Lord North, "that I received with pleasure the account of Mr. Burke's bill having been defeated." His majesty was looking to a new parliament to continue the abuses that were odious to the nation, or, as it appeared to the royal mind, "to keep the present constitution of the country in its pristine lustre."

THE LORD GEORGE GORDON RIOTS (1780 A.D.)

According to the theory of a narrow-minded king, the pristine lustre of the constitution would have been shorn of its beams, if fifty useless places had not been held by members of parliament, to do the bidding of the court without the slightest reference to the interests of the nation. According to the theory of a large section of a somewhat intolerant public, the Protestant

succession would have lost the best part of its value, if English Roman Catholics were allowed to hold property in land; if their spiritual instructors were not subject to the penalties of treason or felony; if a Protestant son could no longer eject his papist father from his estate. These severities of the statutes of the tenth and eleventh of William III had ceased to be applied; but they existed as a temptation to informers to extort money from the timid, and as a stigma upon the loyal and peaceful. In 1778, upon the motion of Savile, seconded by Dunning, these obsolete penalties were repealed, with the approbation of men of all parties. The Acts of William III, dating before the union with Scotland, did not affect the position of Roman Catholics there; and it was subsequently contemplated to repeal a statute of the Scottish parliament, which was as odious to right-thinking persons as the enactments of the days when popery was the great terror of England. The proceedings of the parliament in 1778 stirred up the fanaticism of Edinburgh and Glasgow at the beginning of 1779. Riots took place in Edinburgh. Houses of reputed Roman Catholics were assailed and damaged. A house where Catholics assembled for worship was set on fire. Those who by speech or writing advocated freedom of opinion, were threatened with vengeance; the brutal zealots selecting as one of the objects of their hostility their distinguished countryman, the historian Robertson. A Protestant association and committee was set up in Scotland; and a silly nobleman, Lord George Gordon, was chosen as its president. This fanatic had sat in parliament for several years, raving and gesticulating when any debate excited his monomania. Contemptible as he was in intellect, he acquired some consideration from the position he had obtained as the leader of a body of people, large in numbers and dangerous in their enthusiasm.

On the 29th of May he called a public meeting at Coachmakers' hall; where he harangued a great audience about the dangers of popery; and proposed a resolution that the whole body of the Protestant association should meet in St. George's fields on the following Friday, to accompany him to the house of commons to deliver their petition. If less than twenty thousand persons should attend him, he would not present it. He proposed that they should assemble in four divisions — the Protestants of London the first, of Westminster the second, of Southwark the third, and the Scots resident in the metropolis the fourth; and that every real Protestant should come with a blue cockade on his hat.[e]

On Friday, June 2nd, the petitioners assembled in St. George's fields, to the number of from forty to fifty thousand, and with Lord George at their head, and wearing blue cockades inscribed with "No Popery," marched in four divisions to the parliament house, where they blocked up the avenues and insulted several of the members. On the arrival of some troops in the evening they retired, but proceeded to demolish the chapels of the Sardinian and Bavarian embassies. On Saturday the populace remained quiet, but on Sunday they demolished the chapels and dwelling-houses of the Catholics about Moorfields. Their efforts on Monday were directed against the house of Sir George Saville in Leicesterfields, which was saved with difficulty. On Tuesday, which was the day for taking their petition into consideration, the mob again surrounded the house, and the members having passed some resolutions suited to the occasion, adjourned. In the evening Newgate was broken open, and three hundred ruffians turned loose; the house of Sir John Fielding, the magistrate, was demolished; the rabble then rushed to Bloomsbury square and attacked the residence of Lord Mansfield; they plundered and destroyed the furniture, pictures, and statues, and burned the books and

manuscripts; the earl himself and his lady escaping with difficulty. The day concluded by the breaking open of Clerkenwell prison. On Wednesday the King's Bench, the Fleet, and other prisons were broken open and set on fire, as also were several private houses, and attempts were made on the bank and pay-office.

Hitherto the mob had rioted and destroyed at will. On this day a privy council sat, but was rising without coming to a conclusion, when the king asked if nothing effectual could be recommended. The attorney-general said that he knew of but one course, which was to authorise the military to act without the presence of a magistrate. The council, though approving, hesitated to adopt this course; when the king, nobly declaring that he would take the whole responsibility on himself, signed the order. The guards and militia forthwith began to act against the rioters; the slaughter was considerable, but next day by noon the city was tranquil. Lord George Gordon was committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason. Numbers of the rioters were tried by a special commission, and fifty-nine were capitally convicted.[c]



MARKET CROSS, WINCHESTER, AS IN EARLY 19TH CENTURY

Early in February, 1781, the trial of Lord Gordon came on before Lord Mansfield, as chief justice, and on a charge of high treason. The public mind had certainly much cooled since the numerous convictions in July, 1780, and the noble prisoner was no doubt far less criminal than silly. Still, however, it was fortunate for him that his defence depended on that most able advocate, Thomas Erskine, whose just fame will be ever blended with the records of this cause.

Erskine, as counsel for his lordship, found himself junior to Lloyd Kenyon. This was a worthy man, and excellent lawyer, deservedly raised both to the bench and to the peerage. But he was wholly destitute of eloquence, and in opening Lord George's defence, delivered a most ineffective speech. Under these circumstances, Erskine, contrary to the common rule, obtained permission to defer his own address until after the evidence for the prisoner had been closed. He rose soon after midnight, and quickly dispelled all feeling of weariness from all those who heard him, as he, with consummate skill, combined some passionate bursts of glowing oratory with a chain of the closest argument. Then, for the first and only time in our legal annals, did an advocate, addressing a court of justice, presume to use an oath. Erskine had been alleging whatever proofs the case could afford of his client's good and peaceful intentions; and when he had related how, in the midst of the disturbances, Lord George had gone to Buckingham House, and asked to see the king, and how he had told the secretary of state, Lord Stormont, whom alone he succeeded in seeing, that he would do his best to quell the riots; on completing this recapitulation, Erskine thus broke forth:—"I say, *by God*, that man is a ruffian who shall, after this, presume to build upon such honest, artless conduct as an evidence of guilt." So well did the voice, the eye, the

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face, assist these words — so happily did the words chime in with the high-wrought feelings of the hearers — that instead of being shrunk from as profane, or rebuked as indecorous, they seemed rather to impart a tone of religious exaltation; and thus was the daring experiment crowned with complete success.

Erskine having ended, and the solicitor-general replied, the case was summed up by Lord Mansfield in remarks by no means favourable to the prisoner. The jury withdrew for half an hour, but at a quarter past five in the morning brought back to the thronged and anxious court their verdict of Not Guilty. There were still, in Scotland at least, some partisans left to Lord George, to rejoice at his acquittal, and subscribe nearly £500 towards his expenses. But the joy extended farther. It was felt on constitutional grounds by many who had not the slightest political leaning to the silly young fanatic. "I am glad," said Dr. Johnson, "Lord George Gordon has escaped, rather than a precedent should be established of hanging a man for constructive treason." *b*

CONCLUSION OF THE AMERICAN WAR

We now resume the narrative of the American War. The blockade of Gibraltar still continued (1781); famine preyed on the garrison and people, but Admiral Danby conveyed supplies to it in the face of a superior Spanish fleet lying in the bay of Cadiz. The besiegers then kept up for the space of three weeks one of the most tremendous bombardments in the annals of war, and they had brought their works to completion, when a sally of the garrison totally destroyed them. A combined force of sixteen thousand men was landed at Minorca for the attack of St. Philip's castle, and a combined fleet of seventy ships of war appeared in the British Channel.

The Dutch had joined in the war against England, but they paid dear for their treachery. Admiral Parker, as, with six ships of the line and some frigates, he was convoying a fleet from the Baltic, was encountered off the Dogger Bank (August 5th) by the Dutch admiral Zoutman, with ten sail of the line and frigates. The action, which lasted nearly four hours, was terrific; the English had five hundred, the Dutch twelve hundred, killed and wounded; both fleets were disabled, and the Dutch hardly got into their own ports. In the West Indies, Rodney took their island of St. Eustatius, in which, being a free port, immense wealth in goods and stores was collected: all this became the prize of the victors, who also captured a great number of merchantmen.

Sir Henry Clinton having sent General Arnold with a force into Virginia, directed Lord Cornwallis to form a junction with him. As he was advancing for that purpose, he sent Colonel Tarleton with a corps of eleven hundred men, to oppose General Morgan, who was acting on his left. At a place called the Cowpens, Tarleton came up with the enemy (January 17th), and in the hard-fought action which ensued, the British were defeated for the first time in an open field of battle. The American general Greene displayed considerable ability in impeding the measures of Lord Cornwallis till he found himself strong enough to engage him; he then (March 15th) gave him battle at Guilford Court House. The Americans had five thousand men, the British half the number. The latter gained the honour of the day, but want of provisions and the severity of the weather obliged them to retire, leaving their wounded to the care of the enemy. Lord Cornwallis then pushed on for Virginia, while Greene advanced toward South Carolina. At a place named Hobkirk's hill (April 25th) he was attacked and routed by Lord Rawdon; and,

after a variety of operations, he encountered (September 8th) at Eutaw Springs Colonel Stewart, who now commanded the British in that province. The action was the most obstinate that had yet been fought; the American militia acted nobly; both sides claimed the victory, but the British found it necessary to retire to Charleston.

Lord Cornwallis, meantime, having reached the Chesapeake, in spite of opposition, fortified Yorktown and Gloucester point. He applied in vain for reinforcements to Sir Henry Clinton, who feared for New York. A large French fleet, under Count de Grasse, then entered the Chesapeake, and Washington and Count Rochambeau having joined their forces, their united army of twelve thousand men appeared before Yorktown, while De Grasse blocked up the mouth of the York river. The British force did not amount to seven thousand men. A gallant defence was made, but they were obliged to yield to numbers and capitulate (October 19th). With this event the contest in America terminated.

Fortune was elsewhere unfavourable to Great Britain, whom France had now deprived of all the Leeward Islands, except Antigua and Barbadoes. Minorca was lost; St. Philip's castle, after one of the noblest defences on record, and the reduction of its garrison to eight hundred men, having been obliged to surrender.

The surrender of Yorktown sealed the doom of the North administration. An unfortunate minister is seldom secure in his power; the country gentlemen now opened their eyes to the folly of continuing the war; a formidable plan of attack was conceived and executed by the opposition, led on by General Conway and Mr. Fox, and sustained by their usual champions, with the accession of William Pitt, son of the great earl of Chatham, and Mr. Sheridan, both of whom had displayed great talent in debate. Day after day the ministerial majority declined. At length (March, 1782) Lord North announced that the cabinet was dissolved.

The opposition having gained the victory, had now to divide the spoils. But herein lay a difficulty. It consisted of two almost hostile parties; the one headed by the marquis of Rockingham, which was for conceding total independence to the colonies; the other, led by the earl of Shelburne, which though willing to yield up the right of taxation and terminate the war, trod in the steps of Lord Chatham, who almost with his dying breath had protested against a dismemberment of the empire. The new ministry was formed of five of each party; the chancellor, Lord Thurlow, to gratify the king, being allowed to retain the great seal. Lord Rockingham was premier; Lord Shelburne and Mr. Fox secretaries; General Conway commander-in-chief; Lord John Cavendish chancellor of the exchequer; Mr. Dunning (later Lord Ashburton) chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, etc; Burke was paymaster of the forces; Barré treasurer of the navy; Sheridan under-secretary of state. Pitt declined taking any office.

The watchword of the new ministry was peace, economy, and no patronage. Yet, when Mr. Pitt brought in a bill for a reform in parliament, it was rejected, and the whole of the retrenchments made amounted only to £72,000 a year, the far greater part of which was in the department of Mr. Burke, the great advocate of the measure. What further they might have done is not to be known, for the death of Lord Rockingham in the summer broke up the cabinet, as Fox and his friends refused to act under Lord Shelburne, and retired. Mr. Pitt now took office as chancellor of the exchequer, though only twenty-three years of age.

Negotiations for peace had been commenced, but the war still continued.

On the 12th of April Rodney brought De Grasse to action in the West Indies, and by executing the manœuvre of breaking the line, he gave him a complete defeat, taking or destroying eight ships, and reducing almost to wrecks the remainder, two of which were captured a few days after by Sir Samuel Hood. But as Admiral Graves was conducting the prizes to England, and convoying the homeward-bound merchant-fleet, a terrific storm came on, in which all the prizes but one, two British men-of-war, and several of the merchantmen, perished, and three thousand lives were lost. At home the loss of the *Royal George* of one hundred guns, which was upset by a squall (August 29th) at Portsmouth, and went down with Admiral Kempenfeldt and a thousand men and women on board, increased the calamities of the year.

The storm of war beat this year with unprecedented fury on the rock of Gibraltar and its heroic defenders. The duke of Crillon, the conqueror of Minorca, took the command of the besieging army; ten floating batteries, proof against shot and fire, were constructed; forty-seven sail of the line, beside frigates and other craft, were collected in the bay; while batteries, mounting two hundred guns and protected by forty thousand men, were raised on the isthmus. The whole force by land and sea amounted to a hundred thousand men. On the 13th of September a simultaneous cannonnade was opened on the fortress, which was returned by shells and red-hot balls. The whole peninsula seemed one blaze of flame, while the roaring of the artillery was not intermitted for a second. During the day no effect seemed to be made on either side, but in the night two of the floating batteries burst into flames; the light enabled the besieged to direct their guns, and by morning six more were in the same condition; the fire from twelve gunboats prevented the enemy from bringing off their crews, all of whom would have perished but for the humanity of the British, who saved about four hundred men. The siege was now at an end, and the war was thus concluded brilliantly by England in Europe as well as in the West Indies. Her success had been uniform in the east. General Elliot, the gallant governor of Gibraltar, was raised to the peerage with the title of Baron Heathfield.[c]

The parliament was opened by the king on the 5th of December, the houses having met on the previous 26th of November, and were then adjourned in the expectation of some definite result from the negotiations. The opening words of the speech are very memorable. His majesty declared he had lost no time in giving the necessary orders to prohibit the further prosecution of offensive war upon the continent of North America. Adopting with decision what he gathered to be the sense of his parliament and his people, he had directed all his measures to an entire and cordial reconciliation with those colonies. He had not hesitated to go the full length of the powers vested in him, and had offered to declare them free and independent states, by an article to be inserted in the treaty of peace. Provisional articles had been agreed upon, to take effect whenever terms of peace should be finally settled with the court of France. The king then said, "In thus admitting their separation from the crown of these kingdoms, I have sacrificed every consideration of my own to the wishes and opinion of my people. I make it my humble and earnest prayer to Almighty God, that Great Britain may not feel the evils which might result from so great a dismemberment of the empire; and that America may be free from those calamities which have formerly proved in the mother country how essential monarchy is to the enjoyment of constitutional liberty. Religion, language, interest, affections, may, and I hope will, yet prove a bond of permanent union between the two countries."

On the 20th of January, 1783, the preliminaries of peace were signed

between Great Britain and France and Spain. With Holland there was a suspension of arms; and the preliminaries of peace were not signed until the 2nd of September. The articles of pacification with the United States, with the exception of the first article acknowledging their independence, are now of minor importance. By the treaty with France, England ceded St. Lucia and Tobago, and gained back Granada, St. Vincent's, Dominica, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat. The French recovered some possessions in Africa, and in the East Indies. The old stipulations for the demolition of Dunkirk were given up. To Spain, Great Britain ceded Minorca and the Floridas. The principle of the final treaty with Holland was on the basis of mutual restitution.

PARLIAMENTARY CENSURES OF THE TERMS OF PEACE (1783 A.D.)

Thus, then, was finished one of the most calamitous wars that England had ever been driven into, through a mistaken view of the relative positions of a mother country and her colonies, and an obstinate reliance upon her power to enforce obedience. It might have been expected that a pacification which involved no humiliating conditions, beyond the acknowledgment of that independence of the United States which it was no longer possible to withhold, would have been received with unmingled satisfaction. On the contrary, a combination of parties was entered into for the purpose of removing Lord Shelburne and his ministry; a coalition which is not a pleasant exhibition of the motives which sometimes unite the most opposite factions in the pursuit of power. On the 17th of February, the two houses took into consideration the preliminaries of peace with France, Spain and America. In the house of lords the ministers carried the address of thanks to the crown by a majority of thirteen. In the house of commons they were defeated by a majority of sixteen. On the 21st of February Lord John Cavendish moved resolutions of censure on the terms of the peace, which were carried by a majority of seventeen. Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt were on this occasion brought into immediate conflict — "the tug of war" which was to last for twenty years was now begun. The particular points of attack or defence in the conditions of the peace have little to interest us. But the principles exhibited by these great rivals on so stirring an occasion have a permanent value. Fox defended the coalition of parties which some had censured; but he emphatically proclaimed his adhesion to his own party. Pitt was self-reliant in his own confidence in the purity of his intentions: "High situation, and great influence, are desirable objects to most men, and objects which I am not ashamed to pursue, which I am even solicitous to possess, whenever they can be acquired with honour, and retained with dignity. On these respectable conditions, I am not less ambitious to be great and powerful than it is natural for a young man, with such brilliant examples before him, to be. But even these objects I am not beneath relinquishing, the moment my duty to my country, my character, and my friends, renders such a sacrifice indispensable. Then I hope to retire, not disappointed, but triumphant; triumphant in the conviction that my talents, humble as they are, have been earnestly, zealously, and strenuously employed, to the best of my apprehension, in promoting the truest welfare of my country; and that, however I may stand chargeable with weakness of understanding, or error of judgment, nothing can be imputed to my official capacity which bears the most distant connection with an interested, a corrupt, or a dishonest intention." The struggle for office was over. On the 24th of February Lord Shelburne resigned. One of his secretaries of

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state, Lord Grantham, wrote to Sir James Harris that the fallen minister trusted too much to his measures, and that the parliament, spoilt by long habits of interest, gave no credit to them. The measures of Lord Shelburne contemplated a much wider field of action than his opponents, with the exception of Burke, could have admitted into their views. In the king's speech at the opening of the session, his majesty recommended a revision of the whole English trading system, upon the same comprehensive and liberal principles that had been adopted concerning the commerce of Ireland. Shelburne's opinions upon a liberal system of commerce were before his time. They were entirely opposed to the existing ignorance of the commercial public, and they would necessarily have failed. If he had remained in power, the great trading communities would have ensured his fall, had he dared to promulgate the principles which could only be accepted when England had received the enlightenment of more than half a century's experience.

THE COALITION MINISTRY (1783 A.D.)

The coalition of the party headed by Lord North, and of the party headed by Mr. Fox, had succeeded in compelling Lord Shelburne and Mr. Pitt to resign; but it was not without difficulty that the coalesced chiefs could induce the king to admit them to power. After a considerable delay, the duke of Portland became first lord of the treasury, and Fox and North were appointed secretaries of state. The repugnance of the king to this extraordinary union of two political rivals — which, securing a majority in the house of commons, forced upon him as the real prime minister, a man whom he disliked with an intensity approaching to hatred — was more than tolerated by the majority of the nation. The coalition was odious to all men not bound by the trammels of the party. Fox and North received the seals on the 2nd of April, 1783. The acceptance of place by Fox rendered his re-election for Westminster necessary; and Romilly writes — "It is almost a general wish that some man of character and credit may be opposed to him as a candidate." He was re-elected, because no candidate was found; "but the populace received him with hisses, hooting, and every other mark of displeasure."

Pitt was now in opposition. He had in vain declared "a just and lawful impediment" to the "ill-omened and unnatural marriage," forbidding the banns "in the name of the public weal." The ministry were strong in their majorities. Pitt vainly opposed the conditions of the loan which they had raised upon very disadvantageous terms. On the 7th of May he, a second time, brought forward the question of parliamentary reform. He proposed that when the gross corruption of the majority of voters in any borough was proved before a committee of the commons, the borough should be disfranchised; and that a large addition of knights of the shire, and of members for the metropolis, should be made to the representative body. But Pitt openly declared against the practicability of a perfectly equal representation, and held that those places known by the popular appellation of rotten boroughs, were to be regarded in the light of deformities which in some degree disfigured the fabric of the constitution, but which he feared could not be removed without endangering the whole pile. Fox earnestly defended the proposition; North opposed it. Pitt's resolutions were rejected by a majority of 144. The young reformer was more successful in carrying through the house of commons a bill for preventing abuses in the public offices, the chief object of which was to abolish an odious system of perquisites and percent-

ages. In the house of lords the adherents of the ministry threw out the bill. The session came to a close on the 16th of July.

The session of parliament was opened on the 11th of November. The prince of Wales, previous to the arrival of the king, had been introduced to the house of peers, with great ceremony, and was conducted to his chair of state on the right hand of the throne. Carlton House had been assigned to him as a residence. The question of India was the most important topic of the king's speech: "The situation of the East India Company will require the utmost exertions of your wisdom, to maintain and improve the valuable advantages derived from our Indian possessions, and to promote and secure the happiness of the native inhabitants of those provinces." On the 18th of November Mr. Fox brought forward his India Bill. Mr. Fox proposed that the authority of the East India Company should be transferred to commissioners to be named by parliament, and not removeable at the pleasure of the crown. "His plan," he said, "was to establish a board, to consist of seven persons, who should be invested with full power to appoint and displace officers in India, and under whose control the whole government of that country should be placed." There were to be eight assistants to this board, who should have charge of the commercial concerns of the company, but subject to the control of the other seven. The board was to be held in England; it was to be established for three or five years, to try the experiment. If experience proved the utility of the board, then the king was to have the future nomination of its members.



CHARLES JAMES FOX

(1749–1806)

The principle of Mr. Fox's India Bill was resisted upon its first introduction to parliament. Mr. Pitt declared his opinion that the whole of the proposed system was nothing more on one side than absolute despotism, and on the other side the most gross corruption. Previous to the second reading of the bill, the corporation of London, in common council assembled, adopted a petition to the house of commons that the bill might not pass into law. The example of the city was followed by many other corporations. Nevertheless, Fox triumphed in the house of commons by large majorities. The second reading of his bills was carried by a majority of 114; and on the 9th of December they were presented by the minister and a numerous body of members at the bar of the house of lords.

On the day when the coalition ministry entered office, the king wrote to Earl Temple, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland, to express his hope that many months would not elapse before "the Grenvilles, the Pitts, and other men of character" would relieve him from a thraldom to which he had been compelled to submit. The opportunity which the king so ardently desired did

not come till the India Bill had provoked a manifestation of popular opinion which might enable the crown to defy a majority of the house of commons. It was a dangerous experiment. The nobleman to whom the king had confided his sorrows in April was ready in December not only to whisper to the peers, but confidently to state, that whoever voted for the India Bill would be considered by the king as his enemy. The effect upon all those who desired to live only in the sunshine of royal favour was instantaneous. "The bishops waver, and the thanes fly from us," writes Fitzpatrick. He adds, "the public is full of alarm and astonishment at the treachery as well as the imprudence of this unconstitutional interference. Nobody guesses what will be the consequence of a conduct that is generally compared to that of Charles I in 1641." The India bills were rejected in the upper house on the 17th of December, by a majority of ninety-five to seventy-six. On the 18th, at midnight, a message was sent by the king to Lord North and Mr. Fox, commanding them to give up their seals of office by their under-secretaries, as a personal interview would be disagreeable to his majesty.

PITT AT THE HELM (1783 A.D.)

On the 19th Pitt was appointed first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. Earl Temple, who had received the seals of secretary of state, was for the immediate dissolution of parliament. Pitt was against this, and Temple resigned on the 22nd, leaving the young prime minister to sustain, almost alone, the most severe conflict for power recorded in the annals of parliament.

In forming his administration Pitt had scarcely a statesman of any reputation to support him, with the exception of Thurlow, as chancellor, and Dundas, who was not of the cabinet. His father's friend, Camden, stood by him in the house of lords, although not originally forming one of the ministry. Pitt had almost wholly to depend upon his own ability and courage to sustain the attack he had to expect from a large majority of the house of commons, headed by Fox, Burke, North, and Sheridan.

On the 12th of January, 1784, Pitt appeared in the house of commons as the head of the government. Violent were the debates on points of form and questions of principle. The minister was beaten upon two divisions, and five adverse motions were carried against him that night. The king wrote to him the next day, "I am ready to take any step that may be proposed to oppose this faction, and to struggle to the last period of my life." It was well that the king had found a minister whose prudence was equal to his courage. Regardless of his defeat, Pitt, on the 14th of January, brought forward his own plan for the government and management of the affairs of the East India Company. His bill was read a first time. In a committee of the whole house on the state of the nation, it was moved that "the continuance of the present ministers in trusts of the highest importance and responsibility is contrary to constitutional principles, and injurious to the interests of his majesty and his people." The resolution was carried by a majority of twenty-one. An adjournment took place for a few days; but still no resignation. On the 23rd of January, Mr. Pitt's India Bill was thrown out; and Mr. Fox reproduced his own bill. The contest between the two parties was carried on, in various shapes, till the 8th of March. Attempts were made to form a union between the leading members of the late government and those of the present; but Pitt steadily refused to resign as the preliminary condition of such a negotiation. At length, on the 8th of March, an elaborate

remonstrance, in the form of an address to his majesty, which was drawn up by Burke, and moved by Fox, was carried by a majority only of one. The battle was over. The victory remained with Pitt. The Mutiny Bill was passed; the supplies were voted; and on the 24th of March, the king went to the house of lords, to put an end to the session, and to say, "I feel it a duty which I owe to the constitution and the country, to recur as speedily as possible to the sense of my people, by calling a new parliament." On the 25th parliament was dissolved.

During this extraordinary contest, from the 12th of January to the 8th of March, there were fourteen motions, upon which the house divided, carried against Mr. Pitt; besides many others, upon which there was no division. The mode in which the coalition ministry was ejected, through the royal interference with the vote of the house of peers upon the India Bill, was mean and unconstitutional. It has been conjectured that Pitt was probably acquainted with the manœuvres of Thurlow and Temple. But it has been also said that when Temple resigned, he "carried away with him the scandal which the best friends of the new government could not but lament. The fame of the young prime minister preserved its whiteness. He could declare with perfect truth that, if unconstitutional machinations had been employed, he had been no party to them." Whatever opinion may be formed upon this point, even the political opponents of Pitt agree that in this fiery struggle of two months, he "joined to great boldness, sagacity and discretion. By patience and perseverance he wearied out a foe who was more ardent than measured in his attacks; and while he bore his defeats with calmness, the country, saturated with calumny, began to resent the attempt of the coalition party as the cabal of a domineering aristocracy."

Never did minister of Great Britain appear in so triumphant a position as William Pitt when he entered the house of commons, on the 18th of May, to meet the new parliament. He had been himself returned at the head of the poll for the University of Cambridge. His friend Wilberforce, the son of a Hull merchant, had contested the county of York against two whig candidates of large fortune and high connections. With the almost unanimous support of the manufacturers of Sheffield, and Halifax, and Bradford, and Leeds, he had beaten the great Yorkshire aristocracy, as the representative of the middle classes. The example presented by this stronghold of independent principles was powerful through the country. Pitt looked upon the benches of opposition, that for two months had echoed with the cheers of those who had denounced him with every virulence of invective, now thinned to a very powerless minority. The coalition had lost a hundred and sixty members. [The members of the opposition who lost their seats were popularly known as Fox's martyrs.]

PITT'S FINANCIAL MEASURES

Pitt commenced his career as a financial minister with more than common boldness. The permanent taxes produced half a million less than the interest of the debt, the civil list, and the charges to which they were appropriated. The annual land-tax and malt-tax fell far short of the naval and military expenditure and that of miscellaneous services. There was a large unfunded debt. The deficit altogether amounted to three millions. The confidence in the national resources was so low that the three per cents were fallen to about 56. Smuggling, especially of tea and spirits, was carried on to an enormous

extent. The tea vended in the smuggling trade, conducted in the most systematic manner through consignments from foreign ports, was held considerably to exceed the five million and a half pounds annually sold by the East India Company. Pitt took the only effectual way to prevent smuggling. He reduced the duty upon tea from 50 per cent. to 12½ per cent.; and he also reduced the duties on foreign spirits. To compensate for the expected deficiency of revenue, he increased the tax upon windows. To meet the large general disproportion between receipt and expenditure, he imposed other taxes, that have been abolished, as injurious to industry, by the sounder economists of later times. These taxes enabled him to provide for the interest of a new loan, in which a large amount of unfunded debt was absorbed. Taxes upon hats, linens, and calicos, have long been condemned, though the commons of 1784 willingly granted them. Duties upon horses, excise licences, and game certificates, hold their ground. Taxes upon candles, and upon bricks and tiles, were amongst the devices that have had no permanent existence. The tax upon paper, which Mr. Pitt increased, appears to be the last of those restraints upon industry to which purblind legislators have clung, upon the principle that the consumers do not feel the tax — the principle announced by the minister of 1784, when he proposed his additional duty on candles, namely, that as the poorest cottagers only consumed about 10 pounds of candles annually, that class would only contribute fivepence a year to his new impost.



A Buck from Old Fashion Book, South Kensington Museum

The chancellor of the exchequer carried his proposed taxes without any difficulty. He was equally successful with his India bills. He relieved the East India Company from its financial embarrassments. He associated with its directors in the government of India that body of commissioners, appointed by the crown, which was long known as the board of control.

In the session of 1785 Mr. Pitt brought forward a subject announced in the king's speech, the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland. The propositions of Mr. Pitt, large and liberal as they were, although encumbered with some provisions opposed to a really free commercial policy, were thoroughly distasteful to the manufacturers of England, and equally opposed to the narrowness of what in Ireland was deemed patriotism. The resolutions of the minister were carried by considerable majorities in the British parliament, but being passed by a very small majority in the Irish parliament, the bill was withdrawn. Whilst this measure was being debated at Westminster, Mr. Pitt a third time brought forward a bill for reform in parliament. His specific plan was to disfranchise thirty-six rotten boroughs, giving compensation to those who regarded them as property; to transfer

the right of election to counties and to unrepresented large towns; and to extend the franchise in counties to copyholders. The bill was not introduced as a government measure; and it was rejected by a large majority, as its author probably expected it would be.

Pitt, at this time, was almost exclusively occupied with a great financial scheme, from which, with more than ordinary complacency, he sanguinely expected the most wonderful results. He wrote to Wilberforce, "The produce of our revenues is glorious; and I am half mad with a project which will give our supplies the effect almost of magic in the reduction of debt." It was the scheme of the sinking fund. The public income now happily exceeded the expenditure, and it was proposed that the notion of an accumulating fund to be applied to the reduction of the debt, which was partially attempted by Sir Robert Walpole, should be engrafted upon the perpetual financial arrangements; that a million should be annually placed in the hands of commissioners, so as to be beyond the power of a minister to withdraw. It was believed that, accumulating at compound interest, with the addition of such terminable annuities as should fall in, it would gradually extinguish the claims of the public creditor. The plan might have worked well, if the minister had been debarred from contracting any new loans. For years the public had as much confidence in this scheme as its author had. It was boasted that "in eight years, Mr. Pitt's sinking fund, in fact, purchased £13,617,895 of stock at the cost of £10,599,265 of cash"; and it was proclaimed that "this measure, then, is of more importance to Great Britain than the acquisition of the American mines." There was a superstitious belief, long entertained, that the new sinking fund would, "by some mysterious power of propagation belonging to money, put into the pocket of the public creditor great sums not taken out of the pocket of the tax-payer." The delusion was manifest when it was demonstrated that during the war the debt had been actually augmented, to the extent of eleven millions, by the less advantageous terms upon which money was borrowed by the exchequer, compared with the purchases made by the commissioners who managed the sinking fund. A great authority in finance has put the whole philosopy of the matter in the form of an axiom: "No sinking fund can be efficient for the purpose of diminishing the debt, if it be not derived from the excess of the public revenue over the public expenditure."

On the opening of the session on the 23rd of January, 1787, the king announced that he had concluded a treaty of navigation and commerce with the king of France. The negotiation was completed at Versailles, on the 26th of September, 1786. The provisions of this treaty were of the most liberal character. There was to be the most perfect freedom of intercourse allowed between the subjects and inhabitants of the respective dominions of the two sovereigns. The duties to be paid on French commodities in England were thus rated: Wines, no higher duties than on those of Portugal; brandy, seven shillings per gallon; vinegar, less than half the previous duty; olive-oil, the lowest duty paid by the most favoured nation. The following duties were to be levied reciprocally on both kingdoms: hardwares and cutlery, cabinet wares, furniture, turnery, not higher than 10 per cent. ad valorem; cotton and woollen manufactures, except mixed with silk, 12 per cent.; gauzes, 10 per cent.; linens, same as linens from Holland; saddlery, 15 per cent.; millinery, 12 per cent.; plate glass and glass ware, porcelain and earthenware, 12 per cent.

That the commercial treaty was not a failure as regarded the products of Great Britain is evident from the fact that the annual average export

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of British manufactures to France in the six years ending with 1774 was £87,164; in the six years ending with 1792 it was £717,807

To Mr. Pitt belongs the honour, in this, the fourth year of his administration, of simplifying the complicated system of indirect taxation, by consolidating the several duties of customs, excise, and stamps. The duties required to be paid upon one article were sometimes to be hunted through twenty or thirty acts of parliament, each charging some additional duty, or making a special appropriation of the proceeds of a particular tax. The complication may be judged from the fact that three thousand resolutions were required to carry a measure of consolidation into effect. When Pitt had introduced his measure, Burke characterised the speech of the minister as one of extraordinary clearness and perspicuity, and said that it behooved those who felt it their duty frequently to oppose the measures of the government, to rise up manfully, and, doing justice to the right honourable gentleman's merit, to return him thanks on behalf of themselves and the country, for having in so masterly a manner brought forward a plan which gave ease and accommodation to all engaged in commerce, and advantage and increase to the revenue. "Thus," says Lord John Russell, "in the course of little more than three years from Mr. Pitt's acceptance of office as first lord of the treasury, great financial and commercial reforms had been effected The nation, overcoming its difficulties, and rising buoyant from its depression, began rapidly to increase its wealth, to revive its spirit, and renew its strength. Such was the work of Mr. Pitt, now no longer the minister of the court, but of the nation. The cry of secret influence, and the imputation of his being an organ of an unseen power, was heard less and less as the resources of his powerful understanding developed their energies and ripened their fruits." [e]

THE ILLNESS OF THE KING (1788 A.D.)

Toward the close of the year 1788 an event occurred of considerable importance in the legislative history of the country. The health of the king had been lately in a precarious state, and his disorder finally terminated in mental derangement. When the fact had been ascertained, Mr. Pitt (December 10th) moved for a committee to inspect the journals for precedents. Mr. Fox insisted that the heir-apparent had an indisputable claim to the exercise of the executive authority. This Mr. Pitt denied, declaring such an assertion to be little less than treason to the constitution: "Kings and princes," he said, "derived their power from the people; and to the people alone, by means of their representatives, did it belong to decide in cases for which the constitution had made no specific provision." The prince, he maintained, had no more right in this case than any other subject, though it might be expedient to offer him the regency. In the house of lords, the same view of the constitution was taken by Lord Camden.

Mr. Fox, finding that the principles he had advanced were generally disapproved of, then sought only to procure for the prince the full, unrestricted enjoyment of the royal prerogative; but Mr. Pitt had his reasons for imposing limitations.

The usual position of the house of Brunswick, in fact, continued; the heir-apparent was in opposition to the king, and on the usual account — money. The prince of Wales, who was of a remarkably dissipated and extravagant temper, had been allowed £50,000 a year, a sum sufficient, it might be supposed, for a single man even in his exalted station; but as the king himself,

when prince of Wales, had been allowed £100,000 a year, the coalition ministry had insisted on the same sum being given to the present heir-apparent; but partly from parsimony, partly from disapproval of the prince's mode of life, and partly from dislike of the proposers, the king had obstinately refused his assent. The consequence was that the prince got deeply in debt — a state, from which, as subsequent events showed, even the larger sum would not have preserved him. In 1786 he applied to his father for assistance, and meeting with a harsh refusal, he set about a pretended system of economy, selling all his horses (his coach-horses included), suspending his buildings, shutting up the most splendid apartments in Carlton House, his residence, etc. When this had been supposed to have produced its effect on the public mind, his friends in the commons proposed (April 20th, 1787) an address to the king for his relief. Mr. Pitt earnestly required that the motion should be withdrawn, as it might lead to the disclosure of circumstances which he would wish to conceal. Mr. Rolle used still stronger language; while Fox, Sheridan, and others of the prince's friends insisted that he feared no investigation of his conduct.

The matter alluded to was the secret marriage of the prince of Wales with a Catholic lady of the name of Fitzherbert — a fact, of which we believe at present there can be no doubt. Mr. Fox, however, a few days after, by the authority of the prince, declared that " the fact not only could never have happened legally, but never did happen in any way, and had from the beginning been a vile and malignant falsehood." The greater part of the house was, or affected to be, satisfied, and a meeting having taken place between the prince and Mr. Pitt, an addition of £10,000 a year was made to his royal highness's income; £161,000 was issued for the payment of his debts, and £20,000 for the works at Carlton House. The prince then resumed his former mode of life, and soon got into debt as deeply as ever.

As there could be no doubt but that the prince, when regent, would select his ministers from the party with which he had long been connected, Mr. Pitt, we may be allowed to suppose, from private as well as public motives, was anxious to limit his powers. The regency was therefore offered to the prince, subject to the conditions of not being enabled to confer any peerage, or to grant any office, reversion or pension, except during the king's pleasure; while the care of the royal person, with the disposition of the household, and the consequent appointment to all places in it (about four hundred in number) should be committed to the queen. The prince, though mortified, consented to accept this limited sovereignty. Had Mr. Fox and his friends been wise (which they rarely showed themselves to be), they would have snatched the reins of power at once; but instead of doing so, they interposed such numerous needless delays (though it was well-known that the king's health was improving every day), that the bill did not reach its second reading in the house of lords till the 19th of February, 1788; the accounts of the royal health were by that time so favourable, that the house judged it decorous to adjourn to the 24th, on which day his majesty's intellect had recovered its usual state, and the cup of power was once more dashed from the lips of the whigs.[c]

On the 25th of February the issue of bulletins by the royal physicians was discontinued. On the 10th of March the commissioners who had been appointed by former letters patent to open the parliament, by another commission declared further causes for holding the same; and proceeded to state to both houses that his majesty, being by the blessing of Providence recovered from his indisposition, and enabled to attend to public affairs, conveyed

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through them his warmest acknowledgments for the additional proofs they had given of affectionate attachment to his person. The other subjects of a royal speech on opening parliament were then detailed.

Pitt had won his second great victory. In 1784 against odds almost incalculable, he had defeated the coalition with almost the unanimous support of the people. He had employed his unassailable tenure of power in carrying forward the resources of national prosperity by a series of measures conceived, not in the spirit of party, but with a large comprehension of what was essential to the public good. Another great trial came. He had to conduct another conflict, full of danger and difficulty, in which, fighting for his sovereign, he had in the same manner the support of the nation. Major Cartwright, so well known for his subsequent endeavours to promote a reform in parliament, wrote to Wilberforce: "I very much fear that the king's present derangement is likely to produce other derangements not for the public benefit. I hope we are not to be sold to the coalition faction." When the battle was over, George III wrote to his persevering minister that "his constant attachment to my interest, and that of the public, which are inseparable, must ever place him in the most advantageous light." On the 23rd of April, a public thanksgiving was appointed for the king's recovery. His majesty went to St. Paul's accompanied by both houses of parliament, to return his own thanksgivings. The day was observed throughout the kingdom. Illuminations were never so general; joy was never so heartfelt. The minister, still only in his twenty-ninth year, had reached the pinnacle of power and popularity.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

On the 11th of July, 1788, the king, at the close of the session of parliament, said: "The general state of Europe, and the assurances which I receive from foreign powers, afford me every reason to expect that my subjects will continue to enjoy the blessings of peace." The differences with France on the subject of the United Provinces had been adjusted. On the 6th of September, Mr. Pitt exultingly wrote to the marquis of Stafford, "The state of France, whatever else it may produce, seems to promise us more than ever a considerable respite from any dangerous projects."[1] The "state of France" was that of a country in which the disordered condition of its finances appeared to render any new disturbances of Europe, from the ambition of the government and the restlessness of the people, something approaching to an impossibility. The "whatever else it might produce" was a vague and remote danger. Yet, in September, 1788, there were symptoms of impending changes, that, with a full knowledge of the causes operating to produce them, might have suggested to the far-seeing eye of that statesmanship that looked beyond the formal relations of established governments, some real cause for disquiet. The history of that Revolution is essentially connected with the history of England, almost from the first day of the meeting of the states general. The governments of the two countries were not, for several years, brought into collision, or into an exchange of remonstrance and explanation, on the subject of the momentous events in France. But these events, in all their shifting aspects, so materially affected the state of public opinion amongst the British people, that they gradually exercised a greater influence upon English external policy and internal condition, than any overthrow of

[1 A few months later the storm of the French Revolution was at its height.]

dynasties, any wars, any disturbances of the balance of power, any one of "the incidents common in the life of a nation" — to use the words of Tocqueville — even a far greater influence than the American Revolution, which was the precursor of that of France.

The time was approaching when those Englishmen who looked with apprehension upon the French Revolution, should be violently opposed to those who as violently became its partisans. The progress of this conflict of opinions was very gradual; but the tendencies towards a rupture of the old ties of one great political party were soon manifest. The distinctions of whig and tory would speedily be obliterated. Those who clung to the most liberal interpretation of the principles upon which the revolution of 1688 was founded, would be pointed at as jacobins — the title which became identified with all that was most revolting in the French Revolution. The tory became the anti-jacobin. Thus, through ten years of social bitterness, execration and persecution made England and Scotland very unpleasant dwelling places for men who dared to think and speak openly. Democratic opinions, even in their mildest form, were proscribed, not by a political party only, but by the majority of the people. Liberty and jacobinism were held to be synonymous.



COSTUME OF 1793

Burke, Fox, and Sheridan, from the commencement of the administration of Pitt, had been closely united as the chief leaders of the whigs. They had been brought intimately together as managers of the impeachment of Hastings, whose trial at the commencement of the session of 1790 had been proceeding for two years. Fox and Burke had cordially joined with Wilberforce, who was supported by Pitt, in taking a prominent part in advocating the total abolition of the slave trade, in 1789. On the 5th of February, 1790, when the army estimates were moved, Mr. Pitt held that it was necessary, on account of the turbulent situation of the greater part of the Continent, that England should be prepared for war, though he trusted the system uniformly pursued by ministers would lead to a continuance of peace. Mr. Fox opposed the estimates on the ground of economy alone. On the 9th of February, when the report on the army estimates was brought up, Mr. Burke proclaimed, in the most emphatic terms, his views on the affairs of France. He opposed an increase of our military force. He held that France, in a political light, was to be considered as expunged out of the system of Europe. Burke held that, in this fallen condition, it was not easy to determine whether France could ever appear again as a leading power. Six years afterwards he described the views he formerly entertained as those of "common speculators." He says, "deprived of the old government, deprived in a manner of all government, France, fallen as a monarchy, to common specu-

lators might have appeared more likely to be an object of pity or insult, according to the disposition of the circumjacent powers, than to be the scourge and terror of them all."

The influence of the French Revolution upon great questions of British domestic policy was very soon manifested in the proceedings of parliament. In 1789 a bill for the relief of Protestant dissenters was rejected by a very small majority. During the prorogation, the dissenters had agitated for the repeal of the Corporation and Test acts, with unwonted earnestness and considerable indiscretion. Some of the establishment were equally zealous in the encouragement of a resistance to the claims of the dissenters. Mr. Fox, on the 2nd of March, proposed the abolition of these religious tests. Mr. Pitt opposed the motion. Mr. Burke declared that had the repeal been moved for ten years before, he should probably have joined Mr. Fox in supporting it. But he had the strongest reasons to believe that many of the persons now calling themselves dissenters, and who stood the most forward in the present application for relief, were men of factious and dangerous principles, actuated by no motives of religion or conscience, to which tolerance could in any rational sense be applied. The motion was rejected by a very large majority. Two days after, a proposition made by Mr. Flood, to amend the representation of the people in parliament, was withdrawn; the minister, who had three times advocated reform, now holding that if a more favourable time should arise, he might himself bring forward a specific proposition; but he felt that the cause of reform might now lose ground from being agitated at an improper moment.

BURKE'S *Reflections on the Revolution (1790 A.D.)*

The sixteenth parliament of Great Britain, having nearly completed its full term of seven years, was dissolved soon after the prorogation in June, 1790. The new parliament assembled on the 25th of November, when Mr. Addington was chosen speaker. There was no allusion to the affairs of France in the king's speech. That the great events which had taken place in that country were occupying the thoughts of public men, there could be small doubt. Whilst the royal speech, and the echoing addresses, dwelt upon a pacification between Austria and the Porte, upon dissensions in the Netherlands, upon peace between Russia and Sweden, and upon war between Russia and the Porte, the national mind was absorbed almost exclusively by conflicting sentiments about the Revolution in France. A few weeks before the meeting of parliament, Burke had published his famous *Reflections on the Revolution*. Probably no literary production ever produced such an exciting effect upon public opinion at the time of its appearance, or maintained so permanent an influence amongst the generation to whose fears it appealed. The reputation of the author as the greatest political philosopher of his age; his predilections for freedom, displayed through the whole course of the American Revolution; his hatred of despotic power, as manifested in his unceasing denunciations of atrocities in India; his consistent adherence to whig principles as established by the Bill of Rights — this acquaintance with the character and sentiments of Burke first raised an unbounded curiosity to trace the arguments against the struggle for liberty in another country, coming from a man who had so long contended for what was deemed the popular cause at home. The perusal of this remarkable book converted the inquirer into an enthusiast. In proportion as the liberal institutions of Great Britain were held up to admiration, so were the attempts of France to build up

a new system of government upon the ruins of the old system, described as the acts of men devoted to "every description of tyranny and cruelty employed to bring about and to uphold this revolution." To the argumentative power was added an impassioned eloquence, which roused the feelings into hatred of the anarchists who led the royal family captives into Paris on the 6th of October, and directed every sympathy towards a humiliated king, a proscribed nobility, and a plundered church.

Six months elapsed between the publication of Burke's *Reflections* and his final separation from his party, involving an irrevocable breach of friendship with Fox.

THE BIRMINGHAM RIOTS (1791 A.D.)

In the debate on the proposed repeal of the Test and Corporation acts, on the 2nd of March, 1790, Mr. Burke read extracts from a sermon of Doctor Price, and from the writings of Doctor Priestly and other non-conformists; inferring from certain passages that the leading preachers among the dissenters were avowed enemies to the Church of England, and that thence its establishment appeared to be in much more serious danger than the church of France was in a year or two ago. The *Reflections on the Revolution* diffused this alarm more extensively through the country. The clamour was at last got up that the church was in danger. There were results of this spirit, which were more disgraceful to the English character than the violence of the Parisian populace in the attack upon the Bastille or the march from Versailles. It was a lower and a more contemptible fanaticism than had been evoked by the first call in France to fight for freedom, that produced the riots at Birmingham which broke out on the 14th of July, 1791.

Dr. Joseph Priestly, in 1780, became the minister of the principal Unitarian congregation in Birmingham. He was ardent in his political views, having written an answer to Burke's *Reflections*, and he did not hesitate to avow his opposition to the church, in his zeal to obtain what he deemed the rights of dissenters. But in his private life he was worthy of all respect, and in his scientific pursuits had attained the most honourable distinction. But even as a politician he avowed himself a warm admirer of the English constitution, as the best system of policy the sagacity of man had been able to contrive, though its vigour had been impaired by certain corruptions. He published, in 1791, *Familiar Letters to the Inhabitants of Birmingham* — a work in which, according to Robert Hall, "the seeds of that implacable dislike were scattered" which produced the outrages that we shall briefly relate.

On the 11th of July, according to a royal proclamation of the 27th of that month, "a certain scandalous and seditious paper was printed and published in the town of Birmingham," for the discovery of the author of which a reward of one hundred pounds was offered. This handbill called upon the people to celebrate on the 14th the destruction of that high altar and castle of despotism, the Bastille; but not to forget that their own parliament was venal; the ministers hypocritical; the clergy legal oppressors; the reigning family extravagant; the crown too weighty for the head that wears it. This paper, says the proclamation, was printed and published in the town of Birmingham. William Hutton, a cautious man, says that it was fabricated in London, brought to Birmingham, and a few copies privately scattered under a table at an inn. On that 14th of July about eighty persons assembled at a tavern, known as Dadley's, to commemorate this anniversary; and at the Swan Inn, some magistrates, and persons opposed to the celebrationists,

[1791 A.D.]

met to drink "Church and King." There was a small mob about Dadley's tavern, who hissed and hooted; and there was another mob around the Swan. The dinner went off quietly amongst the friends of French liberty, the king and constitution being duly toasted, and afterwards the national assembly of France. After the company had separated, a rabble broke into the tavern in search of Doctor Priestly, who had not dined there, crying out that "they wanted to knock the powder out of Priestly's wig." The loyal company at the adjacent Swan huzzaed; and it is affirmed that a gentleman said, "Go to the Meetings." In another hour Priestly's chapel, in New street, called the New Meeting-house, was on fire. This work accomplished, the Old Meeting-house was also quickly in a blaze. Doctor Priestly lived at Fair hill, about a mile and a half from the town. He and his family had fled from mob vengeance; but his house was destroyed, and his books burned, with his manuscripts and his philosophical instruments.

The burnings and plunderings, invariably of the houses of dissenters, continued till the night of Sunday, the 17th, in Birmingham and the neighbourhood. On the 15th the house of Mr. Ryland, at Easy hill, was burned down, six or seven of the rioters, who had drunk themselves insensible with the booty of the wine-cellar, perishing in the flames. Mr. Ryland was a friend of Priestly — a man devoted to the public interests of Birmingham, and emphatically described as "a friend to the whole human race." On that day Bordesley hall, the residence of Mr. Taylor, another dissenter, was burned. The warehouse of William Hutton was then plundered; and on the next morning his country-house, at Bennett's hill, was set on fire and consumed. Five other houses of dissenters, whether Presbyterians, Baptists, or Unitarians, were that day burned or sacked. Justices of the peace sat in conclave; squires made speeches to the mobs, telling them they had done enough. The Birmingham magistrates issued a placard, addressed to "Friends and Brother Churchmen," entreating them to desist; for that the damage, which already amounted to £100,000, would have to be paid by the parishes. On the Sunday there were burnings of chapels and private houses in the neighbourhood of Birmingham; and then three troops of light dragoons rode into the town, having come in one day from Nottingham, and this disgraceful exhibition was at an end.[e]

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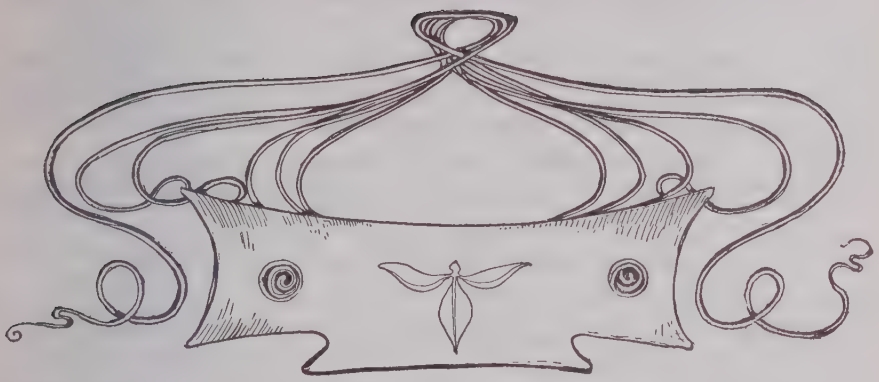
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CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND FROM 1642 TO 1791 A.D.

1642 Impeachment of the five members. The commons take refuge in the City. The struggle for the militia. Charles refused arms and ammunition at Hull. Division into royalists (under Prince Rupert), and Puritans (under Essex). Royalists withdraw from parliament. Charles sets up his standard at Nottingham (August 22d). Battle of Edgehill. Charles approaches London, but is intercepted at Turnham Green and retires to Oxford. Formation of the Association. Hobbes writes the *De Cive*.

1643 Royalist successes. Inaction of Essex. Conquest of Yorkshire by royalists. Rising of the Cornishmen. Death of Hampden at Chalgrove Field. Defeat of Fairfax at Atherton Moor. Battle of Roundaway Down. Waller's disasters. The Eastern Association's successes under leadership of Oliver Cromwell. Charles besieges Gloucester (August) and raises it again (September) before Essex. Death of Falkland at Newbury. Taking of the covenant by parliament to secure Scotch help. Cromwell defeats royalists at Winceby. The assembly of divines proposes ecclesiastical alterations. Death of Pym.

1644 King's army defeated at Nantwich. "Committee of Both Kingdoms" appointed to control the operations of both armies. Fight at Cropredy Bridge (June). Battle of Marston Moor (July). Cromwell drives the royalists before him. Essex's army surrenders at Lostwithiel. Battle of Tippermuir (September 2nd). Second battle of Newbury (October 22nd). Self-Denying Ordinance. The rise of independency under Cromwell: the revolt against Presbyterianism. Cromwell quarrels with Manchester.

1645 Milton's *Areopagitica*. The Self-Denying Ordinance (April). The new model army. The execution of Laud. Montrose in the Highlands. Remodelling of the parliamentary army. Battle of Naseby (June 15th). Fairfax victorious at Langport (July). Charles negotiates with the Scotch and Irish. Bristol surrendered by Prince Rupert. Earl of Glamorgan sent to Ireland. Defeat of Montrose at Philiphaugh (September 12th).

1646 Ireland disappoints Charles. Capture of Oxford by Fairfax. The king's surrender to the Scots at Newark. They dissociate from his intrigues.

1647 Scots surrender Charles to houses of parliament (January). Dispute between Presbyterians and the army. The Westminster assembly of divines. The army elects agitators. The army gets possession of the king, who is seized at Holmby House (June). It offers Charles moderate terms: the Heads of the Proposals. Presbyterian reaction in London: the exclusion of the eleven members. The army occupies London (August). King's flight to the Isle of Wight (November). Charles makes secret treaty with Scots (December).

1648 Royalist revolts in Kent and Wales and reaction in Charles' favour. The Scotch invade England under Hamilton. Scotch defeated at Preston, Wigan, and Warrington. Fairfax and Cromwell in Essex and Wales. Surrender of Colchester to Fairfax (August 27th). Charles taken from Carisbrooke. Pride's Purge (December).

Colonel Pride forcibly expels Presbyterian majority from house of commons. Royal Society founded.

1649 High court of justice tries Charles. Execution (January 30th). Establishment of the Commonwealth. Cromwell continues Irish war. Scotland proclaims Charles II king. Cromwell storms Drogheda and Wexford. Publication of *Eikon Basilike*.

1650 Defeat and death of Montrose. Cromwell accepts Scotch command. Enters Scotland. Wins battle of Dunbar (September 3rd). Capture of Edinburgh. Protesters and resolutioners.

1651 Charles marches into England. Battle of Worcester (September 3rd). Charles escapes to France. Foreign difficulties of commonwealth. The Navigation Act against the Dutch. Conference between parliament and the army. Hobbes' *Leviathan*. Act of Oblivion passed.

1652 Outbreak of Dutch War. Union with Scotland. Unpopularity of parliament. Parliament considers a dissolution. Victory of Tromp over Blake (November). Cromwell expels members of parliament.

1653 The Great Conference. Victory of Blake (February). Vane's Reform Bill. Cromwell dissolves Long Parliament (April 20th). Constituent convention (Barebone's Parliament). The convention dissolves (December). The protectorate and the Instrument of Government.

1654 Cromwell's vigorous government. Vowel's plot. Peace concluded with Holland. England and Holland united by ordinance. First protectorate parliament (September). Cromwell expels his opponents.

1655 Dissolution of the parliament (January). The major-general's division of England into eleven military districts. Anabaptist and royalist plots. Settlement of Holland and Ireland. Settlement of the church. The French Alliance. Blake in the Mediterranean. Readmission of Jews into England discussed.

1656 War with Spain and conquest of Jamaica. Second protectorate parliament. Cromwell interferes on behalf of the Vaudois subjects of Duke of Savoy.

1657 Blake's victory at Santa Cruz. Death of Blake. The Humble Petition and Advice. Plots against Cromwell's life. Cromwell refuses title of king. Cromwell's successes abroad, but failure at home.

1658 Dissolution of Second Protectorate Government (February). Cromwell absolute. Battle of the Dunes. Capture of Dunkirk. Death of Cromwell (September 3rd). Richard Cromwell, lord protector. He offends the godly party.

1659 Third protectorate parliament. Parliament dissolved. The Long Parliament restored. Displeasure of the army. Long Parliament again driven out. The Rump re-established by army. Retirement of Richard Cromwell. Quarrels of army and the Rump: Lambert and Desborough are dismissed.

1660 Monk enters London. The convention royalist parliament invites Charles to return; he lands at Dover (May). Charles II. Declaration of Breda. Convention parliament declares an amnesty. Hyde becomes lord chancellor. Trial of the regicides. Union of Holland and Ireland undone. Parliament settles property, the church, the revenue, and is then dissolved. Ecclesiastical debates: attempts to restore the prayer-book.

1661-1662 Cavalier parliament begins. Venner's plot and its results. The Corporation Act. The Savoy conference: Act of Uniformity re-enacted. Trial of Lambert and Vane. Puritan clergy driven out. Treason of Lamberdale and Sharp. Episcopal church established. Royal Society of London established.

1662 The Scotch Aide Act. Marriage of Charles to Catherine of Braganza. Profligacy of the court. Sale of Dunkirk to French. Charles' declaration favouring toleration.

1663 Charles' Catholic tendencies. Dispensing Bill fails.

1664 The Conventicle Act. Repeal of the Triennial Act. Growing hostility between England and the Dutch.

1665-1666 First Dutch War of Restoration begins. Victory at Lowestoft. The Plague. The Five-Mile Act. Clarendon's foreign policy attacked. Ambitions of Louis XIV. Continued struggle with Dutch. Newton's theory of fluxions. The fire of London. The Dutch in the Medway. Louis XIV declares war against England and makes alliance with Dutch.

1667 Dismissal of Clarendon, who escapes to the Continent. French and Dutch fleets defeated in West Indies. Louis deserts th Dutch. Peace of Breda. Discontent in England and Holland: maladministration of government. Louis attacks Flanders. Duke of Buckingham's ascendancy. Arlington. Cabal ministry takes office. Milton's *Paradise Lost*.

1668 The Triple Alliance. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Charles negotiates with Louis in endeavour to introduce Catholicism. Ashley dissents from toleration to Catholics.

1669 Charles continues negotiations with France. Carteret dismissed from office of treasurer of navy.

1670 Secret treaty of Dover. The Cabal. Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* written.

1671 Buckingham's sham treaty. The exchequer fails: money obtained by a national bankruptcy. Milton's *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*. Newton's theory of light.

1672 Declaration of Indulgence. War begins with Holland: Dutch victorious. Battle of Southwold Bay. Ashley becomes chancellor. Duke of York publicly received into Roman Catholic church.

1673 Withdrawal of Declaration of Indulgence. Parliament passes Test Act: its results. Duke of York's marriage. Dismissal of Shaftesbury. End of Cabal. Shaftesbury takes the lead of the country party. Sir Thomas Osborne becomes lord treasurer.

1674 Peace with the Dutch. Bill of Protestant Securities fails. Danby's ministry.

1675-1676 Parliamentary parties. Charles attempts arbitrary rule. Parliament wishing to check Louis, a treaty of mutual aid between Charles and Louis is made.

1677 Shaftesbury sent to the Tower. Bill for security of the church fails. Foreign policy: address of the houses for war with France. Marriage of prince of Orange to Mary. Danby's position. Parliament demands the dismissal of the army.

1678 The Peace of Nimeguen. Louis intrigues with the English opposition, and reveals secret treaty with Charles. Growing excitement. Oates invents the Popish Plot. Trials of leading Roman Catholics. Danby's position endangered; dissolution of the cavalier parliament.

1679 Meeting of the first Short Parliament; impeachment of Danby. Shaftesbury at head of new ministry. The Exclusion Bill. Temple's plan for new council fails. Habeas Corpus Act passed. Parliament dissolves. Popularity of Monmouth: his success at Bothwell Bridge. Shaftesbury dismissed. Charles' fourth parliament prorogued seven times.

1680 Monmouth's pretensions to the throne. Petitioners' second Short Parliament meets. Exclusion Bill thrown out by lords. Trial of Lord Stafford.

1681 Third Short Parliament meets at Oxford; is dissolved. Tory reaction. Charles' confiscation of the charters. Charles' fifth parliament. Treaty with France. Limitation Bill rejected. Arrest of Shaftesbury and Monmouth.

1682 The Scotch Test Act. The Duke of York's return. The city elections. Duke of Monmouth makes a progress through England. Conspiracy and flight of Shaftesbury. Penn founds Pennsylvania.

1683 Death of Shaftesbury. The remodelling of the corporations. The Rye-House Plot. The whig combination. Absolutism of Charles. Execution of Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney.

1684 Parties at court. Duke of York opposed by Halifax. Monmouth pardoned and banished. Town charters quashed, army increased. Rochester becomes president of the council.

1685 Death of Charles (February 6th). Accession of James II. A tory parliament. Rochester succeeds Halifax. Persecution of covenanters by Claverhouse. Punishment of Oates and Dangerfield. Insurrection of Monmouth. Battle of Sedgmoor The bloody circuit. Execution of Monmouth. Climax of James' power; his violation of the Test Act. James increases army to twenty thousand men. Breach between king and parliament. James alienates the church. Triumph of the Catholic party: the king asserts his dispensing power. James gives benefices to Catholics. Revocation of Edict of Nantes. Sunderland made president of council.

1686 The ecclesiastical commission set up. Permanent army at Hounslow, in Ireland and Scotland.

1687 Clarendon is dismissed, superseded by Tyrconnel; dismissal of Rochester. Expulsion of the fellows of Magdalen. Declaration of Indulgence. The boroughs regulated. Attempt to pack a parliament. William of Orange protests against the Declaration.

1688 Newton's second Declaration of Indulgence. Clergy refuse to read it. Seven bishops petition against it. Their trial and acquittal. Aggressions of the court of high commission. Schemes for a Catholic successor. Son born to James. Invitation to William of Orange. William issues his Declaration. Landing of William at Tor Bay, and march upon London. Churchill's treason. Flight of James to France. The throne declared vacant. The peers assume the government.

1689 William decides for a convention. Compromise decided on. William and Mary to be joint sovereigns. Declaration of Right. Settlement of the revenue of the church. Establishment of Presbyterianism in Scotland. The European War. William forms grand alliance against Louis. State of Ireland; the siege of Londonderry. The Irish parliament. Battle of Newton Butler. The revolution in Scotland. Dundee in the Highlands. Battle of Killiecrankie. Mutiny Bill. Toleration Bill. Bill of Rights and dissolution of the convention parliament. Secession of the "non-jurors." Factions of English parliaments.

1690 The conquest of Ireland begun. War with France. Abjuration Bill and Act of Grace. Jacobite plot discovered. Battle of Beachy Head. Battle of the Boyne. Siege of

Limerick: William, repulsed, returns to England. Halifax leaves the government and Danby takes the lead. James leaves Ireland for France. Godolphin first lord of the treasury.

1691 Siege of Limerick and capitulation of Irish. Jacobite plots in England. William's policy successful abroad. Conviction of Viscount Restoon.

1692 Disgrace of Marlborough. Massacre of Glencoe. Threatened invasion of England. Battles of La Hogue and Steinkirk. Origination of the national debt.

1693 Disorder in government. Sunderland's plan of a ministry. Montague's financial measures. Battle of Landen or Neerwinden. Loss of the Smyrna fleet. New charter granted to East India Company. The country party in parliaments.

1699 The Dutch guards are sent home. The failure of the Darien scheme causes irritation in Scotland against the English. Parliament attacks William's grants of royal property to his Dutch favourites. Question of Irish forfeitures. The shores of Australia explored by Dampier, an Englishman.

1700 The Resumption Bill. Severe act passed against Roman Catholics. Second Partition Treaty. Death of William, duke of Gloucester. New tory ministry: Rochester and Godolphin recalled.

1701 Act of Settlement passed. Impeachment of prominent whigs. Duke of Anjou becomes king of Spain. The tory foreign policy. The Kentish Petition. The Legion Memorial. Acquittal of Somers. The Grand Alliance. Death of James II. Louis XIV acknowledges the pretender. New parliament meets, with a fresh majority of whigs.

1702 William dismisses his tory ministers. New parliament. Bill passed for attainting the pretender. Bill passed to uphold Protestant succession. Death of William (March 8th). Accession of Anne. Combined ministry of whigs and tories. Marlborough's power. War declared against France. Marlborough's first campaign in the Netherlands. Contemplated union of England and Scotland. Rochester dismissed from office.

1703 Methuen Treaty concluded with Portugal. The Occasional Conformity Bill. Progress of the war in Italy, Spain, and Germany.

1704 Ministerial changes; Harley and St. John take office. Queen Anne's Bounty instituted. Critical position of Austria. Battle of Blenheim. Progress of the war in Spain. The Test Act extended to Ireland.

1705 Operations in Spain. Peterborough's success. Sunderland sent as English envoy to Vienna. Failure of Marlborough's plans. Lord Cowper becomes lord chancellor. Capture of Barcelona. Whig majority in parliament.

1706 Resumed negotiations for union of England and Scotland. Battle of Ramillies. Sunderland becomes secretary of state. Louis XIV makes overtures for peace. Marlborough rejects his terms.

1707 Turn of the tide of victory. Bill for the union of England and Scotland.

1708 Defeat of the allies in Spain. Threatened invasion of Scotland. Harley and St. John leave the ministry. Walpole becomes secretary of war. Byng repulses the French fleet. Battle of Oudenarde. Siege of Lille. Capture of Minorca, of Port Mahon. Somers becomes lord president of the council.

1709 Louis' terms again rejected. Marlborough captures Tournay. Battle of Malplaquet. Intrigues against Marlborough.

1710 Impeachment of Sacheverell. Fall of the whigs. Battles of Almenara and Saragossa. Conference at Gertruydenberg. Policy of Harley.

1711 Property Qualification Bill passed. The imperial election. Marlborough takes Bouchain in France. The duke and duchess of Marlborough dismissed from their offices. Peace negotiations. Robert Walpole is sent to the Tower. Formation of South Sea Company. Act against occasional conformity passed.

1712 Ormonde becomes commander-in-chief. First stamp duty imposed. An armistice declared.

1713 Treaty of Utrecht: its terms and effect. Oxford and St. John intrigue for a jacobite successor.

1714 The Schism Act passed. Quarrel between Bolingbroke and Oxford: dismissal of Oxford. Shrewsbury becomes lord treasurer. The Hanoverian succession is secured. Death of Anne. Government is carried on by "lords justices" until the arrival of George. Townshend, Stanhope, and Walpole become the leaders of the whig administration. Riots in the country.

1715 Dissolution of parliament. Oxford is committed to the Tower. The Riot Act passed. Jacobite revolt under Lord Mar. Disaffection in Scotland. Mar's success in the Highlands. Forster defeated at Preston. Mar defeated at Sheriff Muir. Death of Louis XIV.

1716 The pretender lands, but withdraws with Mar. Punishment of the rebels. Septennial Act passed. The disruption of the ministry. Stanhope becomes chief minister, in place of Townshend. Negotiations with France.

1717 The Triple Alliance between England, France, and Holland to guarantee the Hanoverian succession. The whig schism. Acquittal of Oxford. Charles XII intrigues with the jacobites against England.
1718 The Quadruple Alliance. Byng defeats the Spanish fleet. Repeal of the Occasional Conformity and Schism acts.
1719 Fall of Alberoni: dismissal by king of Spain. Rejection of the Peerage Bill. Irish parliament carries the Toleration Act.
1720 Walpole joins the ministry. Peace made with Spain. The South Sea Company: ensuing ruin.
1721 Walpole restores public credit and forms a ministry. Becomes prime minister. Punishment of the directors. Revival of jacobite hopes.
1722 Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, is sent to the Tower for complicity in plot.
1723 Bolingbroke returns. Atterbury is banished.
1724 Quarrel between Carteret and Walpole. The Glasgow riots. Excitement in Ireland: Wood's halfpence.
1725 Treaty of Austria and Spain against England. Disturbances in Scotland. Spanish difficulties.
1726 The Treaty of Hanover. Excitement of Europe. Pulteney joins the opposition.
1727 Bolingbroke's opposition to Walpole. Death of George I.
1727-1728 Accession of George II. Walpole retained as prime minister. Increase of the civil list. The Spaniards besiege Gibraltar unsuccessfully. Strength of the government. Depression of the jacobites. First Annual Bill of Indemnity for not observing the Test Corporation Acts is passed. European complications. Action taken against the publication of parliamentary debates.
1729 Congress at Soissons. Treaty with Spain at Seville.
1730 Rejection of the Pension Bill. Breach between Walpole and Townshend: the latter withdraws. John and Charles Wesley form their society. Free exportation of American rice allowed.
1731 Second Treaty at Vienna. Complete supremacy of Walpole. Use of Latin in law courts abolished. Carteret joins the opposition.
1733 Walpole's Excise Bill: its abandonment. War of the Polish Succession.
1734 New parliament meets. Opposition to Walpole.
1736 Porteous riots in Edinburgh.
1737 Prince of Wales at head of opposition. Dissensions in the royal family. Death of Queen Caroline. Walpole's influence over the king.
1738 The Methodists appear in London. George desires war with Spain.
1739 Walpole declares war with Spain. Capture of Porto Bello.
1740 Increased vigour of opposition to Walpole. The success of the war. War of the Austrian Succession.
1741 Failure of English attack on Cartagena.
1742 Walpole is defeated and resigns. Wilmington becomes prime minister. Committee appointed to inquire into acts of late government. Walpole and corruption. The Place Bill is passed.
1743 Battle of Dettingen. The question of the Austrian succession. England supports Austria. Treaty of Worms. Death of Wilmington. Pelham becomes prime minister.
1744 Fall of Carteret. The Broad-Bottomed Administration. Threatened invasion of England by French fleet. War declared between England and France.
1745 French victory over English at Fontenoy. Louisburg and Cape Breton are taken from the French. Charles Edward Stuart lands in Scotland. Gains victory of Preston Pass (September 21st). The pretender reaches Derby.
1746 Battle of Falkirk. Resignation of the ministry (February). Pitt and Fox admitted into the new ministry. Cumberland in command of army. The pretender finally defeated at Culloden. The rebellion is cruelly suppressed. Vigorous action against Highlanders. Execution of Lords Kilmarnock and Balmerino.
1747 Naval victories off Cape Finisterre and Ushant. Duke of Cumberland defeated at Lauffield.
1748 Resignation of Chesterfield. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Results of the war. Pelham's conciliatory government.
1751 Death of Frederick, prince of Wales. Clive's surprise of Arcot. Death of Lord Bolingbroke. Reform of the calendar.
1752 Omission of the eleven nominal days between September 2nd and September 14th.
1753 Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act. Decay of the church. Bill passed and repealed for naturalisation of Jews.
1754 Death of Pelham. Newcastle succeeds. War between the English and French colonists on the Ohio. George's anxiety for Hanover.
1755 Seven Years' War begins. Defeat of General Braddock. Henry Fox becomes secretary of state.

1756 England allies with Prussia. War declared between England and France. The French capture Minorca. Newcastle resigns. Duke of Devonshire becomes prime minister. Pitt's vigorous government. The Black Hole of Calcutta.

1757 Disasters of the war. Bill passed for establishment of a national militia. Battle of Plassey (June 23). Execution of Byng. Pitt is dismissed and again admitted. Cumberland capitulates at Kloster-Seven.

1758 Change of generals. Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick is made commander-in-chief. Expeditions against Cherbourg and St. Malo. Naval victories off Carthagena and Basque roads. Capture of Louisburg and Cape Breton. Capture of Fort Duquesne.

1759 Capture of Guadaloupe and bombardment of Havre. Naval victories of Lagos and Quiberon Bay. Victory of Minden: success of Ferdinand. Capture of Quebec. Wolfe's victory on the Heights of Abraham.

1760 The battle of Wanderwash and the capture of Pondicherry. Pre-eminence of Pitt. Death of George II. Accession of George III.

1761 Bute is made secretary of state. Negotiations between France and England for peace. Pitt resigns office. Bute becomes premier.

1762 A bribery act is passed. England declares war against Spain. Newcastle resigns. Capture of Havana and Manila. Fox enters the cabinet. Peace with France concluded.

1763 The Peace of Paris is signed. Attack on the whigs. Bute resigns. Ministry of George Grenville begins. The triumvirate ministry. The Bedford ministry. The trial of Wilkes. Wedgwood establishes potteries. Origin of the American provinces.

1764 First expulsion of Wilkes from house of commons. Grenville's act imposing customs duties on the American colonies. Hargreaves invents spinning-jenny.

1765 The Stamp Act for America is passed. The king's illness. The Regency Bill. Retirement of Pitt. Rockingham forms a ministry.

1766 The Declaratory Act passed, declaring the authority of England over the colonies. Meeting and protest of American congress. Repeal of the American Stamp Act. House of commons condemns all general warrants as illegal. Fall of the Rockingham ministry. Pitt, as Lord Chatham, forms a strong government, but falls ill and Grafton assumes authority.

1767 Townshend, as chancellor and exchequer, passes act for taxing American imports. Death of Townshend. Lord North becomes chancellor of the exchequer.

1768 Second expulsion of Wilkes. Corruption of parliament. Riots in favour of Wilkes. Chatham leaves the government. Arkwright invents spinning-machine. Captain Cook makes first voyage to Australia and explores Botany Bay.

1769 The first of the "Junius" letters appears. Wilkes four times elected for Middlesex. Increase of American difficulties. Weakness of the ministry. Occupation of Boston by British troops.

1770 Resignation of the duke of Grafton. Lord North succeeds. Chatham's proposal of parliamentary reform. All the American import duties are removed, except the tax on tea. Grenville's act for reform of election petitions. Affair of the Falkland Islands.

1771 Debate on the freedom of exporting. Beginning of the great English journals.

1772 The Royal Marriage Act passed. Bill to relieve dissenting ministers. Lord Mansfield decides that slavery cannot exist in England.

1773 Organised opposition in America. The people of Boston board the ships and throw the tea overboard. Hastings appointed governor-general of India. Lord North's act for the regulation of India.

1774 The assembly of Massachusetts meets for the last time (under English crown). Congress meets at Philadelphia and denies the right of parliament to tax the colonies. The Boston Port Bill is passed, closing the port of Boston. Charges against Clive: his suicide. Wilkes elected lord mayor.

1775 Chatham's plan of conciliation rejected. Battle of Lexington. The Canada Bill. Congress assumes complete sovereignty. Washington becomes commander-in-chief. Americans, under Washington, besiege Boston. English victory at Bunker Hill. The Olive Branch Petition. The English repel an American invasion of Canada. The southern colonies expel their governors.

1776 Evacuation of Boston by English. The English drive the Americans from Long Island and take New York. The English take Rhode Island. Declaration of Independence (July 4th). Battles of Brooklyn and Trenton.

1777 French assistance to America. Washington recovers New Jersey. Chatham proposes federal union. The English win the battle of Brandywine and take Philadelphia. Battle of Germantown. Burgoyne surrenders at Saratoga. France acknowledges independence of America.

1778 Duke of Richmond's motion to recognise the independence of the United States. Spain allies with the United States. Burke's measure for relief of brush trade

America rejects North's conciliatory measures. The English evacuate Philadelphia. Indecisive naval fight off Ushant.

1779 Difficulties in Ireland. Anti-popish riots in Scotland. Spain declares war against England. Siege of Gibraltar by French and Spanish. The Irish volunteers. Free-trade granted to Ireland.

1780 Petitions for economical reforms. The Lord George Gordon riots. Capture of Charlestown. Rodney defeats Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent. Catherine of Russia forces the armed neutrality of Norway, Russia, and Sweden against England. Descent of Hyder Ali on the Carnatic. Dunning's motion for diminishing the power of the crown. The English under Cornwallis defeat colonists and win successes in southern states. Major André hanged as a spy. War declared against Holland.

1781 Rodney captures St. Eustatius in West Indies. Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. Battles of Guildford Courthouse, Hobkirk's Hill, and Eutaw Springs. The permanent Mutiny Bill (Ireland) is passed. Coote defeats Hyder Ali at Porto Novo. The French retake St. Eustatius.

1782 Minorca is taken by Spaniards. North's resignation. The Rockingham ministry. The civil list is regulated. The proceedings with reference to Wilkes are expunged from house of commons journals. Repeal of Poyning's Act. Agitation in Ireland. Economical reforms. Victories of Rodney in West Indies. Death of Rockingham. Shelburne becomes prime minister. Resignation of Fox and Burke. The siege of Gibraltar raised. Conclusion of American War: England acknowledges independence of United States.

1783 Peace of Versailles between France and England, and the United States and England. The coalition ministry of Fox and North: duke of Portland as prime minister. Fox's India Bill rejected. Fall of the coalition ministry. William Pitt becomes prime minister. Russia takes the Crimea.

1784 Pitt's Budget. Pitt's India Bill rejected and subsequently passed. The Mutiny Bill passed. Pitt's struggle with the coalition.

1785 Parliamentary Reform Bill. Free Trade Bill between England and Ireland. Charges against Warren Hastings.

1786 French Commercial Treaty. Pitt's sinking fund for payment of the national debt. Burke's impeachment of Warren Hastings. Lord Cornwallis, governor-general of India.

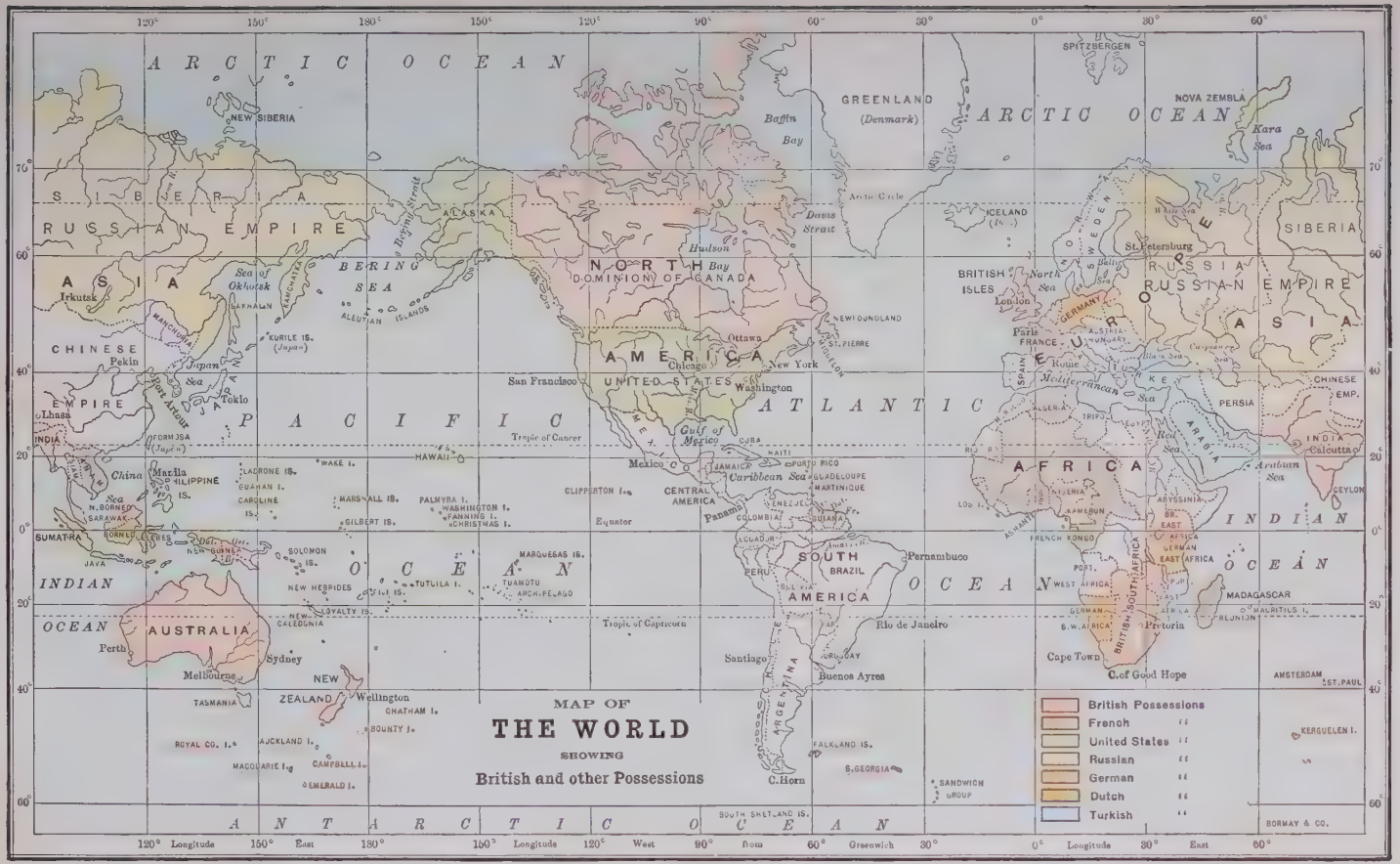
1787 Conduct of the prince of Wales. Association formed for abolition of the slave trade. English settlement made at Sierra Leone.

1788 Trial of Warren Hastings. The king's illness made public: the Regency Bill. Pre-eminence of Pitt: his foreign policy. Bill passed for regulation of slave-ships.

1789 The king's recovery: thanksgiving at St. Paul's. Beginning of French Revolution (May 5th): excitement in England. Resolution condemnatory of slave trade (Wilberforce, Burke and Fox). Grenville becomes secretary of state. Triple Alliance formed for defence of Turkey.

1790 Quarrel with Spain over Nootka Sound. The convention of Reichenbach. Pitt defeats Poland. Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution.* Rejection of the Abolition of Tests and the Reform Bill.

1791 Representative government set up in Canada. Fox's Libel Act. Mitford's bill removing disabilities of Roman Catholics. Resignation of the duke of Leeds. The Birmingham riots.


MAP OF
THE WORLD
SHOWING
British and other Possessions
British Possessions
French "
United States "
Russian "
German "
Dutch "
Turkish "
ARCTIC OCEAN
ANTARCTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
NORTH AMERICA
SOUTH AMERICA
AUSTRALIA
AFRICA
ASIA
EUROPE
GREENLAND (Denmark)
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
SIBERIA
CHINESE EMPIRE
JAPAN
INDIA
PERSIA
ARABIA
NEW ZEALAND
DOMINION OF CANADA
UNITED STATES
MEXICO
BRAZIL
ARGENTINA
PERU
CHILE
Baffin Bay
Hudson Bay
Davis Strait
Bering Strait
Bering Sea
Sea of Okhotsk
Gulf of Mexico
Caribbean Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Red Sea
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Aral Sea
North Sea
Baltic Sea
White Sea
Kara Sea
Arabian Sea
Tropic of Cancer
Tropic of Capricorn
Equator
Arctic Circle
NEW SIBERIA
NOVA ZEMBLA
SPITZBERGEN
ICELAND
ALASKA
ALEUTIAN ISLANDS
KURILE IS. (Japan)
SAKHALIN
Irkutsk
Pekin
Tokio
Port Arthur
Lhasa
Manilla
PHILIPPINE IS.
LADRONE IS.
GUAM I.
CAROLINE IS.
MARSHALL IS.
GILBERT IS.
PALMYRA I.
WASHINGTON I.
FANNING I.
CHRISTMAS I.
WAKE I.
HAWAII
CLIPPERTON I.
CENTRAL AMERICA
Panama
COLOMBIA
VENEZUELA
GUIANA
ECUADOR
CUBA
HAITI
JAMAICA
PORTO RICO
GUADELOUPE
MARTINIQUE
Pernambuco
Rio de Janeiro
Santiago
Buenos Ayres
C. Horn
FALKLAND IS.
S. GEORGIA
SANDWICH GROUP
SOUTH SHETLAND IS.
Cape Town
C. of Good Hope
Pretoria
MADAGASCAR
MAURITIUS I.
REUNION
AMSTERDAM I.
ST. PAUL
KERGUELEN I.
CEYLON
Calcutta
SUMATRA
JAVA
BORNEO
N. BORNEO
SARAWAK
NEW GUINEA
SOLOMON IS.
NEW HEBRIDES
NEW CALEDONIA
LOYALTY IS.
TUTUILA I.
TUAMOTU ARCHIPELAGO
MARQUESAS IS.
TASMANIA
Perth
Sydney
Melbourne
Wellington
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Kamerun
French Congo
German East Africa
British South Africa
German S.W. Africa
Port. West Africa
Algeria
Tripoli
Egypt
Nubia
Abyssinia
Ashanti
Liberia
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Africa
Europe
Asia
America
Australia
Pacific Ocean
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